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PREFACE

The Fifty-second Session of the Indian History Congress was held at New Delhi from 21 to 23 February, 1992. This volume of the *Proceedings of the Indian History Congress* incorporates the deliberations of that session.

As in the past, we have been able to publish only a very small percentage of more than 350 papers presented at the Session for want of space. The financial constraints have been no less significant. These factors also account for our inability to include very learned and valuable contributions to the Symposium on 'Caste and Class in Indian Society'. However, steps are being taken to make Symposia Papers available in print with the forthcoming 53rd Session.

The volume includes revised and a more detailed set of guidelines for papers. Further, a list of select abbreviations has also been worked out. It is hoped that their effective use would facilitate the task of authors as well as that of editors in maintaining a relatively greater degree of style-uniformity than has been possible so far.

The publication of this volume would not have been possible without the generous publication grant made by the Indian Council of Historical Research.

We take this opportunity to thank Professor V. Ramakrishna, Dr. K. S. Seshan and Dr. T. K. Venkatasubramanian, the outgoing Office-bearers, for expeditious handing over of these papers, enabling us to process them in time. Needless to emphasize, the cooperation of all Sectional Presidents was always forthcoming in this onerous task. We are very grateful to them.

All members of the Editorial Board extended all the necessary help very ungrudgingly. The volume has been seen through the press by Dr S Z H Jafri, Shri R C Thakran, Shri Anil Chauhan, Shri Devendra Kumar and Mohd M Raheman. Dr B P Sahu and Dr Arvind Sinha have helped us in many ways in the preparation and publication of these proceedings. We are grateful to all these colleagues.

Our entire staff at the Permanent Office has put in countless man hours and that too at very odd hours, which made this venture possible. We are particularly indebted to Shri R K Gupta, Shri Shailendra Mohan Jha, Shri Devendra Kumar, M Raheman and Shri M Mahato.

Finally, Mr Rajeev Chhabra of Amrit Printing Works is to be complimented for getting this volume published in time.

Delhi
1 November, 1992

K M SHRIMALI
Secretary

SELECT ABBREVIATIONS

AA	<i>American Anthropologist</i>
ABORI	<i>Annals of the Bhandarkar Oriental Research Institute</i>
AC	<i>Ancient Ceylon</i>
AI	<i>Ancient India</i>
AJA	<i>American Journal of Archaeology</i>
AMP	Asiatic Mode of Production
ASB	The Asiatic Society of Bengal
ASMI	<i>Agrarian System of Mughal India</i> , Irfan Habib, Bombay, 1963
ARE	<i>Annual Report of South Indian Epigraphy</i>
ASR	<i>Archaeological Survey Report</i>
AV	<i>Atharvaveda</i>
BISMQ	<i>Bharat Itihas Samshodhak Mandal Quarterly</i>
BSOAS	<i>Bulletin of the School of Oriental and African Studies</i>
CA	<i>Current Anthropology</i>
CAPM	<i>A Catalogue of the Arabic and Persian Manuscripts</i> , C A Story, ed London, 1953
CASIR	<i>Cunningham's Reports of the Archaeological Survey of India</i>
CEHI	<i>The Cambridge Economic History of India</i> , 2 vols
CII	<i>Corpus Inscriptionum Indicarum</i>
CPMBM	<i>A Catalogue of the Persian Manuscripts in the British Museum</i> , Charles Riev, ed , London, 1883
CR	<i>Calcutta Review</i>
DG	<i>The District Gazetteer of the United Provinces of Agra and Oudh</i>
EA	<i>Eastern Anthropologist</i>
EC	<i>Epigraphia Carnatica</i>
EFI	<i>English Factories in India</i>
EI	<i>Epigraphia Indica</i>
EIM	<i>Epigraphia Indo-Moslemica</i>
FDSC	<i>Foreign Department Secret Consultations</i> NAI
GJ	<i>Geographical Journal</i>
GOS	Gaekwad Oriental Series
HD	<i>History of Dharmashastra</i> , P V Kane, 5 vols

IA	<i>Indian Antiquary</i>
IAR	<i>Indian Archaeology A Review</i>
IC	<i>Islamic Culture</i>
IESHR	<i>Indian Economic and Social History Review</i>
IHQ	<i>Indian Historical Quarterly</i>
IHR	<i>The Indian Historical Review</i>
IMB	<i>Indian Museum Bulletin</i>
Ind Iran	<i>Indo-Iranica</i>
IOLR	India Office Library & Records, London
ISPP	<i>Indian Studies Past and Present</i>
JAHS	<i>Journal of Andhra Historical Research Society</i>
JASB	<i>Journal of the Asiatic Society of Bengal</i>
JBBRAS	<i>Journal of the Bombay Branch of Royal Asiatic Society</i>
JBORS	<i>Journal of Bihar & Orissa Research Society</i>
JBRS	<i>Journal of Bihar Research Society</i>
JESHO	<i>Journal of the Economic and Social History of the Orient</i>
JIH	<i>Journal of Indian History</i>
JNSI	<i>Journal of Numismatic Society of India</i>
JOI	<i>Journal of Oriental Institute</i>
JRAS	<i>Journal of the Royal Asiatic Society</i>
KA	<i>Kautilya's Arthashastra</i>
KBOP	Khuda Baksh Oriental Public Library, Bankipur, Patna
MAL	Maulana Azad Library, AMU, Aligarh
MAS	<i>Modern Asian Studies</i>
Mbh	<i>Mahabharata</i>
ME	<i>Man and Environment</i>
MIQ	<i>Medieval India Quarterly</i>
NAI	National Archives of India
NC	<i>Numismatic Chronicle</i>
NMML	Nehru Memorial Museum & Library, New Delhi
NS	New Series
OHRJ	<i>Orissa Historical Research Journal</i>
OS	Old Series

PTS	Pali Text Society
QJMS	<i>Quarterly Journal of the Mythic Society</i>
QSR	<i>Quaternary Science Review</i>
PIHC	<i>Proceedings of the Indian History Congress</i>
PP	<i>Past and Present</i>
RLR	Raza Library, Rampur
RRA	Regional Records Office, Allahabad
RV	<i>Rigveda</i>
SABK	Sindhi Adabi Board, Karachi
SAR	<i>South Asian Researches</i>
SCS	<i>Shiv Charitra Sahitya</i>
SDAR	<i>Selected Documents of Aurangzeb's Reign</i>
SI	<i>Select Inscriptions</i>
SII	<i>South Indian Inscriptions</i>
SJSAS	<i>The Srilanka Journal of South Asian Studies</i>
SPD	<i>Selections from Peshwa Daftar</i> , ed G S Sardesai
UPHR	<i>U P Historical Review</i>
UPSA	Uttar Pradesh State Archives, Lucknow
WA	<i>World Archaeology</i>

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2. V.S.R. SHASTRI (Nagpur) 'Nagapura Nagar: Land grants to the Bahmanis and Beginning of Feudalism'
3. PASUPATI SINGH (Deharabad) 'Discovery of the Lost Religious Place of Parsi in Bihar'
4. RAGHAVENDRA VAJPEY (New Delhi) 'Pura-Pattana Settlements under the Tripuri Kalachuris in the Tenth Century: Their Urban Pretensions: An Explanatory Study'
5. K.M. SHRIMALI (Delhi) 'Land Relations in Central India (c A.D. 350 - c A.D. 450)'
6. KASHINATH MISHRA (Bazilnagar) 'Alexander in India on the Last Day of Judgement'
7. S.C. MISHRA (Delhi) 'Location of Ranganamamdom according to *Skandapurana*'
8. SOMA MUKHOPADHYAYA (Calcutta) 'Role of Mother Goddess in the Folk Culture of South West Bengal'
9. VIZAYA DATTATREYA SHARMA (Visakhapatnam) 'Jannasut: A Case Study'
10. M. MURALIDHARAN (Kottayam) 'The Raja in *Raghuvamsha*'
11. MARUTI NANDAN PRASAD TIWARI (Varanasi) 'Rishabhadevas in Hindu Pantheon and Religious Art'
12. SHYAM NARAIN PANDE (Mirzapur) 'Ancient Geography of the Ganges delta and'
13. A.K. CHOWDHRY (Darbhanga) 'Relationship in the Society as depicted in the Buddhist Literature'
14. RAJWANT RAO (Gorakhpur) 'A Note on the Origin of the Ashrama Institution'
15. RANABIR CHAKRAVARTI (Calcutta) 'Coastal Trade in Early Medieval Konkan'
16. RAKESH* : 'The Myth of of Buddhist India'

SECTION II

- 17 YOGENDRA PRASAD ROY (Sahibganj) The Early Muslim Rulers of Kharagpur Raj (1601-1676)
- 18 Y SRIRAMA MURTHY (Vishakhapatnam) Pemmasani Timmanayudu
- 19 S M RAZAULLAH ANSARI (New Delhi) Source Material for the History of Exact Sciences in Medieval India
- 20 SUNIL KUMAR (Delhi) Hierarchy and the *Chihalgani* within the *Bandagan* Cadre of the Early Delhi Sultanate
- 21 SEEMA SINGH (Aligarh) Portuguese Relations with Golkunda Authorities during the 17th c. San Thome
- 22 HAKIM ABDUL BARI (New Delhi) Contribution of Hakim Muhammad Sharif Khan to the Development of Unani Medicine (Tib)
- 23 ISHRAT HAQ (New Delhi) Some Aspects of Urban Life in Delhi-Agra Region in the late 18th Century (based on Urdu Literature)
- 24 SAIYID DAWOOD ASHRAF (Hyderabad) New Information about Land Revenue Assignments and Jagirdari of the Deccan (1658-1707 AD)
- 25 T. DAYAKAR RAO (Warangal) Heterogeneity of the Causes of the Fall of Kakatiyas of Warangal
- 26 SMRITI DAS (Calcutta) The Ahom-Bhutan Relations: 17th Century
- 27 SH. NANDA BHATTACHARYA (Jodhpur) Mughal Courtier: Munim Khan and his Politics
- 28 K. JOHNSON (Hyderabad) Evolution of Regional Power Segments with Bellary Region (1555-1800)
- 29 HIGAR MUHAMMAD (Jammu) Over-emphasis on the Army and Decline of Ruling Dynasties of Medieval India
- 30 IFRAN HABIB (Aligarh) Peasant Differentiation and the Structure of the Village Community: 16th and 17th century Evidence from Northern India
- 31 PUSHPA PRASAD (Aligarh) Weights and Measures in Gujarat Sultanate - A Study Based on Inscriptions
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- 34 N. R. VIJAYA (Vishakhapatnam) An Analysis of the Purpose of the Land Grants and its Relationship with the Economy: Prosperity of the Country under the Eastern Chalukyas

- 35 I H SIDDIQI (Aligarh) The Political and Social Thought of the Elite of Delhi as Reflected in Amir Khusrau and its Impact on the Sultanate of Delhi
- 36 SMRITI KUMAR SARKAR (Nadia) Pre-colonial Urbanization and the Question of Artisanal Mobility A Case of the Saptagrami Kansaris of Bengal (17th - and 18th Centuries)
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- 39 GAFUROV, N B (Moscow)* Some Aspects of Tantricism in Bhakti Poetry (Kabir)
- 40 JAWED AKHTAR (Aligarh) The Dutch East India Company and the Gujarati Merchants during the 17th century
- 41 NAND K KUMAR (Patna) Nature, Significance & Future of Ramjanam Bhoomi - Babri Masjid
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Note: The membership of the authors marked with an asterisk (*) is not confirmed.

**GENERAL PRESIDENT'S
ADDRESS**

THE INDIAN VILLAGE WITH SPECIAL REFERENCE TO MEDIEVAL DECCAN (MARATHA COUNTRY) GENERAL PRESIDENTIAL ADDRESS

A.R. KULKARNI*

Friends, Fellow Delegates, Ladies & Gentlemen

- 0 1 I am deeply indebted to the Executive Committee of the Indian History Congress (IHC) for the generosity in electing me as 'General President' of the 52nd Session of the Congress, which is held at Delhi. You have, indeed, done me a great honour for which I would remain grateful to you all.
- 0 2 Delhi was a *Mahasthal*, a place of great significance to the Marathas of the 18th Century. Bajirao, the Great, said so, and preserved it, and later Mahadji Shinde protected it. It remains a *Mahasthal* even today. This is the third session of the Indian History Congress which is being held in Delhi. The first two were held in 1948 and 1961, and incidentally both the General Presidents hailed from Maharashtra. M. M. Datto Vaman Potdar (1948) and M. M. Vasudeo Vishnu Mirashi (1961) were my predecessors. To me, it is a happy coincidence. It is gratifying to note that all five Universities in Delhi, have assembled together under the banner of IHC, the host, to make this session a success.

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- 0 3 The Executive Committee of the IHC deserves our congratulations for its courage and tremendous efforts in upholding the principles of secularism and the preservation of historical legacy of India and at the same time asserting the autonomy of this national organization. This event, I am sure, will go down in the history of IHC as its unique achievement. We must also thank the Human Resources Development (HRD) Ministry for its help in overcoming the crisis. We hope that the support of the HRD will become a regular feature. I hope that the Indian Council of Historical Research, would take necessary steps in this respect.
- 0 4 I am quite aware of my limitations as a research scholar, and I feel very shy when I peruse the long list of historians, who had adorned this high office in the past. I, therefore, accept this office with great humility although I cannot claim extraordinary achievements in the field of historical research. My only qualifications are perhaps my long association with this august body and my long service in the field of teaching and research since 1949, and lastly, it almost appears like an additional qualification that I come from Pune, the cradle of Indian History Congress where its first session under the Presidentship of Sir Shafat Ahmad Khan of Allahabad was held in 1935 to mark the Silver Jubilee of the Bharat Itihas Samshodhak Mandal¹. The Silver Jubilee Session of IHC was also held in Pune in 1963 and it was presided over by the renowned historian of the Deccan, Professor Haroon Khan Sherwani of Hyderabad.
- 0 5 I cannot proceed with My 'Address' proper without first paying my homage to M M Datto Vaman Potdar, the chief architect of the Indian History Congress, its First General Secretary, twice its General President (1948 and 1959) and several times its Vice-President. The format of this organization prescribed by him in 1934-35 and published in the journal of the Bharat Itihas Samshodhak Mandal, which is being still followed with little modifications. He regularly attended its session in his typical Maratha head gear, the *Pagadi*, till he breathed his last in 1979.

I

- 1 1 In my Presidential Address this morning, I propose to take a brief resume of the work done in the field of village communities pointing out the recent trends and then discuss some aspects of the Indian village communities with special reference to medieval Deccan. It is, perhaps, due to my involvement in this subject for the last several years, or may be also due to my ties with the village as its hereditary *Watandar* Official - the Kulkarni, whose blood is still running through my veins that has induced me to select this subject as a special theme of my talk before the historians assembled here this morning. This discourse is primarily based on archival materials, as I firmly believe that one stands on surer grounds when one's conclusions or statements are based on authentic contemporary and near contemporary records. Mere conceptual or theoretical approach or setting up some models will not lead us to a better understanding

of our village economy or society. In such studies, one cannot afford to be dogmatic, one has to revise or modify one's views in the light of fresh source material, or new and convincing interpretation of the old material. I believe in the old dictum, 'No document, no history', perhaps as an influence of the pioneer historian-archivist of Maharashtra, late V K Rajwade, who ushered in the 'age of records' in Maratha historiography. You can have 'a dialogue with the past' only when you have something concrete before you, i.e. the authentic records. Even the Marxist historians' slogan "no production, no history" is not contrary to the old theory, because production is also in a way a document.²

- 1.2 A socio-economic historian of Medieval period can hardly escape making his observations on some aspects of village economy and society. Village was at once a social and economic unit in the past. In this respect, I am following the footsteps of my predecessors of this organization of historians, like Professors S. Nurul Hasan, Satish Chandra, Irfan Habib and J S Grewal who have made some significant observations on this theme in their earlier erudite Presidential Addresses.³
- 1.3 Indian Village is a fascinating subject of study. It has attracted many administrators, students of jurisprudence, historians, sociologists, anthropologists, economists, politicians, for various purposes. Both Indian and foreign scholars since 19th Century have shown sustained interest in this subject even to this day. It would be, therefore, interesting here to take a brief review of the writings and discourses on the Indian Village with special reference to the British approach towards Indian Village system in the formative and transitional period of the British rule in India.

BRITISH APPROACH ·

- 1.4 The founders of the British rule in India in the early decades of the 19th Century were concerned mainly with two problems: (a) maintenance of law and order, and (b) increasing the revenue of the newly conquered territories, without disturbing the existing system too much. Bernard S. Cohn points out that for realizing the first objective of their rule the British "needed units with boundaries and people who could be made responsible for the maintenance of law and order for the regular collection of taxes. They found village as the most suitable unit for maintaining law and order - a group comprising village zamindars, village officials and princes would constitute the 'people who would not only maintain law and order, but also collect regularly land revenue and other taxes'.⁴ Thus, the village became the chief unit of their administration and the prominent villagers became their supporters for maintaining law and order.
- 1.5 They needed increased revenue mainly for two purposes: (a) to defray the cost of administration of their conquests, and, (b) to pay some dividends to the shareholders of the East India Company on whose behalf the country was ruled by the officers - civil and military. A company of merchants becoming a sovereign power was something unusual for the British political economists.⁵

With a view to raising the revenue, the British administrators tried to introduce many experiments in agricultural operations like changing the cropping pattern, introducing new varieties of cotton like the New Orleans, Bourbon, Egyptian, American experts were brought to train Indian farmers in cotton cultivation with a view to getting better yields both in quantity and quality, new implements were introduced, prizes were declared for best production of cotton, etc. But all these efforts did not bear much fruit.⁶

- 1 6 Similarly, with a view to maximising collection of land revenue, new methods of survey and settlement based on Ricardian Theory of Rent and Jeremy Bentham's Utilitarianism were introduced at the behest of James Mill, the Examiner of the East India Company in London. Lord Cornwallis' 'Permanent Settlement with the Zamindars' failed because he was more interested in securing the support of the landlords of Bengal to the Company rather than raising its revenues through improved agriculture. In the Bombay Presidency R K Pingle was appointed to conduct the survey and settlement of Indapura Pargana in 1823, but his experiment failed. Goldsmid and Wingate of the Revenue Department were in 1835 to improve upon the earlier attempts and help the government in raising revenue. Thomas Munro was introducing the Ryatwar System in Madras Presidency with the same purpose in mind.⁷
- 1 7 Among the administrators of the East India Company, Charles Metcalfe in the North, Thomas Munro in the Madras Presidency and Mountstuart Elphinstone in the Bombay Presidency focussed their attention on village as the best unit for establishing their 'indirect rule' in the areas under their jurisdiction. Sir Charles Metcalfe eulogized the *ancien regime* with villages as 'little republics', democratic and self-sufficient. Munro upheld the Ryatwari system as against the permanent settlement of Cornwallis. Elphinstone adopted the policy of 'no innovation' in the existing structure and functioning of the village system at least for some time. These early administrators, who had no illusions about the permanence of the British Rule in India, did not want to disturb the existing pattern of administration, as far as possible.⁸
- 1 8 Thus, according to Cohn, the British found answer to their problem of what should be the nature of their rule in India, in the institution of Village Communities, which were well bound territorial units and represented the traditional India. The oft-quoted views of Charles Matcalfe made them to believe that "real India was in the village". This approach of the British in the formative period served the purpose of 'cheap administration' and at the same time gave the appearance to the Indians that they were fair to them and could rule India in a natural fashion-natural for the Indians.⁹
- 1 9 Munro's Ryatwari settlement was a settlement made by the government directly with the cultivators by excluding the intermediaries. The fundamental aspect of the system was classification of land and its assessment on the basis of the quality. Metcalfe who had the Jat Village, as his model was not much in favour of Munro's Ryatwari system. The reason is, as he puts it, 'I admire the structure of the village communities and am apprehensive that

direct engagement for revenue with each land-holder or cultivator in a village might tend to destroy its constitution - the Village Communities are little republics" ¹⁰

- 1 10 Mountstuart Elphinstone was in sympathy with Munro's principles, yet he did not favour direct settlement with the ryot. He was not an iconoclast. His writings reveal a remarkable desire and determination to follow as closely as possible the systems and methods in use at the time of the conquest ¹¹. In fact one of the 'interrogations' which he circulated among the collectors under his charge in 1821 was - "which of the ancient institutions remain in full force and which of them have been modified or abolished since the accession of the British Government" ¹²
- 1 11 While the British administrators were highly praising the Indian Village system, whose preservation, it was believed, was beneficial to them, Karl Marx was critically examining the British policy in India. His attention was drawn to the Indian problem in 1853, when the renewal of the East India Company's Charter came before the parliament for discussion. He equated the understanding of the village system with that of the understanding of India ¹³
- 1 12 Marx formulated his views about India on the basis of certain 'Reports' of the military and administrative officers, despatches received in London, and memoirs and travelogues on which he could lay his hands. The reports or despatches, particularly on the village communities had their limitations, as they were later compilations and therefore less reliable. He also consulted the work of Lieut. Colonel Mark Wilks (1760-1831) a Company servant in Madras and a historian of Mysore from 1782 to 1801 and also of Sir George Campbell (1824-1892) who held high positions in India. Their works mainly formed the basis of his text on the Indian Village in *Das Capital* (Vol I, Ch 14, Sec 4) ¹⁴
- 1 13 He got the idea of simplicity, unchangeability and stagnation of Indian Society mainly from an old official report of the British House of Commons on Indian affairs. The British who considered themselves as saviours of Indian people, naturally presented a dismal picture of Indian society, with a view to justifying their own rule over India ¹⁵
- 1 14 Marx and his followers maintained that "the previous conquerors (of India) left untouched the economic basis and eventually grew into its structure, the British conquest shattered that basis and remained a foreign force, acting from outside and withdrawing its tribute outside" ¹⁶
- 1 15 He, however, did not shed tears over the fall of the village system built on 'the domestic union of agriculture and manufacturing pursuits', and the destruction of the old basis of Indian society, 'the handloom and the spinning wheel' which were 'the pivots of the structure of the old Indian society' ¹⁷
- 1 16 While holding the British Rule responsible for the infinite sufferings of the Indians, Marx at the same time criticised the deeply reactionary character of the village system & hinted at the indispensable necessity of its destruction ¹⁸

- 1 17 Marx's views on Indian Village, particularly its self-sufficiency, unchangeability, etc have been challenged by D D Kosambi, an ardent exponent of Marxism, he points out that "what Marx himself has said about India cannot be taken as it stands His remarks, incorporated in Das Capital, are 'acute and brilliant' yet 'they remain misleading' most villages produce neither metals, nor salt, two essentials that had mostly to be obtained by exchange "¹⁹ Irfan Habib who had earlier accepted village self-sufficiency, co-existing with production for the market, subsequently came closer to the view that the 'Village Community was a useful instrument for agrarian exploitation by the medieval ruling class in that it was the mechanism through which a class of sub-exploiters (village head-man, etc) maintained their domination of the peasantry ²⁰
- 1 18 Daniel Thorner maintains that Marx's references, direct or indirect, to 'Asiatic Mode of Production, the Indian village, etc , do not add up to a clear and consistent picture of India Similarly, Marx's theory of Asiatic despotism does not find much support in what we know today of Indian history India had hardly strong central governments in the past to control the water-works and irrigation on a large scale. The system of irrigation was primitive comprising local well or ponds of the villages ²¹
- 1 19 Max Weber in his General Economic History, however, does not attribute the stability or unchangeability to economic self-sufficiency but to the caste-system combined with magical traditionalism ²² A S Altekar, the noted Indologist has totally disproved the theory of unchanging character of the village communities constantly put forth by the early European scholars and has also refuted the statement that they were 'republics' in historic times He says that they were certainly not 'democratic', but self-governing entities and they were managing their affairs in a most informal manner ²³
- 1 20 The Japanese scholar N Karashima, the Dutch Scholar Jan Breman, and a British anthropologist Scarlet, to mention a few, have strongly refuted the charge of 'changeless India in their works ²⁴
- 1 21 Despite his faulty perception, it must be admitted that Marx brought the subject in the world arena, and many thinkers were induced to study the Indian village communities in depth India was predominantly an agricultural country as against the European countries which were making appreciable progress in industry and technology In his attempt to contrast 'Asian Economy' with the 'Western Economy' he held that the 'idyllic village communities were responsible for the downfall of Indian economy But from the historical facts, it appears that India, a land of villages, which was a prosperous country in pre colonial period, gradually became economically backward only during the colonial period of her history

HENRY MAINE AND BADEN POWELL

- 1 22 The two major landmarks in the historiography of Indian Village communities after Marx were the works of Sir Henry Summer Maine (1822-88) and B H

Baden Powell (1841-1901) who gave universal status to the subject To Henry Maine, "The Indian Village Community is a living and not a dead institution" He was essentially a student of the history of legal systems, particularly of the customary law, and the study of Indian Village Communities constituted a part of his study of the evolution of the institutions in the East and West His emphasis was on the unchanged existence of the nineteenth century institutions in the East which were found in the Teutonic period of European history While discussing the village in the East he had before him the Anglo-Saxon (600-1066 A D) model of village communities He found resemblance between the Indian Village Communities and the Teutonic township ²⁵ He says, "It does not appear to me a hazardous proposition that the Indian and the ancient European systems of enjoyment and tillage by men grouped in village communities are in all essential particulars identical No Indian phenomenon other than of the village community has been carefully examined by the scholars" ²⁶ As rightly pointed out by Cohn, "Maine's contribution is the idea of the *corporation* of the individual as 'person' who draws his status through the membership of the corporation, and in which social relations and social structure are based on *status* and not contract" ²⁷

1 23 While comparing Marx and Maine, Louis Dumont says, "Although Marx and Maine are poles apart in other respects, they come together retrospectively as the two foremost writers who have drawn Indian Village Community in the circle of world history" ²⁸

1 24 B H Baden Powell (1841-1901) was a civil servant in Punjab during the period 1861-1889 His major work²⁹ on this subject, "The Indian Village Communities" was first published in 1892 and was reprinted in 1896, and 1899 in his life time He argued that Indian Village was fundamentally a Dravidian rather than Aryan in its origin The institution of village in India was more likely and aboriginal, or Dravidian that existed in a tribal society, before the arrival of the Aryans He argues that as the simple needs of the people did not change even after the introduction of the elements of caste and the state formation in Ancient India, the village communities remained static He did not agree with the view that the Indian village was inherently democratic or republican in its constitution He viewed the Indian village essentially as a community of separate cultivating holders and other village functionaries, organized as a small monarchy or oligarchy ³⁰

1 25 Baden Powell maintained that there were two types of villages, and not one as suggested by Maine These two types were (a) 'Ryotwari' or 'non-landlord' or 'severalty' village In this type of village, the land (estate) is divided amongst themselves and each man owns his own holding which he has bought, inherited or cleared from the jungle The holders are not jointly responsible to the state for revenue or other obligations, (b) The landlord or joint village In these villages, there is a "strong joint body, probably descended from a single head, or single family, which has pretensions to be of higher caste and superior title to the 'tenants' who live on the estate" ³¹ Maine totally ignores the 'ryotwari' type of village ³²

- 1 26 Baden Powell argues that Maine had no personal experience with village India, though "he spent nearly 7 years in India, he had founded his works on 'observations' restricted to a small part of the country, and that his analysis, was moreover based on an administrative outlook rather than in knowledge of local history and ethnography" ³³ However, the observations of Cohn on Baden Powell in particular and Victorian students in general in this respect are noteworthy ³⁴
- 1 27 Irfan Habib, states that, "unlike Marx, neither Maine, nor Baden Powell sought to examine the economic implications of the village community, their attention largely confined to its anthropological, social and fiscal aspect" ³⁵
- 1 28 While tracing the history of village communities, A S Altekar argues that they were of Aryan origin, based upon the Aryan model of the village in the North, and not on the Dravidian model as asserted by Baden Powell He says further that Maine and Baden Powell were not acquainted with the valuable evidence supplied by the Smritis and Inscriptions ³⁶

II

SETTLEMENT OF VILLAGES IN THE DECCAN

- 2 1 It is often said that culture begins with agriculture When man gave up the hunting stage of his life and settled down with his fellow-hunters at a fixed place, the phase of agricultural production was set in Agriculture assured him food and shelter He could live together with his fellowmen and plough the field, and produce enough to maintain himself and his family throughout the year without much wandering as he was doing before Kosambi, therefore, rightly remarks that "the advance of plough-using agrarian village economy over tribal India is a great historical achievement" ³⁷ But the plough-man could enjoy this stability of life so long as he could get climatic conditions congenial to necessary rainfall, as agriculture was a gamble in rains According to scientists "climate is a world-wide system, and significant changes cannot take place in one part without changes occurring in other places" ³⁸
- 2 2 This means that the farmers in the past had to shift their settlements or even give up agriculture and go back to the pastoral stage of human civilization, if the climate did not favour such a long-term settlement at a particular place It is argued on the basis of archaeological data that in the region between Tapti-Godavari-Bhima rivers, there were permanent settlements of the early farming societies in the second millennium B C as the climate was quite congenial to farming These societies were some sort of "islands of luxury with their inhabitants enjoying sedentary life of leisure with an assured and bountiful food supply all the year around" Dhavalikar by analysing the available archaeological evidence visualizes the possibility of the existence of socio-political organization in Maharashtra in the second millennium B C "

- 2 3 The excavations in Maharashtra/Deccan, particularly the recent excavation at Inamgaon, a village in the Pune District of Maharashtra conducted by the Deccan College, have enabled us to know more about the settled life of the people of the Deccan from 2000 B C onwards⁴⁰ However, according to Dhavalikar, "the decrease in the rainfall pattern and the consequent drought periods probably led to the desertion of settlements by these early farming communities At Inamgaon the people continued to lead a precarious existence, but shortly thereafter around 1000 B C they had to resort to a semi-nomadic life by practising sheep/goat pastoralism"⁴¹ He argues that the aridity that sets in around 1000 B C in this region, in general forced the inhabitants of the settlements, living on subsistence agriculture, stock-raising and hunting-fishing, to resort to pastoral nomadism for their survival and this situation practically continued till the 5th Century B C The global climatic changes, then brought about a warmer phase in India which lasted between 5th C B C to 5th C A D, causing adequate rainfall congenial to agriculture and also giving an impetus to the building of political power by the Satvahanas in the Deccan and the Mauryas, the Kushanas and the Guptas in the North⁴²
- 2 4 The archaeologists and historians have with some variations about dates visualized three distinct phases of urbanization in India, namely, Indus civilization Ganges valley and lastly, early Medieval period of the North India⁴³ In between these three phases of urbanization, there were two phases of urban decay, the first beings the decay of Harappan centres and the second, from the 4th C A D to 9th C A D
- 2 5 R S Sharma in his recent work *Urban Decay in India* (300-1000 A D) has examined 40 excavated sites throughout India and has concluded that the second phase of deurbanization synchronizes with the so-called Golden Age of Gupta period, i e third century A D, whereas others take it to the later Gupta period i e after 5th C A D The principal cause of this deurbanization according to Sharma, was the cessation of long distance trade, but some others attribute it to the global climatic changes between the 4th and the 9th C A D Sharma, however, with the help of archaeological, epigraphic and literary sources has linked up the urban decay with the considerable agrarian expansion in the early phase of Indian history⁴⁴ This does not, however, mean that the farming communities vanished during the pre-urban decay period, but it was relegated to the background as the traders, were prominent in building up the opulence of India, rather than farmers
- 2 6 Sharma's main thesis is that the urban contraction was an important cause of agrarian expansion in early medieval period He argues that the disintegration of Empires gave rise to the emergence of small kingdoms which could not have become viable without a sound agrarian base in various regions They could raise regular taxes from the peasants to strengthen their kingdoms Land grants to temples particularly to Brahmans, made on a large scale in forest area or backward and less developed countryside, opened virgin lands to cultivation, and several settlements or villages came into being, the names of which are mentioned in the land charters along with the items of land revenue

The introduction of calendar predicting rainy and sowing seasons of the year, acquaintance of the Brahmans with the material, dealing with agriculture in the *Arthashastra* of Kautilya, and the *Brihat Samhita* of Varahmihira, the migration of the jobless artisans of the decayed urban areas, the growth of technology relating to agricultural operations, etc are the main factors, according to Sharma which contributed to the agricultural expansion during the early medieval age. The Brahmans, it seems, had taken lead in organizing agrarian production by using their superior position in the *Varna* system, in raising a class of ploughmen by mobilizing 'the tribals' and the 'fringe Hindus'.⁴⁵ As the *Parashara Smṛiti* (7th c text) did not prohibit them from undertaking cultivation, they must have taken lead in agricultural operations & settlement of villages in the initial stages of agrarian expansion.

- 2 7 Kosambi also agrees with role of the Brahmans in the agricultural expansion that followed the second deurbanization. The importance of Brahmans in the society increased because of the gifts given to them for various reasons by the rich and the poor. He writes, 'At the period considered, he was much more a pioneer into wild territory, the main instrument of change to plough-village culture'.⁴⁶
- 2 8 The literary evidence culled from the various Sanskrit texts written during this period both in the North and the South, indicate the founding, classification and the traits of villages in medieval times. There are several texts which give instructions about agricultural operations, animal husbandry, techniques, irrigation, etc which too must have also contributed to the growth of agriculture in the early medieval period before the rise of Muslim power in India.⁴⁷
- 2 9 The legend of Parashram, who is regarded as the creator of *aparanta* or *Konkan* deserves some consideration in this respect. After making the earth devoid of *Khastriyas*, Parashram, it is said, donated it to the Brahmans and retired himself to the forests of the Western Ghats. He settled in the land bounded by Gokarna to the South and Vindhya mountain ranges to the West, and from Sahyadri i.e. the Western Ghats to the sea, cleared the land and introduced the cultivation of crops and a variety of flora and fauna and animals and snakes in this new settled area which was known as *Konkan Desh* or *Bhargava* (Prasharam) *Kshetra*. It was a self-established and self-created place. He then invited Brahmans from Maharashtra Desh, who were known for their pure speech and who were well versed in Vedic rituals and rites, to settle down in Konkan with their households and families. On his way, he settled many villages for those Brahmans who were tired and unwilling to go further towards the Konkan by creating land suitable for 'farming and habitation and also founded the temples of their Chief Gods, Shiva and Ganesh'.⁴⁸
- 2 10 V N Mandlik's account of the establishment of Muruda, a village in the Konkan, based on a Marathi document which he procured from a Brahman family surnamed Vaishampayan, the *dharmadhikaris* of Murud gives us the details of the efforts of the Brahmans in the settlement of Murud village. The narrative states that Murud was a jungle and served as *rudrabhumi* or burning

and burial ground of the neighbouring village of Asuda. Two persons named Gangadharbhat and Padmakarbhat with a third companion - Vaishampayan, came to Asuda, formed a plan, with the permission of the people of Asuda village. They cleared the jungle, made an application to a neighbouring king (i.e. zamindar or petty chieftain) named Jalandara for a grant of land and procured it.

- 2 11 The different parts of the village were assigned to the first families of settlers. The document mentions thirteen families of Chitpavan Brahmans whom the king gave lands and offices in the village. The duties of the several village officers were laid down chiefly in social and religious matters, the boundaries of several properties were marked by fixing stones in the soil, areas for temples were marked. It is interesting to note that quarters for *yavanas* (i.e. Muslims) were provided in the outskirts of the village including land for building mosque called *shunyalya* i.e. abode of nothing, a very significant term used in this document for mosque. The Muslims, also known as *navayats*, had settled on the West Coast in the early medieval period, and it was natural for the settlers of villages to accommodate the Muslim community in the new villages. Besides this, the document also enumerates thirteen privileged persons of other castes like *Sonar* (Goldsmith), *Gavada* (Fisherman), *Kumbhar* (Potter), *Nhavi* (Barber), *Part* (Washerman), *Sali*, etc. similar to that of the *balutedars* of the medieval period. It mentions the duties to be performed by the different classes for the village during the twelve months of the year.⁴⁹
- 2 12 Colonization was a continuous process throughout the medieval period. As there was no dearth of land, numerous land grants were made, not only to the Brahmans as it happened in the ancient period, but also to the adventurous people who could undertake the job of settling villages by clearing jungles and forests infested by wild animals. In the Marathi documents this process has been described as human habitation (*Pandhan*) raised on the cultivable soil (*Kali*).⁵⁰
- 2 13 In the Maratha country land was called *aai* (mother), and is divided into two parts *Kali aai*, i.e. land for cultivation and *pandhari aai*, i.e. land for human habitation. The Pune region, which was a part of Shahji's (Shivaji's father) jagir was desolated and in ruined conditions due to the great famine of 1630-31, and the inroads of the armies of the Adilshahi government of Bijapur. According to a Marathi chronicle, the territory was infested by wolves, wild beasts and robbers. The manager of the jagir, Dadoji Konddev, induced the *Mavalas*, i.e. the hilly folk to kill the wolves, beasts and robbers in those areas with a promise of rewards for their services. He also requested them to settle down in those areas cleared by them. He granted them necessary legal documents and offered lucrative terms (*Istava*) for permanent settlement.⁵¹
- 2 14 Similar practice prevailed in the North India also. The wood cutter and ploughmen accompanying the troops of Shah Jahan were entrusted with the job of clearing the forests and bringing land under cultivation. These people

received short *pattas*, Chaudharis were appointed to keep *riaya* happy and populate the country. Whosoever cleared a forest and brought land under cultivation, such land would be his *zamindari*.⁵²

III

VILLAGE AND VILLAGE COMMUNITIES

- 3.1 Village or *gaon* has been defined in the *Markandeya puran* as the place surrounded by cultivable lands and where inhabited a number of people available to support the able cultivators in raising crops in those lands.⁵³ Grama means "aggregate". The "Village or *gaon* in Marathi or *Uru* in the local languages of the Deccan means an aggregate of family holdings. It, thus, means a cluster of houses (*Griha-Ma-Grama*). However, Monier Williams, the Sanskritist of the 19th century does not agree with this simple meaning of village. He says, it is a "division of territory, perhaps three or four square miles or more in extent, with its careful distribution of fixed occupations for the common good, with its intertwining and inter-dependence of individual family and communal interests, with its perfect provision for political independence and autonomy".⁵⁴
- 3.2 The village community was organized on the principle of hereditary rights in land. The ancient Hindu system of joint family property was its basis. Goodline in his Report on the village communities of the Deccan (1852) defined village as "a self constituted corporation, organized rather from the primitive necessity of its inhabitants than by design, and strengthened and perpetuated by the hereditary succession of its office-bearers. The village, thus, became the only centre of stability and the repository of civil rights, it was the only institution which the people possessed and the only object of their national attachment".⁵⁵
- 3.3 Several social thinkers like Marx, Spencer, Max Weber, besides the British administrators like Metcalfe, Mill, Elphinstone, Maine, Baden Powel have examined the concept of village in their own way.⁵⁶ Louis Dumont, a well-known French sociologist in his critical article on "The village communities from Munro to Maine" attributes three meanings to the term 'Village community' in three successive historical phases: first, primarily, a political society, second, a body of co-owners of the soil, and third, the emblem of traditional economy, a watchword of Indian patriotism.⁵⁷ Radhakamal Mukherjee is right in his observation that it is difficult for the foreigner to understand fully the implications of the village community.⁵⁸
- 3.4 As regards the form of village settlement, as per tradition, 'a typical village settlement is known to have been composed of three components, the *Vastu* (residential land), the *kshetra* (cultivable land), and *gochara* (pasture)'.⁵⁹ Irvati Karve, well-known social anthropologist of the Deccan, in her article 'The Indian Village' considers the *gestalt* (i.e. form) aspect of the entity called a village. She says that 'a structure has a form or *gestalt* which may be sharply

defined and simple or indistinct and vague. For a casual observer the habitation area called 'a village' has a gross form in most cases. This form gets disturbed and becomes indistinct in certain ways and still something called "a village" remains with its objective boundaries and its subjective are its neighbours.⁶⁰ She poses the question why an area is called village at all and tries to answer this question by studying three different types of villages on the west-coast i.e. the Konkan and (c) villages in the Satpura mountains on the north-western boundary of Maharashtra.

- 3.5 Villages have been classified by scholars on the basis of organization, land ownership i.e. villages under joint ownership or under individuals etc. Max Weber finds two different forms of village organizations in India based mainly on the nature of land ownership.⁶¹
- 3.6 Village in the Deccan, in the medieval period, was a close-knit unit. Land was the basis of the formation of village communities comprising the village hereditary officers, the peasant proprietors and the village servants who had definite duties to perform and enjoy the privileges assigned to their stations. To help these permanent residents, there was a class of strangers, who had no 'locus standi' in the village, but who had the opportunities of becoming an integral part of the village society in the course of time. They lived together irrespective of their caste and religion and worked for the welfare of the village community as a whole. In the following section, it is proposed to review briefly some aspects of the village communities of the medieval Deccan with reference to the Maratha country with the help of indigenous sources.⁶²

IV

SOURCES :

- 4.1 Revenue records in regional languages dealing with income and expenditure of villages or parganas are the major sources for the study of agrarian society and economy, both at the 'macro' and 'micro' levels. It may be said with some degree of conviction that these records not only enable us to present a real picture, but also make us, wherever necessary, to revise our notions about the functioning of village communities, or of the village institutions formed on the basis of certain general studies or reports. An economic historian of medieval India, particularly of the 18th century would find the archival material fulfilling his three major requirements, namely authenticity, continuity and quantification. As mentioned earlier, Harold H. Mann has rightly pointed out that if we want to understand the history of the country, we must seek far more in the obscure unprinted records of the village.
- 4.2 Maharashtra is very rich in the collection of historical material both at the state level and private institutional level. The early British administrators at the instance of Mountstuart Elphinstone collected records of the Peshwas and of the districts under the Marathas, and made every effort to preserve them right from 1818, though the access to this archival material was restricted till 1947.

This attitude of the British made the nationalist historians of the Marathas to launch a movement for collection of records of the historical families and set up alternative archival centres in the form of 'Historical Research institutions, like Bharat Itihas Samshodhak Mandal, Pune (1910) or Rajwade Samshodhan Mandal, Dhule (1932)

- 4 3 However, without prejudice or under-estimation of the private collections of family records, prime place must be given to the state papers pertaining to village accounts for studying the economic aspect of village communities, as they are more accurate and precise. The family records are often vague and repetitive
- 4 4 The records relating to individual village accounts preserved in the Pune Archives (also known as Alienation Office and Peshwa Daftar) are fairly continuous covering a longer period of history, and are very useful for presenting a connected and realistic account of a particular village. The twelve major sections of the Records contain 27, 332 *rumals* (bundles) each containing more than a thousand documents of various sizes, however, to a student of village communities two of its sections - *Jamav* Section (7,864 *rumals*), the largest section, and the *Prant Ajmas* (5297 *rumals*) are of much significance than the rest. These two sections together constitute nearly a half of the total collection of Marathi documents in the Pune Archives.
- 4 5 The *Jamav* Section, which is the largest and most puzzling section of the Poona Daftar, is described as the 'Veritable Alladin's Cave', as it provides information on a variety of topics like ancient measurements and revenue systems, the various kinds of taxes and their incidence, statistics of multifarious descriptions, names and duties of the village officials, etc.⁶³ The contents of the *Prant Ajmas* section are akin to *Jamav Ajmas* which means a schedule of the estimated revenue of the districts or financial statements for each *prant* of some sub-area, annually drawn up in the Peshwa's office and arranged according to localities and years. However, the difference between the two lies in their source of origin, the *Jamav* papers were collected by the British administrators from the various district officials and the village accountants, whereas the *Prant Ajmas* papers came from the Peshwa Daftar proper.⁶⁴
- 4 6 How archival material help to reconstruct history of a village in its totality may be illustrated by citing the case of village Indapur which I selected for my study. Indapur, a village-cum-town in Pune District, situated between the rivers Nira and Bhima on the Pune-Sholapur Road. It was a part of Shahji's jagir and Shivaji, the founder of the Maratha Raj started his early activities in this area only. It was successively under the rules of the Deccani Muslims, the Marathas, the Mughals, again the Marathas and then the British. The continuity of records found in the Pune Archives in respect of the village gives a fairly good picture of the society and economy of this region.
- 4 7 The earlier writings on Indapur are mainly based on the Reports prepared by the British administrators, who conducted their experiments of survey and

settlement here. The chief informants of the reporters were the Kulkarnis of this region who would hardly give correct information to an alien power in the initial stages of its rule. Pottinger, the Collector of Ahmednagar District during the period of Mountstuart Elphinstone, could not extract correct information from the Kulkarnis. Even Munro lamented that he never knew a Kulkarni who could give a correct account of the village under his charge. Under such circumstances, the Reports of the administrators can not be regarded as fully reliable and therefore, it is worthwhile examining the indigenous records and compare them with the British reports while making certain statements about the structure and functioning of the village community of Indapur.

- 4 8 We get thousands of documents relating to Indapur right from the middle of the 17th century in the Pune Archives describing the socio-economic life of the village communities of the historical past. They include *talebands* (village budgets), *Karfiyats* (statements), *thalzadas*, (roll of land holdings), *jamabandis* (village rent-roll), *khatawanis* (accounts), *yads* (notes), *nemnuk* (statement of all wages and salaries), *goshwaras* (summaries or abstract), *ajmas* (estimates), *sanads* (grant deeds), *dehazadas* (list of villages), *kaulnamas* (agreements), *varshasans* (religious pensions), *ajnyapatras* (royal orders), *inampatras* (inam grants), *watanpatras* (watan grants), *gaonkharcha* (village expenses), etc. However, the *thalzadas* and *talebands* are the two most important documents for understanding the socio-economic transactions of the village community. Being account papers, they are more precise and accurate.
- 4 9 A *thalezada* is record of land rights, a list of landholdings maintained by the village accountant. *Thal* (Sanskrit *sthal*) is a portion of village lands consisting of several holdings belonging to one family. The *thalzada* would show all the families of the village even though some of them became extinct (*gat-kula*), in the course of time.
- 4 10 However, the survivor, if any, of the *gat-kula*, on the basis of the *thalzada* could reclaim the ancestral property even after several years by paying the necessary compensation to the government. Manusmriti mentions that the land belonged to the person or the family, who reclaimed it from the forest and brought it under cultivation. The *thalzada*, which thus preserves the ancient tradition, gives us the names of the original settlers of the village.⁶⁵
- 4 11 The village land was shared by a number of persons whose services were essential for the village community. The growing needs of the village absorb a number of new persons in the community in course of time by giving them land in the village, and their holdings were mentioned in the *thalzada*. A village requires, for instance, the services of a brahman or a *mulana* to satisfy its spiritual needs, or a dancer to participate in the village festivities. We find a brahman's family of Indapur well-versed in the Vedas and the Puranas enjoying a *chavar* of land (120 bighas) from the days of Shivaji continued along with its perquisites even during the British period. A copy of the original *sanad* of 1649 granted to the brahman is found in the records and is mentioned in the subsequent *thalzadas*. A *mulana* family of Indapur enjoying two *chavars*

(240 *bighas*) of land since the days of Ibrahim Adilshah remained undisturbed inspite of the political changes. A dancer called Shyama Naikin who received 60 *bighas* of land for her services to the Sidheshwar temple of Indapur and the *dargah* of Pir Chand Khan have also found a place in the *thalzada*

- 4 12 The *thalzada* gives the distribution of land among the various permanent residents of the village. After excluding the waste land from the total land of the village, the rest was broadly classified under two heads: *Khalsa* and *Inam*. The latter was further divided into *darobasta* (absolute) and *ajamarhamat* (grant by the grace of the government). The land under *darobasta* is held by *Deshmukh*, *Deshpande*, *Mokadam (Patil)* and the keeper of the tomb of Maloji, Shivaji's grand-father, who died fighting in the battle of Indapur. *Ajamarhamat* lands are held by *Deshpande*, *Kulkarni*, *Chougula* (the assistant of *Patil*), *Shete* (the market officer), *Joshi* (the village astrologer), *Sahir* (the ballad singer), *Mahar*, who were all either village officers or servants and they were exempted from paying land tax. Some rent-free land was also assigned to temples and mosques. The *Khalsa* land was open to assessment by the government and was held by peasant proprietors called *mirasdars*. We get several such *thalzadas* showing structural changes in the village caused by political or economic factors. An analysis of these *thalzadas* arranged chronologically would provide us with the changing pattern of land holdings as well as the caste-wise distribution of the village land.
- 4 13 *Taleband*, another important set of records gives the actual receipt and expenditures of the village revenue. The *mestaka* (a book of rules and regulations) helps us to understand the accounts system of the Marathas prevailing in the medieval period. The *taleband* may be monthly or annual, and it indicates on the receipt side the total revenue of the village including land revenue, various taxes *siwaya jama* and *izafar jama* i.e. additional income otherwise not mentioned in the estimates. On the debit side, it mentions the remittance of *rasad* (provisions for the army), *varshasana* (annual allowances to learned brahmins), *kharid kharcha* (purchases), *mushahira* (salaries), *goan kharcha* (expenses on the cultural activities of the village) and *muzafat kharcha* (additional or unexpected expenditure), etc.
- 4 14 The *taleband* throws much light on the social and economic life of the state indicating thereby the nature of state activities. The use of revenue terms mentioned above is indicative of not only of the influence of Mughal system on revenue administration but also of a sort of uniformity in fiscal administration in a major part of the country. A student of social history for instance, may find the item *khand phuroi* or judicial fees inflicted on the culprits, quite interesting as it indicates the types of crimes committed in a village and how they were viewed by the people of the village in medieval times. A fee called *gunhegari* was collected from the parties involved in the criminal acts, for instance, a person convicted of theft of a pony was made to pay Rs 225/- which included Rs 150/- as fine, Rs 25/- as service charges called *masala*, and Rs 50/- as the price of the pony. There are entries to the effect that a person beating the village *mahar* was fined Rs 50/-, a blacksmith

beating an elderly woman with a shoe had to pay Rs 5/-, a father inflicting burns on his son was made to pay Rs 5/-, and an amount of Rs 40/- was collected from a person who was purified by the community. The cases of adultery were numerous. If the adultery was committed within the caste the fine was less than the one committed outside the caste. A woman of high caste having illicit relations with a person of lower caste, therefore, had to pay heavily for her crime.

- 4 15 The documents relating to *jiziya* tax, which was abolished by Emperor Akbar (1564 A D) and revived by Aurangzeb (1679) are comparatively rare but the Indapur records present us two complete bilingual documents of the years 1699 and 1702, and one incomplete of the year 1706, throwing much light on the nature of this tax, amount collected from different classes and the exemptions granted. The *haqs* (privileges) enjoyed by different village officials, the '*tanakha*' system and its gradual replacement by *kamal akar* and *ijara* revenue systems, the classification of villages as *khalsagaon*, *namgaon*, *dumalagaon*, *izafigaon*, *mokasagaon*, etc and similar other issues pertaining to agrarian relations can be studied with the help of these village records.⁶⁶
- 4 16 The revenue records of Rajasthan archives like *arhsattas*, *jamabandi*, *jama-kharcha chittis*, *sanada*, *dastur ul amal* etc or the *darbar* records and the *patwari* records of the Punjab referred to earlier would also enable us to make reasonably correct statements about the agrarian relations in the North. The village system of Goa, which was mostly akin to the Maratha system can be studied with the help of 9,931 volumes of Marathi records pertaining to village communities in the Historical Archives of Goa, Panjim, covering a period of more than three centuries. The same is true of the State Archives of Andhra Pradesh and Tamil Nadu. In short, there is no paucity of historical material to study the village communities with a relevance to modern times.

OWNERSHIP OF LAND

V

- 5 1 One of major controversies of the early British period was regarding the ownership of land whether it was the king or the tiller of the soil owned the land. The ancient Hindu law digests, and later compilations, however, did not express any doubts about the individual ownership of land. Manu, without any reservations, says that the cultivated land is the property of the one who cleared the ground of the wood, or who first cleaned and tilled it.⁶⁷ A large number of Hindu commentators affirm that the husbandman (*Kshetra-Karta* or land lord) to be the proprietor. It was believed by some that the earth to be the "protective property of powerful conquerors, and not of subjects cultivating the soil, who were admitted to acquire an *annual property* on payment of annual revenue, until a greater revenue be offered by another person."⁶⁸
- 5 2 Ainslie T. Embree in his essay on Land holding examines the reasons for the wide-spread acceptance of the belief that private property was unknown in India and says that almost no one would now accept the views of Bernier or Mill in this respect.⁶⁹ After examining the Hindu and Muslim concepts of

ownership, Embree further hazards a guess that the change from social relationship based on 'interests' to those based on exclusive claims of ownership has been one of the greatest consequences of British Rule.⁷¹ He agrees with Irfan Habib's view that the medieval rulers were more concerned with the cultivation of land rather than its ownership.⁷² He further points out that the teachings of Hanafi school held that a ruler, once a settlement had made with a conquered people could not revoke their ownership of the land (even though they were non-Muslims), and this became accepted as a guiding rule of Islamic jurisprudence in India.⁷³

- 5 3 The concept that the king alone was the sole proprietor of the land over which he ruled, was first mooted by the European travellers like Bernier, Fryer, Manucci, etc. However, on the basis of medieval evidence Irfan Habib rejects the above 'declaration' of the European travellers. He maintains that the peasant's right of occupancy was recognized by all the authorities of medieval times. He argues that the institution of village community arose out of the needs of village, and the term is not used to indicate the idea of village commune, owing the land on behalf of all its members. He further says that there is no evidence of communal ownership of land or even a periodic distribution and redistribution of land among peasants. The peasant's right to the land was always his individual right.⁷⁴ When one examines the number of village records of the Deccan relating to the 17th and 18th centuries, one finds that the ownership of the entire village land was neither vested in the king, nor in the community, but in the individual who agreed to cultivate it as per the customary law of the land.
- 5 4 B R Grover, in his well researched article, 'Nature of Land Rights in Mughal India' has proved that "the state never claimed the absolute and exclusive ownership of the agrarian land and definitely recognized the private property in it. The ownership of land was vested in *riaya* which has the rights of transfer, mortgage and sale."⁷⁵
- 5 5 The Hindu concept of property in land in the medieval Deccan is discussed in the digests of Hindu Jurists. Sabaji Pratap Raja, in his work says, "Brahma arranged that the King was to be the owner of all wealth, specially (wealth) that is inside the earth." According to some scholars, this opinion of Sabaji restricts the ownership of the King to the wealth inside the soil, and thereby maintains by implications the existence of the proprietary rights of cultivators in his land as laid down by the *smritis* and followed in practice by the Rashtrakutas and Yadavas, who never claimed the ownership of the entire soil.⁷⁶
- 5 6 Nilakantha, (1610-45) a Pandit of Paithan & the author of *vyavaharmayukha* maintains that according to the ancient tradition the State is not the owner of all lands, but is also entitled to levy taxes from the holders of the land.⁷⁷ When the Muslim conquered territories in the Deccan, the right to property they initially did not formally recognized. It may be due to the Muslim legal theories regarding the rights of conquered races or tributaries but later on these tenets were modified, and all the conquered races who accepted their rule and

agreed to pay the taxes were treated on the same footing as the Muslims as far as the rights to property were concerned, though the latter were called 'dhimmis' or 'zimmis' whose protection was the special responsibility of the Muslim State ⁷⁸

- 5 7 Malik Ambar, the Vazir of Ahmednagar, however, accepted the hereditary rights of the *mirasdars* and recognized them as peasant proprietors. His judicious revenue assessment not only secured a moderate and certain tax to the State, but also protected the interests of the cultivators by assuring them ownership of the lands they cultivated ⁷⁹
- 5 8 The Marathas, under the leadership of Shivaji, followed the system of Malik Ambar in principle and recognized the position of the hereditary *zamindars* not only as proprietors of landed estates, but also their share in the foundation of Maratha power in the 17th Century. The *Ajnyapatra* or *Royal Edict*, a treatise on Maratha polity and policy compiled by Ramchandra Pant Amatya, an adviser of Shivaji, says, "These people are really the sharers (*dayad*) of the Kingdom. Shivaji was aware of the shortcomings of the *watandars* but he never thought of abolishing their hereditary rights including the ownership of lands they held ⁸⁰
- 5 9 The contemporary records reveal several instances of creation, continuance, confiscations of the lands of proprietors during the period of Maratha rule in the 17th century. The land holders could sell their lands or titles to the land revenue, they could mortgage it or give it as gift to anybody. The king himself occasionally purchased land and offered it to persons whom he wished to favour for their services to the state ⁸¹
- 5 10 However, the customary laws of the village communities put many impediments in the free purchase and sale of watan lands. Prahlad Niraji, the *Nyayadish* (Chief Justice) of Shivaji had stated in one case that "nobody should purchase the watan, no watandar should sell it, those who purchased it, should be punished and fined. The watandar selling his land should be warned strongly ⁸². These restrictions were put in the interests of the entire village community. The villagers' consent was considered necessary in the sale and purchase transactions of the watan land. The villagers were not prepared to accept any person as their Patil or Kulkarni.
- 5 11 Thus the individual property rights in land were recognized, and neither the Muslim nor the Maratha rulers claimed absolute ownership of the entire land in their territories. The numerous records particularly the *thalzadaz* provide enough evidence to establish that there was peasant-proprietorship in the land. It also refutes the contention of Engles who wrote to Marx in June 1853 that 'the key to the whole East is the absence of private property in land' ⁸³

KING'S SHARE

- 5 12 The King, like others, was one of the sharers in the total agrarian produce of the land holdings, and not the absolute owner of them. The share of the King

was known as *Bhaga*. It is mentioned in the Arthashastra as *bali*, *Kara*, *Sadbhag* ⁸⁴ It varied from eight to thirty three per cent of the total produce of the soil. However, it cannot be said with any certainty whether it was a charge on gross or net produce of land. It seems, that normally one sixth of the produce was charged as land tax in the ancient period ⁸⁵ Under the Mughals it seems, the revenue demand of the State varied from one third to one half of the agricultural produce. According to Irfan Habib the maximum was one half of the produce during the period of Aurangzeb ⁸⁶ The Todar Mal system of revenue assessment which put the States's share to one half of the produce was introduced in the Deccan after the annexation of the Nizamshahi kingdom by the Mughals in 1637.

- 5.13 The Marathas followed the system of Malik Ambar in their country and fixed the State demand at 2/5 of the total produce. The contemporary chronicle of Shivaji, as well as the other records mention State demand as two fifth, (*Rajabhag pachadui*) during the period of Shivaji ⁸⁷

VI

LAND TENURES .

- 6.1 The problem of ownership of land is closely related to land-system or land-tenures prevailing in the medieval Deccan. The land-laws arising out of the formation of village communities, define the relations between the different sections of the residents of the village and their government. In the Maratha country, the term *deshak* is used to indicate the class of permanent residents of the village having vested interests in it. The rest were called the *uparis* meaning a group of strangers having no locus-standi in it.
- 6.2 The land tenures can be grouped under different headings like the *watan*, the *inam*, the *miras*, the *baluta*, the *upari*, the *mokasa*, the *agrahar*, etc. While discussing the revenue system, the technical terms used in the records must be understood in their proper perspective. Sometime their accurate rendering into another language is difficult. Even in the authentic records some terms are used as synonyms, the meaning of some terms change from region to region and their connotation also changed by lapse of time. Under such circumstances, one has to understand them with reference to their contexts and proper historic perspective. As Moreland has pointed out, "For the purpose of interpretation, it is necessary to distinguish between some of these expressions, and to formulate a precise phraseology" ⁸⁸
- 6.3 The *watan* tenure was held by the village officials like the *Patil* or *Muqadam*, the village headman, the *Kulkarni*, the village accountant, the *Chaugula*, assistant of the *Patil*, the *Shete-Mahajan*, village market officers, the *Manar*, village helper, in the Maratha country of the Deccan ⁸⁹ They are referred to as *watandars* in the records. The *pargana* (a group of villages) *watandars* like the *Deshmukhs* and the *Deshpandes* supervised the work of the *patils* and the *kulkarnis* of the villages under their jurisdiction. The *watan* tenure was

hereditary and it perpetuated in the family of the *watandar*, so long as he performed the duties assigned to his office. Marathas deeply valued the *watan* not only because it was a source of income, but more as a symbol of social status to them. The kings, sardars, or royal officials were ever keen on retaining their original village *watans* inspite of their high positions in the state hierarchy. This preference to the original *watan* due to the fact that the Marathas, while they viewed political power as temporary, they looked on the *watan* as permanent, on which they could fall back upon in the case of loss of political power. We often come across the holders of temporary land-tenures like *saranjam*, *jagir*, *mokasa* anxious to get them converted into either *watan* or *inam* which could perpetually remain with their families undisturbed.⁹⁰

- 6 4 The *watan* and *inam* tenures, are often used as synonyms even in the historical records. *Watan*, originally an Arabic term, signifies the grant of land made to a person holding an office, and theoretically it perpetuated in his family so long as it rendered efficient service, but in practice as long as the holder remained loyal to the State. It was essentially a service tenure, and in common parlance it was aptly called *chakari* (service) *watan*. The *watandar* not only enjoyed rent-free land in the village in lieu of his services, but he was also entitled to certain rights and perquisites (*hak-lajimas*) in the village. He was, thus, maintained by the village.
- 6 5 *Inam* is a grant of land held in perpetuity without any strings attached to it. It was not a service tenure, but a reward for the services rendered in the past. An *inam* was created by an agreement called *inam-patra* or *karar* between the state and the person holding the *inam*. This document mentioned whether the *inam* was a rent-free grant in perpetuity or it was *inam-nimai*, *tizai* or *chauthai*. *Inam-tizai*, for instance, means the holder of *inam* was to pay 1/3 of the normal rent fixed for his land, to the State.⁹¹ Sometimes the *inamdār* was entitled only to the revenue of the land registered in his name, without enjoying any ownership title of the land. The *inam* land was granted for various purposes, e.g. performance of religious duties, personal sacrifice during a period of crisis. There were also *inams* like the *dudhabhat* (milk and rice) *saree-choli* (Saree and blouse) *inams* given by the king or a chieftain to their daughters just for their maintenance.
- 6 6 *Inams* were of two types. *Diwan-Nisbat inam* or *sanadi inam*, and *Gao-nisbat inam*. The *Diwan-nisbat inam* was issued to the grantee indicating the purpose and the privileges of the grant by a *sanad*. This *sanad* was respected and confirmed even by the new rulers of the region. When the village community found the services of an artisan or an agricultural labourer, or any other person essential for its working, it would grant rent-free lands to such people out of its own lands, the loss or education of revenue accruing to the government being made by it. These *inams* are also referred to as *tikanati begari* (i.e. land given to person in the village for definite services without remuneration) or *dehangi-inam* (i.e. limited assignment to a variety of village artisans and servants). These lands could be mortgaged but not sold, and were resumable by the village if the grantees failed to render required services.⁹³ Grand Duff

gave six types of *inams*, that were prevailing in Satara in his letter to William Chaplin. That were Hindu *inams*, Musalman *inams*, *Deoshtan inams*, *Dharmadaya inams*, *Dehang* and *Watandar inams*⁹⁴

- 6 7 *Ajnyapatra* makes a distinction between *watan*, *inam* and *vritti* land grants and also lays down the norms of government policy towards them⁹⁵ *Vritti* was a type of religious *inam* of a hereditary priestly office for the performance of personal religious rites and ceremonies
- 6 8 The most important and major category of land-tenures was the *mirasi* tenure, or the peasant proprietary tenure. *Miras*, is an Arabic term, and it signifies land held by a person in absolute hereditary proprietorship. It is used in Marathi documents to indicate any kind of hereditary and transferable interest acquired by an individual due to descent, purchase, gift, etc. He was called *mirasdar*, and that his family belongs to the group of original settlers of the village community. *Mirasdar* never loses his right to land unless it was sold, transferred or gifted away. Even if he deserted the village due to some calamities and returned to his home land after a long gap of time, he or his descendents could reclaim the land by paying the due compensation to the government. Such deserted lands were shown as *gat-kuli* in the village records. Their names were not removed from the *thalzadas* because as per tradition and the *Smritis* land belonged to the person or the family who reclaimed it first from the forest and brought it under cultivation. *Mirasdar* was known as *mundekan* in the Konkan area, the term *munda* means slums and roots in the unclaimed soil and *mundekar* or *mundkar*, therefore, means the first reclaimer of such land. *Gaonkar* or *vangod* (Goa) and *mulwarg* (North Canara) are the terms used in the same sense as *mirasdar*. The *mirasdars* were very influential and highly respected members of the village community and they participated in the transactions of the village *panchayats* and *gotsabhas* with their symbol 'plough' being affixed on all the *mahajars* (decisions) for attestation
- 6 9 The *upari* tenure as against the *miras* was a temporary one and its holder was a tenant-at-will. Elphinstane in his *Report on the Territories conquered from the Peshwa* (1819) writes, "The cultivated land belonging to government except some lands, to be managed by the *mamlatdars* was always let out to the *uparis* who had a lease, with the expiration of which their claim and duties expired"⁹⁶ The *Upari* tenure was also called *ukti* i.e. a lease by a verbal agreement for one year. A *upari*, however, could become a *mirasdar* by paying a *nazar* (some cash offering) to the ruler or his representative.
- 6 10 D N Jha mentions a tax called *uparikar* levied in ancient times and discusses its interpretations by various scholars like Fleet, Ghosal, Barnett, Aitekar and Sarkar and remarks that none of the explanations are conclusive. Fleet and Ghosal held that the *uparikar* was levied on the cultivators who had no proprietary rights in the soil, and therefore, it was temporary. But Jha rejects this view as it is based on tenuous source of information. But from the records of the later period, it seems that the view of Fleet and Ghosal are nearer the truth.

- 6 11 From the references in inscriptions, it seems that the *upari* tenure mentioned in the medieval records, seems to be a traditional one. The *uparkar* may be interpreted as equivalent to *nazar* or *sherani* of the medieval times paid to the government by the *upari* for getting the permanent ownership of the land as *mirasdar*. It may also be the payment of normal rent, which a permanent cultivator would have paid to the government for that piece of land cultivated by the *upari*.
- 6 12 *Mokasa*, *jagir*, and *saranjam* tenures, which are often used as synonyms in Marathi documents are essentially military tenures, theoretically of temporary character but in practice generally became hereditary in course of time. It is true that the *mokasa* tenure could be both for civil and military services, but it was mainly granted for the latter. It was very common in the early 17th Century, particularly under the Muslim rulers of the Deccan. There are several instances of the grant of *mokasa* of a *pargana* or a village to certain individuals under the Adil shahi rule. We also find cases of transfers of *mokasadors* (the holder of *mokasa*), their replacements, their arrests for failure in performing their duties assigned to them, and even confiscation of their *Mokasas*⁹⁹. In his capacity as a civil servant, his powers were equivalent to that of a *mamlatdar* of the medieval revenue administration. Like the *watandars* and *mirasdars*, he also attended the *majalis* or council of the *pargana* and participated in its deliberations. It seems that all the major officers of the State (*rakhtakhana*) under Adil Shahi, like the *Vazir* and the *Amirs*, were given lands in *mokasa* or *jagir* in lieu of their civil or military services. In fact, the administrative establishment of the State of the *pargana* level called *Diwan*, was based upon the *mokasa* or *jagir* tenure¹⁰⁰. Grant Duff, the Resident of Satara Raj, says that the *mokasadar* under the Adil Shahi rule, was the head of *amil-dars* (officers appointed by the State) of a considerable division, and he received some percentage of the government revenue for his services, and the office was generally not a hereditary one¹⁰¹.
- 6 13 The *mokasadors* sometimes created a sub-tenure to favour their relations or assistants. For instance, Shahji who was a *mokasadar* of Pune, Supe and Shiryal *parganas* under the Adil Shahs, granted a *pot-mokasa* of 36 villages of his Pune *pargana* to his son Shivaji¹⁰².
- 6 14 The terms *mokasa* and *jagir* are loosely used in Marathi documents. There seems to be a slight difference between the two, though they are used as synonyms. The *Mokasa* tenure seems to be less permanent than the *jagir* tenure. The *saranjam* tenure, which was a purely military one, was sub-divided into *jat* and *fauj*, the former was an assignment as personal pay for military service, and the latter for the support of troops and maintenance of forts. The holders of these tenures were entitled to a share in the administration of village or villages and also in the village revenue. However, it must be noted here that the state assigned revenues to the *mokasadors* only after deducting from the total, such claims as *sardeshmukhi*, *chauth* or *babati* which were the royal privileges, unless they were specifically granted to them by an agreement. Such a grant has been referred to as *ain-mokasa* or simple assignment. The

term *sardar* (equivalent to *mansabdar* in some respects) used in Marathi records denoted a class of *saranjamdars* or jagirdars, performing military duties. This assignment was not a free-hold, but it could be either rent-free or at low quit rent on condition of services.

- 6 15 This practice of granting military tenure in the Deccan under the Muslim rulers, was discontinued by Shivaji as it was detrimental to the interests of the State. His chronicler, while describing his policy towards them says, "He (Shivaji) wished *mokasa* mahals or villages with absolute rights should on no account be granted to the (men in the) army, the military (*hasham*) and the fort establishments. Every payment should be made by *varats* (an order on treasury to pay) or with cash from the treasury. If *Mokasa* were granted the ryots would grow unruly and wax strong, and the collection regulations would no longer be obeyed. Those who were given *mokasas* if united with the Zamindars (*Deshmukh*, *Deshpande*, *Patil*, *Kulkarni*) would grow unruly. Therefore, *mokasas* should not be granted to anybody."¹⁰³
- 6 16 However, this anti-*mokasa* policy of Shivaji was discontinued by his son Rajaram with a view of including Maratha Sardars to join military service and resist the Mughal invasion under Aurangzeb of the Maratha territory in the Deccan. During the Peshwa period, the *mokasa*, *jagir*, *saranjam* tenures increased. Revenue assignments on the conquests in the North were made to Maratha Sardars like the Shindes, the Holkars, the Pawars and the Dabhades, who became powerful in the course of time and that gave rise to Maratha Confederacy. The *mokasa* and *jagir* tenures renewed by Rajaram only as a temporary measure, became a permanent feature under Sahu and thus by the middle of the 18th century, the Maratha state was completely feudalized.¹⁰⁴
- 6 17 The *mokasa* being a temporary tenure, its holder was naturally anxious to get it converted into an *inam* or *watan* tenure which would be hereditary. For instance, one *halkara* (spy) who was assigned one-fourth *mokasa* of a village by the king Sahu, got it converted into an *inam* in 1729, similarly a widow from the Shinde family got a *mokasa* of her deceased husband converted into an *inam* from the Peshwa in 1769.¹⁰⁵
- 6 18 Thus, it can be said that originally there were mainly two sharers in the collection of revenue from village or villages, the *watandars* and the *mokasadors*, the former holding hereditary ownership rights in land and the latter only a title to the land revenue. *Inamdar*, *Jagirdar*, *Saranjamdar* etc were, thus, the different versions of the original *mokasa* tenure.
- 6 19 This discussion of land tenures under the Marathas lead us to one fundamental question. Was the Maratha Society of medieval times a feudal? The *pargana*, *watandar*, *Deshmukh* and *Deshpande*, and the village *watandar*, *patil* and *kulkarni* who formed a class of village officers became in practice a ruling class. A perusal of their *haklajimas* or *manpan* (rights of precedence) enjoyed by them in the village and their methods of exacting them undoubtedly reveals the existence of feudalism in the medieval Maratha society and for that purpose in the Deccan. An analysis of the various miscellaneous cesses

imposed by the village *hakdars* would bring out the magnitude of the burden on the village community in the medieval period. In addition to land tax, the villagers had to pay a number of levies imposed to meet the local expenses of the village. These levies were *ulpha patti* i.e. ration or *shidha* gratuitously supplied to feed the government officials visiting the villages, *dasarapatti*, a contribution collected from the villagers to celebrate the Dashahra festival, *mejwani patti*, amount collected for feasting the officials, *toranbheti*, amount collected to erect arches to welcome the visitors, *thana patti*, a cess collected to cover the expenses of the *thana*, a police station, etc. The existence of the privileges of the *watandars* and the miscellaneous levies collected by them from the peasants on one pretext or the other is an eloquent testimony to the exploitative nature of the *watan* institution of the medieval Deccan society. Perhaps, the system may not fully conform with the accepted general characteristics of feudalism, namely the landlord serf relationship but one can hardly ignore the exploitation of the peasantry by the ruling class.¹⁰⁶ One can say that it was a different type of feudalism.

- 6 20 Kotani Hiroyuki, a Japanese Scholar, in his well documented article on the Maratha Vatan system, maintains that "the Vatan-system which had primarily only accommodated the relations of the division of labour, was enlarged to contain all relation of exploitation within the society". He expanded the Euro-centre concept of feudalism to include 'the relationship between men and men' apart from the usual land-ownership relation, and in that context calls the medieval Maratha society feudal.¹⁰⁷ While considering the problem of land-holding, he rightly pointed out that in the pre-British Maharashtra the land holding has two aspects united in the private aspect, namely the proprietors right to use and dispose the land in his possession, and the social aspect, that is social relations into which the holder of land entered. The British recognized the private aspect by introducing the Ryotwar settlement, but neglected its social aspect which resulted into the destruction of the existing social orders of the pre-British Maharashtrian societies.¹⁰⁸

VII

VILLAGE SERVANTS

- 7 1 The emergence of a class of village servants coincides with the beginning of the farmers settlement in ancient times. Professor R S Sharma argues that during the period of second urban decay, the jobless artisans of the Urban areas migrated to rural areas to seek their livelihood and from this in the course of time emerged the *jajmani* system. *Jajmani*, a word coined by W H Wiser, the American Sociologist-cum-Missionary is now accepted by the social anthropologists. The farmers needed the services of a carpenter, a black smith, a potter, an astrologer, for carrying out their agricultural operations. With a view to preventing these artisans from frequent migrations, they were assured a definite annual income, mostly in kind, from the gross produce of the land.¹⁰⁹ Thus, the artisans became village servants and they formed an important element in the social organization of medieval India.

- 7.2 The village-servants in the Maratha country are called *balutedars* and their share of agricultural produce as *baluta*. This system prevailed throughout the south, with some local variations under different nomenclatures. They were called *kamins* in the North. This title suggests a lower status to *kamins* as compared to *balute* of the Maratha country in which they took part in deciding disputes of the villagers affecting the entire village community.¹¹²
- 7.3 The scholars are divided as regards the origin of this system whether Dravidian or Aryan.¹¹¹ Whatever be its origin, the *baluta* system seems to be not only in existence but also well-organized in the Maratha country, since the early medieval period as compared to other parts of the country. The earliest reference to the term *baluta* is found in the *Jnyaneshwari*, the premier Marathi work of the last decades of the 13th Century. It is also found in a disciple of Saint Ramdas of the 17th Century.¹¹²
- 7.4 Several attempts have been made by the scholars to explain the term etymologically. According to some, it is a compound Sanskrit word *balī* (the ryot) *apatya* (progeny). The village was regarded as 'cow' and the crop that was grown in it as its 'udder' (*Kaas*) and the *balutedars* as the calves drawing at the udder of their mother the village, 'cow', for their living. The *balutedars* are, therefore, classified under the three *Kaas* (rows) - the major (*thorli*), the middle (*madhali*), and the minor (*dhakati*), according to the amount of the village crop shared by them. According to others, it is the corruption of a Kannad word, a compound of *bal* (right hand side) and *kud* (to give) meaning thereby that the *baluta* was given as the privilege of the right hand.¹¹³ To some it was a corruption of the Sanskrit word *balwant*, the strong officer.¹¹⁴

BARA BALUTE

- 7.5 The numerical term *bara* (twelve) is traditionally prefixed to *balute* in the Maratha country and many parts of the south as Karnatak, Andhra and Tamil Nadu. In the initial stages, the number of *balutedars* appears to be only five, and they were designated as '*panchkaruk*'.¹¹⁵ It included the potter, the black smith, the carpenter, the barber and the washerman. The number of *balute* always varied depending upon the requirements and size of the village. The 13th-18th century documents mention *balutedars* belonging to different professions attending the *gotsabha* (*majalis*) in varying numbers. They endorsed the decisions of the council by their professional symbols.¹¹⁷ In some documents dealing with certain village disputes, one finds only the concerned *balutedars* associated with the council. For instance, as the *mahars* were the helpers in measuring and fixing the boundaries of land and villages, six *mahars*, called *vritkars*, were invited to attend a *gotsabha* to settle a boundary dispute of villages in Pune pargana in 1618 A.D. which was attended by 43 persons including the *Qazis*, the *Deshmukhs*, the *Havaldars*, the *Patils* of 18 villages.¹¹⁸ In the South, the village officers were also included in the class of *balutedars*.¹¹⁹ If the number of *balutedars* in village was quite large, only the elderly professionals referred to as *Khum*, *Shetia* or *mehtar* were invited to attend the council meeting.¹²⁰ Thomas Coats, in his survey of the Loni Village

conducted in 1821, mentions that of the 88 *balutedars*, only 12 were serving the 130 families of the village living in 106 houses. The village had a total population of 587 persons including males, females and children ¹²¹

- 7 6 Traditionally, the twelve *balutedars* in the Maratha country were grouped under three rows called *Kaas* or *oal* on the basis of their income. (i) *Thorali Kaas* (major row) included, *Sutar* (carpenter), *Lohar* (black-smith), *Mahar* and *Mang* (ii) *Madhali Kaas* (middle row) consisted of *Kumbhar* (potter), *Chamhar* (cobbler), *Parit* (washerman) and *Nhavi* (barber), and (iii) *Dhakati Kaas* (minor row) *Bhat* (bard), *Mulana*, (servant of the mosque and muslim community in the village), *Gurav* (temple priest), and *Koli* (water-carrier). This grouping of *balutedars* was not uniform throughout the Maratha country. For instance, in the Indapur *pargana*, the *chamhar* was placed in the first row instead of second and the *mang* occupied the second row, and in the last row, three more *balutedars* namely *Sonar* (gold smith), *Joshi* (the village astrologer or calender brahmin), and *Ramoshi* (the village guard) were included and the *bhat* was excluded, thus making the number six. Thus, there were fourteen *balutedars* in the Indapur *pargana* instead of the traditional twelve.
- 7 7 Another classification on the basis of their services to the cultivators and the village community as a whole can be also attempted. The three groups, then, would be (i) the village artisans and professionals like carpenter, blacksmith, barber, washerman, shoe-maker, *mang* (rope-maker), etc. (ii) the general servants like *Mahar*, Taral *Ramoshi*, who mainly performed the menial type of work, and (iii) the religious servants like *Gurav*, *Thakur* (priest of tribes), *Jangam* (priest of Lingayats) and *Mulana*, who met the religious requirements of the village ¹²²
- 7 8 There was another class of village servants or artisans, called *alutedars* who did not enjoy same status as the *balutedars*. According to Grant Duff, the number of *alutedars* was also twelve, and they were also known as *naru*, and the *balutedars* as *karu* ¹²³. We often find the artisans moving from one group to another, according to the requirements of the village community. *Alute*, a term found only in Marathi language, is possibly a mere alliterative, derived from *balute*. It is the collective designation of the persons whom it was customary in some parts of the Deccan to retain as village servants in addition to the *balute*.
- 7 9 Grant Duff, particularly highlights the position of the *Mahar* as "one of the most important and useful of all the village establishment". Besides receiving payment in kind called *baluta*, for the various types of services he was rendering to the village community including the officials like the *Patil* and *Kulkarni*, he also held *inam* land in the village which was classified under three heads. (i) *Maharki*, the land given for the performance of the *sirkar* (government) duty generally. He was called *padewar* or *vritikar mahar*, if he enjoyed *Mharki inam* or *watan*, (ii) *Hadola*, a land grant for the removal and skinning of the dead cattle, and (iii) *Hurratee* (*Hadki*) for attending the *patil* and *kulkarni* ¹²⁴ in which case, he was called *rabata mahar* in Marathi documents. Grant Duff in his Report as well as in his *History of the Marathas* says that

the Mahar "acts as scout, as guide, frequently as watchman he cleans travellers' horses, and is obliged, if required to carry the travellers' baggage, he is a principal guardian of the village boundaries, and in Maharashtra, the *Mahars* are a very active, useful and intelligent race of people" The *mahar* was entitled to carry all the dead bodies of animals, cows and buffaloes in his village, but was obliged to give the skin of the buffalo to its owner. If the *mahar* community was sufficiently large, a senior person was selected to act as its leader called *mehtar mahar* who was in charge of the general management of the duties of the Mahars. For this service, he was entitled to one-ninth of the entire *mahar watan* including the grain, perquisites and donations.¹²⁵

7 10 *Mang* was one of the twelve balutedars and his main job was to make the leather ropes from the skins of the cattle and several other things like leather bag called *mot* for fetching water from the well for irrigating the land, thongs, whips used by the cultivator. He also acted as village watchman. Though Grant Duff does not speak very highly of this community,¹²⁶ it seems that before they were admitted into the group of village servants, they were rulers of Kishkindha state situated on the bank of the river Tungabhadra in ancient times. *Mang* is the corruption of the Sanskrit word *matang*, meaning thereby the most powerful person. Matan Rishi of Varanasi, it is believed, was born in a *mang* family. The *Brahmanical* dominance reduced them to poverty and eventually they become nomadic tribes. *Mangs* were different from the *mahars* and lived separately in the village. Their habitation was called *Mangwada*. *Mangs* though assimilated into village community from time immemorial, and were participating in all the festivities and activities of the village, they were not entitled to any traditional *haqs* and were not regarded as *balichabhau* i.e. brother of the *bali*, the cultivator. A dispute between the *mahars* and *mangs* of Indapur over the issue of *haqs* of each community, was referred by the Peshwa to the *Bharma Sabha* of Paithan for decision. It was decided that the *mangs* should maintain themselves only on making ropes of the skins, whereas the *mahars* should lift all that they could find on the roads i.e. dead animals, the cloth covering the corps and the amount placed before the dead body as their property. The *mahar* women participated in the procession of *Mahalaxmi* with the holy vessel on their heads.¹²⁷ In the Marathwada region one finds several folklores about the *mangs* signifying their association with the social religious and economic life of the village.¹²⁸

7 11 Grant Duff gives some details of the *Mulana*, a balutedar found in most of the villages in the Maratha country even if there were no Muslims. We find references to a cess called *mulansara*, collected from the villagers perhaps for the maintenance of the *mulana*. Grant writes, "the *moolang* so called by the Mahrattas is the *Moolla* or Mahomedan priest, and it is very strange how he is found grafted on the Ballotay establishment of a Hindoo village. The *moolana* had charge of the mosques and peers' places, - performs the ceremony of Mahomedan marriages but he is very often found when there is no Mahomedan family but his own and is chiefly known to Mahratta population as the person who kills their sheep and goats when offered as sacrifice at temples or in their fields to propitiate the deities. The Moulana has the

same kind of allowance as the Ballotay" ¹²⁹ The details of *mahars*, *mangs* and *mulanas* in the village are given here only to indicate how the so-called menial servants of the village were respectfully treated by the community

- 7 12 Marx while discussing the constitution of the ancient communities, has said that 'This dozen of individuals (i.e. the *balutedars*) is maintained at the expense of the whole community' A modern economic historian in the Marxian tradition, A I Chicherov, reviews the '*baluta*' system from the economic point of view ¹³⁰ He writes, "the principal feature of this traditional form (i.e. of blending of the crafts and agriculture in the village community) of the economic organization of handicraft production in India was that the craftsmen were maintained by the community receiving from it remuneration in kind for the services rendered" He calls this system as 'a collective maintenance of the artisans' by the village communities in the 17th to the 19th century and discusses the traditional grouping of *balutedars* depending on the size of the Balute - largest, (*Thorli*) middle, and smallest (*Dhakati*) balute This traditional division, according to him, "correspond to the actual contribution an artisan made to the village's productive life, and did not correspond to the social and material standing of the *balutedars*" He is correct in the assessment of the *baluta* system, as the social status of the *balutedars* was irrespective of their earnings For instance, the earnings of the goldsmith may be higher than that of the carpenter or a *mahar* but in the hierarchy of the village community from the point of view of services, the goldsmith would always stand at the lowest rung of the ladder
- 7 13 Fukazawa has discussed the problem of interpretation of the *baluta*-system at length in his article 'Rural Servants in the Maharashtrian village Demiurgic or *Jajmani* system" He examines the views of Marx, Baden Powell, Max Weber and Wiser in this respect In his opinion, Max Weber, the German sociologist, is right regarding the services of the *balutedars* as 'demiurgic mode of employment' ¹³¹
- 7 14 Max Weber, in his General Economic History, had put forth the idea of 'demiurgic' mode of employment while discussing the communistic agricultural system of India in the context of the German system He writes, "Here are settled craftsmen, temple priests (which in contrast with the Brahmins play only a subordinate role) barbers, laundrymen and all kind of labourers belonging to the village - the village establishment They hold on a "demiurgic" basis, that is they are not paid for their work in detail but stand at the service of the community in return for a share in the land or in the harvest They are essentially village serfs, receiving a share in the products or money payments This we call 'demiurgical' labour" ¹³²
- 7 15 One who has studied the authentic archival material on the '*baluta*' system of the Maratha country would hardly agree with Max Weber who regards them as 'village serfs' In fact, they are not only the sharers in village production as a matter of right (*haqdars*) but also the active participants in the deliberations of the village council or pargana council in all the disputes affecting the efficient functioning of the village communities Such persons cannot be called serfs

Serfs cannot be sharer of the produce, and also the decision makers in a society

- 7 16 The *baluta* system is not identical with *Jajmani* system referred to earlier. Fukazawa has rightly pointed out that the *Jajmani* system which implies master-servant relationship, cannot be applied to the *baluta* system in general except in the case of *upadhya* or priest. But here it must be noted that the *upadhya* was not a balutedar, but a family priest, and he received his fees either in kind or cash, or even in form of land grant, from the family or families whose religious requirements were met by him.
- 7 17 Thus, neither the 'demiurgic' nor the '*Jajmani*' formula can be applied to the *baluta* system of the Maratha country. The only term which fully explains the system is *Grambhrutak* or *Gramsevak* traditionally used in the literature. They were essentially the servants of the village community.
- 7 18 Another problem connected with this system was that of balutedars' remuneration. As the contemporary records are silent on this issue, one can only surmise that the remuneration was on 'customary' basis. While settling the *haqs* of the village officials and servants of Ahmednagar district, Goodine mentions the traditional three '*olee*', of balutedars and says that some former authority fixed certain remuneration for each row of balutedars in the event of dispute. It was 30 sheaves per *paen* (derived from *pava* i.e. 1/4) for the 1st *Kass* or row, 25 sheaves for the 2nd and 20 sheaves for the third *Kass*. Goodine further produces a statement showing the average amount of share (*haq*) received by the village artisans.¹³³ But it cannot be said with certainty that the same rates prevailed, even throughout the same district.
- 7 19 Fukazawa mentions three modes of remuneration for *baluta* system prevailing in Maharashtra, namely, *baluta-payment* either in cash or in kind called '*baluta-remuneration*' proper, (2) additional remuneration in kind or cash called *haq lajima* (perquisites), and (3) revenue free grant of *inam* land.¹³⁴ But here also the proportion of total produce to be given to the balutedars in general is not mentioned. In fact, the share of individual balutedar was decided by negotiation between the peasant and the artisan, and was paid at the harvest time. The 'Customary' payment has been aptly and precisely described in one document which says that the payment of *baluta* was made all these years after considering the cultivator, the landholding and the crop raised on it and it was accepted by the balutedar without any hesitation.¹³⁵

VIII

VETHBEGAR :

- 8 1 Another system of service which was prevalent in the village communities was the *Vethbegar* or forced labour, or service without due rate of payment or even free. The term *Veth begar* is a compound of two words *Veth* (derived from Sanskrit *visti*) and *begar* (Persian) meaning thereby forced labour. It seems to be an old practice, as it had the sanction of the scriptures. Originally, it was

free service in lieu of taxes, obtained from the people for a couple of days in month for defence purposes. Though no payment was made, free food was provided to them during the period of their service. As the activities, particularly the military, of the State increased in the medieval period, *Vethbegar* became practically a compulsory system, and the villages had to submit to demands of the State for free service. Under the Marathas, particularly in the 17th Century, when the forts were regarded as 'the essence of the kingdom' the services of the villagers of the neighbouring regions were requisitioned for the construction, renovations or repairs of the forts. In the 18th Century free services of the local people were secured for cutting grass from the State-owned meadows, or for constructing stables, as there was not much work on the forts, due to changes in the mode of warfare. The *begari* was given some grain, or cash per day but not wages at the market rate. This mode of payment has been referred to as *adhaiseri* meaning 2-1/2 seers of grains. The levy called *begari patti* seems to be a tax collected by the State to meet the expenses of the *begaris* employed by it for its services, who were not paid wages at the market rate, but a pittance enough to feed them on the working day. This exploitation of skilled and unskilled labour sometimes led to the desertation of villages by the people. The local officials used to appeal to the State authorities to discontinue the system as it adversely affected the cultivation of the land and other allied works in the village. *Vethbegari* was a privilege enjoyed by the village officials, who exploited the *begaris* to the maximum.¹³⁶

- 8.2 Fukazawa has examined the *Corvee (vethbegar)* system of the 18th Century Maratha country with the help of a few contemporary Marathi records firstly with a view to finding out its relationship with the caste-system and secondly to see its influence on the freedom of people to migrate. He found that this practice was widely spread in the Maratha country and various kinds of services like the construction or repairs of forts, portorage, fodder cutting, miscellaneous jobs (*rabanuk*) at the government offices, stables (*hujurpaga*), watchmanship, came under *vethbegar*. He suggests that there was a strong financial connection between Maratha polity and caste system through the regular requisition of forced labour from artisan and menial caste. Similarly, even though there was *de jure* freedom of movement, in practice it was restricted by the government because of the specific revenue system as well as of the vested interests of privileged classes.¹³⁷

IX

THE VILLAGE COUNCIL . PANCHAYAT

- 9.1 One of the striking features of the village community is the institution of *panchayat* which decided the disputes of various types among its members, and thereby preserved its unity and solidarity. The institution of *panchayat* has a long history. It is said that the term '*panchayat*' is derived from '*panchkaruki*' the five main village artisans namely, potter, black smith, carpenter, barber

and washerman. The Sanskrit grammarian, Panini has used the word *gramshilpini* which refers to the chief architects of the village community namely the *panchkaruki*. To some, the compound of the two Sanskrit words *Panch* and *ayatta* makes the word *panchayat*, and to others, it was a corrupt form of the Kannad word *panchayattu* or *panchayattar*.¹¹⁸

- 9 2 During the Yadav period (1000 AD - 1350 AD) settlement of village disputes was done by the elderly and experienced persons called '*gram-mahattar*' who were selected by the villagers themselves and not appointed by the king even though he generally used to endorse their decisions. They were, thus, the *aniyukta* officers of the village, nominated by the villagers irrespective of their caste or creed. The term *mahattar* was replaced by *manajan* in the course of time, and the number of members of the *panchayat* also increased.¹¹⁹ It must be remembered here that the *panchayat* was not simply a court of justice bringing about a compromise between the plaintiff and the defendant, but a representative body of the village community set up by the community itself to manage its affairs.
- 9 3 At the village level the Council was called '*panchayat*' but at the *pargana* level it was called *gotsabha* or *majlis*. Besides this, there were *jatigota*, *Dharma Sabha* *Kula Sabha*, which deal with the matters affecting the caste, religion or a group of families of the village community respectively. The *panchayat* or *gota* was a highly respected body and was equated with the god or the parents, and the people considered themselves as its offspring. The avowed policy of the *gota* was to bring about a compromise between the two contending parties. The violation of the decisions of the *gota* or showing disrespect to *gota* considered to be a serious crime.¹⁴⁰ In the case of *jatigota* the community was very particular about the observance of the rules of the caste, which were very rigid in the medieval period. A document of 1693 lays down the norms regarding the re-admission of a converted person into his original caste. It says, "the rules of the caste must be observed, they should not be compared with the (size) of a sesamum as far as its significance is concerned. A person should be re-admitted or refused to be admitted into the caste only after consulting all the members of the caste. The moral law is that unconventional behaviour should not be permitted."¹⁴¹ The Poona *shimpi* (tailor) community admitted one person within its fold, which was disapproved by the *shimpis* of Saswad on the ground that the Poona *shimpis* alone could decide an issue affecting the entire *Shimpi* community.¹⁴²
- 9 4 Balutedars played a prominent part in the functioning of the village councils. In a dispute regarding the boundaries of a village, the opinion of *mahars* was considered as conclusive.¹⁴³ A document of 1642 A.D. mentions that in a case between the two potters of *qasba* Khed regarding seniority, it was decided that the *balutedars* of the village be consulted as they knew all the details of the case. Similarly, the decision regarding the appointment of a *patil* was withheld for some time because of the disapproval of the *balutedars*.¹⁴⁴
- 9 5 The number of the members of the council both at village level & *pargana* level was not a fixed one. In the *panchayat* all *watandars*, *mirasdars* and *balutedars*

were the members. At the *pargana* level, the *pargana* and village hereditary officials, the officers of the state, the leaders of the village communities concerned with a particular dispute were invited. For instance, in a *mahajara* (decision of the Shirval *pargana* of the year 1623), more than 175 persons were present.¹⁴⁵ A *mahajar* of 1675 gives the names of 238 persons attending the *gotsabha* of which 209 were the *watandars* of the villages in the vicinity.¹⁴⁶

- 9.6 The king generally did not interfere with the decisions of the council unless a complaint was lodged with him challenging its integrity. Shivaji, in one case, told the aggrieved party, "If you are willing, the case will be referred to the *panchayat* of your village, if you so wish it can be sent to a different place, or it can be referred to a *gotsabha* comprising the *mokadams* and *mokhatsar* of the neighbouring villages, and the *mokadam* and *barabalute* of the village concerned. You decide, and whatever suits you will be done."¹⁴⁷ It means that the king not only respected the authority of the *panchayat* or *gotsabha*, but also took precaution to avoid any injustice being done to the aggrieved party. Rajaram and Sahu, the successors of Shivaji, followed the same practice. When the dispute involving the *watan* right of more than 20 villages came up, Rajaram at once directed it to the local *panchayats* for their decision.¹⁴⁸ The central authority generally accepted and endorsed the decisions of the council. Elphinstone writes that "the decisions of even Ramashastri Prabhune, (The Chief Justice of the Peshwas known for his integrity) and his deputies were usually mere reiteration of the decisions of the *panchas* to whom the cases had been referred, though their names do not appear in the decrees."¹⁴⁹
- 9.7 Elphinstone and the collectors under him had realized the importance of the *panchayats*, particularly in deciding civil cases, but in the course of time, due to various reasons they ceased to exist in the Deccan. According to Maine, the village *panchayats* could function because there was no government outside the village capable to give authority to any other court due to the prevalence of anarchy in the country. This view is not tenable as the British government did not give its judicial powers to them, but set up its own courts to decide civil and criminal cases by its officers and refused to implement the decisions of the *panchayats*.¹⁵⁰ A good deal of information regarding the social and economic history of the medieval Deccan can be gathered from an indepth study of the composition, functioning and decisions of the village council.
- 9.8 This brief resume of the various aspects of the village communities in the Deccan (Maharashtra), and the types of sources which could be consulted for understanding them, I hope, will be some help to the young research scholars of Rural Society and Economy.

NOTES AND REFERENCES

- 1 B I S M Q, XV No 2, 1934, XV No 4, 1935
- 2 R S Sharma, General President's Address, 36th Session, Aligarh, 1975, P 3
- 3 See their Presidential Addresses of 34th (1973) 38th (1977), 43rd (1982) and 45th (1984) sessions respectively

- 4 Bernard S Cohn 'African Models and Indian Histories' in Fox Richard G (ed) *Realm and Region in Traditional India*, Delhi 1977, p 95
- 5 Adam Smith remarks, 'The Government of an exclusive company of merchants is perhaps the worst of all government for any country whatever', p 98
 "Commerce and Sovereignty are incompatible' Lord Lauderdale P 116 Both quotations are from Barber William J *British Economic thought and India*, Oxford, 1975
- 6 For a detailed account of this, see N V Sovani's article "British Impact on India" in Guy S Metraux and Francois Crouzet (Ed) *The New Asia*, UNESCO publication - Mentor Book USA, 1965, p 125
 - See also Harnetty Peter, *Imperialism and Free Trade Lancashire and India in the Mid nineteenth Century*, Vancouver, 1972 P 79 He writes "In May 1863, Charles Wood was asked to supply the ryots with American Seed, and was requested some sort of apostles be sent around the country to indoctrinate the ryots and spread the elements of sound agriculture' Ranade, Rekha, *Sir Bartle Frere and his times*, Mittal, New Delhi, 1990, p 54-75
- 7 For a detailed account, see Ravinder Kumar, *Western India in the nineteenth Century*, London, 1968, Chapter III - "The Utilitarian Deluge" pp 84-127, S Ambhirajan *Classical political Economy and British Policy in India* New Delhi 1978 pp 22-58, H Green, *The Deccan Ryots and Their Land Tenures*, Poona, 1852
- 8 S J Verma, *Mountstuart Elphinstone in Maharashtra*, Bagachi, Calcutta, 1981 p 7
- 9 Bernard S Cohn, op cit pp 103-104 The village communities are little Republics, having nearly everything they want within themselves, and almost independent of foreign relations. They seem to last where nothing else lasts. Dynasty after Dynasty troubles down, revolution succeeds revolution, Hindu, Pathan, Mughal, Mahratta, Sikh, English are masters in turn, but the village communities remain the same" For details see Panigrahi, Devendra, *Charles Metcalfe in India Ideas and Administration*, Delhi, 1968, pp 88-100
- 10 Mukherjee Nilmani, *The Ryotwari System in Madras (1792-1827)*, Calcutta, 1962, P 150 e.g. Burton Stein, *Thomas Munro*, Delhi, 1989, pp 121-138 See also Louise Durnont 'The Village community from Munro to Maine' *Contributions to Indian Sociology* Ed Louis Durnont No IX, Dec 1966, Paris, p 69
- 11 H George Franks, "Village Debt Settlement", *Indian Journal of Economics* IX, Part I P 45 See also K A Ballhatchet, *Social Policy and Social Change in Western India (1817-1850)* London, 1957, pp 30-31 Elphinstone 'wrote to his friend Adam at Calcutta, The basis of my system is that nothing ought to be altered without great and apparent necessity, at all events not until we thoroughly understand the present system and see how it works I am convinced that the Marhatta plan if cleaned of abuses and vigorously acted on, will do very well for the people" (11 6 1818) *ibid*, p 105, See S J Verma, op cit, pp 84-93, Munro was also not for change He wrote to Elphinstone, "English men are as great fanatics in politics as Mohammedans in religion They suppose that no country can be saved without English institutions The natives of this country have enough of their own for every useful object of internal administration, and if we maintain and project them our work will be easy If disturbed by innovations, the country will be in a very few months settled itself (12 May, 1818) Quoted in G R Gleig, *The Life of Major General Sir Thomas Munro* London, 1830 III, p 252-53
- 12 MSS EURDO 464 dt 17 June 1821 - Question No 96, India Office Library, London
- 13 Daniel Thorner, "Marx on India and the Asiatic Mode of Production" in *Contribution to Indian Sociology*, (O S) No IX Dec 1966 He maintains that Marx used Indian materials to elaborate his theories of social history of Europe, but ultimately after analysing the Indian problem, he no longer believed that India or Asia offered the key to the beginnings of human history pp 33-34

- 14 Ronald Inden, *Imagining India*, Oxford, 1990, p 132, The full title of Mark Wilks book *Historical Sketches of the South of India is an attempt to trace the History of Mysore*, published in 1810 The Mysore Government reprinted it in two volumes in 1932
- 15 Marx says, "The simplicity of the organization for production in this self-sufficient communities that constantly reproduce themselves in the same form, and when accidentally destroyed spring up again on the spot with the same name - this simplicity supplies the key to the secret of the unchangeableness of Asiatic societies, an unchangeableness in such a striking contrast with the constant dissolution and refounding of Asiatic States, and the never ceasing changes of dynasty The structure of the economical elements of society remains unchanged by the storm-clouds of the political sky", Karl Marx Articles on India, P P H Bombay, 1943, p 5 (Introduction by R P Dutt)
- 16 *Ibid*, p 6 Marx in his article on "The British Rule in India" (Published in New York 'Daily Tribune' dated June 25, 1853) writes, "England has broken down the whole frame-work of Indian Society, without any symptoms of reconstruction yet appearing This loss of his old world, with no gain of new one, imparts a particular kind of melancholy to the present misery of the Hindoo, and separates Hindostan, ruled by Britain, from all its ancient traditions, and from the whole of its past history" *Ibid*, p 23
- 17 *Ibid*, p 9 (Introduction)
- 18 "We must not forget that these idyllic village communities, inoffensive though they may appear had always been the solid foundation of oriental despotism, that they retained the human mind within the smallest possible compass, making it the unresisting tool of superstition, enslaving it beneath traditional rules, depriving it of all grandeur, and historical energies We must not forget that these little communities were contaminated by distinctions of caste and slavery, that they subjugated man to external circumstances instead of elevating man the sovereign of circumstances, that they transformed a self-developing social state into never changing natural destiny, and thus brought about a brutalizing worship of nature, exhibiting the degradation in the fact that man, the sovereign of nature, fell down on his knees in adoration of Hanuman, the monkey and *sabbala*, the cow ' *Ibid*, pp 28-29
- 19 D D Kosambi, *An Introduction to Indian History*, Bombay, 1958, pp 10-11
- 20 Irfan Habib, "Economic History of Medieval India" in *Survey of Research in Economic and Social History of India*, ed R S Sharma, I C S S R, New Delhi, 1985, p 120
- 21 Daniel Thorner "Marx on India" op cit, p 34, p 44
- 22 Fukazawa Hiroshi, *The Medieval Deccan* Delhi, 1991, p 202
- 23 A S Altekar, *History of the Village Communities in Western India*, Bombay, 1927, pp 121-127
- 24 "Marx and Maine maintained that earlier Indian Society had been stagnant because it had as its base the self-sustaining village community and consequently declined to find such historical developments in India as developed in the West Karl Marx and H S Maine gave a negative assessment to the role of village communities, which they saw as the main cause of the stagnant nature of India", N Karashima *South Indian History and Society Studies from Inscriptions A D 850-1800*, Delhi, 1984, p XVII & P 41, "Rural India is by all accounts in a state of flux, there is a flood of publications and the common denominator of the modern publications - historians, sociologists or anthropologists is the refutation of the image of immobility and stagnation in South Asia" Jan Breman 'Of Peasants, Migrants and Paupers' OUP 1985, Introduction A great deal has been heard about 'Changeless India' and about the timeless and changeless Indian Village If this book does nothing else, it should at least dispel this naive notion T Scarlett Epstein *South India Yesterday, Today and Tomorrow - Mysore Village Revisited* MacMillan, 1973, p 311
- 25 Maine, Sir Henry S, *Village Communities in the East and West*, London 1881 (4th Ed), p 12 He was a Law Member of the Governor General's Council in India (1862-1869) during this

period he also acted simultaneously as Vice-Chancellor of Calcutta University for four years. He became the first Professor of Comparative Jurisprudence at Oxford and Cambridge.

- 26 *Ibid*, p 103. It would be interesting to note the description of the Anglo-Saxon village. "This Community (Anglo-Saxon) made its home in a tract of land with roughly defined boundaries. As a rule, this tract had its centre in a clustered village of from ten to thirty families, the typical Anglo-Saxon form, but the farm houses and cottages might be spread out in scattered hamlets. The village communities were no mere jumble of people, but were well organized for local business, this was dealt with on democratic lines, by the 'Moot' or the village meeting, held some times in the Church, but more commonly in the open air, either under the Moot-tree or on the Moot-hill. There such questions would be considered as the management of the common arable fields, the fencing of that part of the land on which the hay and crops were growing, and the arrangements for ploughing and sowing, reaping and threshing, and there would be decided the number of beasts, sheep and pigs that might be turned out on the common field when not under cultivation, and the method of dividing up the lot of meadows." Montague Fordham, *A short History of English Rural Life From the Anglo-Saxon Invasion to the present Time*, London, 1916 (reprint 1919), pp 10-14.
- 27 Bernard Cohn, *Realm and Region*, op cit, p 95, Daniel Thorner, *The shaping of Modern India*, New Delhi, 1980 p 261.
- 28 Louis Dumont, "The Village Community from Munro to Maine" *Contributions to Indian Sociology*, op cit, p 80.
- 29 His other works on India are -
 - (i) *The Land systems of British India* 3 vols, OUP, 1892
 - (ii) "A study of the Dekkan village, their origin and Development" *JRAS*, Bombay, 1897, pp 239-79
 - (iii) "The Villages of Goa in the early Sixteenth Century", *JRAS*, Bombay, 1900, p 261-297
 - (iv) *The Origin and growth of Village communities in India*, London, 1899. It includes in more concise form his conclusions.
- 30 *Imagining India*, op cit, p 142.
- 31 Quoted by Bernard Cohn, - "Indian Society and Culture" in *Structure and Change in Indian Society* ed M. Singer and B. Cohn. Chicago, 1968, p 20.
- 32 Baden-Powell, attacks Maine for omitting *ryotwari* form of village or the frontier tribal villages in the Punjab, but at the same time justifies this omission for non-availability of certain records. "It can hardly be doubted that the information available when Sir H S. Maine wrote was very far from being what it has since become. None of the reports on the Punjab frontier tribal villages were written or at least available in print, and the greater part of the best Settlement Reports of North West Provinces, Oudh and Punjab are dated in years subsequent to the publication of *Village Communities*. Further, the settlement Reports of the central Provinces, the District Manuals of Southern India, and the Survey Reports and Gazetteers of the Bombay Districts, were many of them not written, and the others were hardly known beyond the confines of those Presidencies" (Eventually this explains the sources consulted by Baden Powell for his 'Village Communities') *The Indian Village Community* (Indian Ed.), 1972, P 4.
- 33 Jan Breman, *The Shattered Image*, etc, P 17.
- 34 "Even though Baden-Powell thought of himself as attacking Maine, his arguments are of the same type as Maine's and lead in the same direction. The Victorian students of the Indian village were interested in the village as a type from which they could infer evolutionary stages and which could be used to compare similar developments or stages in other parts of the world." Cohn, (1968) op cit, p 20-21.

- 35 Irfan Habib, "Economic History of Medieval India" *op cit*, p 120
- 36 A S Altekar, *op cit*, P IX
- 37 D D Kosambi, *An Introduction to the Study of Indian History*, Bombay, 1975 (2nd Ed) p 12
- 38 Reid A Bryson and John E Ross "Climate Variation and Implication for World Food Production" *World Development*, Vol 5 (1977) P 503
- 39 M K Dhavalikar, *The First Farmers of the Deccan*, Pune, 1988 & pp 37-51
- 40 H D Sankalia, M K Dhavalikar and Z D Ansari, *Excavations at Inamgaon*, Pune, 1988
- 41 Dhavalikar, *op cit*, p 72
- 42 Dhavalikar, "Farming to pastoralism, effects of climatic change in the Deccan" *The Walking Larder pattern of Domestication, Pastoralism and pre-dation*, Juliet Cutton Brock Ed), London, 1989 pp 156-168
- 43 B D Chattopadhyaya, "Urban Centres in Early Medieval India An Overview", *Situating Indian History (for Sarvepalli Gopal)*, OUP, 1986, pp 8-33, See also his *Aspects of Rural Settlement and Rural Society in Early Medieval India*, Calcutta, 1990 "The archaeologists have argued that the first deurbanization occurred in India around the beginning of the second millenium B C because of the drastic change affecting the rainfall, and the decline of long distance trade with West Asia Consequently the Indus Valley cities of Harappa and Mohenjodaro were gradually abandoned and migrations to countryside resulting in the settlement of villages" Gurdeep Singh, "The Indus Valley culture as seen in the context of post-global climatic and ecological studies in north-western India," *Archaeological and Physical Anthropology in Oceania*, VI (1971) pp 177-189 (Reference given by M K Dhavalikar)
- 44 R S Sharma, *Urban Decay in India (300-1000c)*, Delhi, 1987, p 172 - "The village not only killed the cities and guilds, but shows its definite ideological mark upon the super-structure of the 'golden age', - D D Kosambi, *An introduction*, etc *op cit*, p 306
- 45 Sharma, *op cit*, pp 169-170
- 46 Kosambi, *op cit*, p 313
- 47 Sharma, *op cit*, pp 172-174
- 48 N K Wagle and A R Kulkarni, *Vallabha's Parasrama Cantra*, Bombay, 1976 pp 21-22 (Text) p 148 Translation It is a historical biography (Caritra Grantha) in verse form in Marathi written some time after the death of Peshwa Madhavarao in 1773 by Vallabha, a Braman of Nasik It gives an account of the Brahman Peshwas of the 18th Century Maharashtra, who considered themselves as the essence of Bhargava Parashram (Bhargava amshadhari)
- 49 N V Mandlik, (Ed) *Writings and speeches of the late Honourable Rao Saheb Vishwanath Narayan Mandlik*, Bombay, 1896, pp 201-234 Mandlik presented a paper entitled "Preliminary observations on a Document Giving an Account of the Establishment of a new village named MURUDA in Southern Konkan" Read at a meeting of B B R Asiatic Society on 9th February 1865 Kosambi mentions the formation of Crown villages, in which the King as per the dictates of *Arthashastra*, is advised to settle the neighbouring rulers' waste land without fighting, if possible Even conquest, therefore, was for the purpose of settling new territory hitherto remained unsettled " Kosambi *op cit*, p 228-29 The Veraval stone Inscription of 1264 A D speaks of the construction of a *mijigiti (masjid)* by a shipowning merchant, (nakhuda/navittaka) Nuruddin Piroz of Hormuz at Somnath The record begins with an invocation for Allah who is given the epithet '*Vishvanatha*' (lord of the Universe) '*Sunyarupa*' (one whose form is Void) '*Vishvarupa*' (having various forms) and '*Lakshyalakshya*' (visible and at the same time invisible) '*Shunyarupa*' in this inscription goes well with the '*shunyalaya*' in the Marathi document of Mandlik mentioned above See *EI*, XXXIV, 1961-62, p 141-150, re-edited by D C Sircar, from *IA*, XI, 1882, p 241-45

- 50 V K Rajwade, *Marathyanchariya It hasachi Sachane* XX, Dhule 1915, p 242 (hereafter as MIS)
- 51 A R Kulkarni *Maharashtra in the Age of Shivaji*, Pune, 1969, p 98
- 52 S Nurul Hasan, 'Three studies of Zamindari System' (MSS from Berlin, Paris and London written between 1767-1795), *Medieval India A Miscellany* Vol I, AMU, Asia 1969, p 337
- 53 तथा शूद्रजन प्राया सुखसमृद्ध वृषीवला।
क्षेत्रोपयोग भूमध्ये वसतिग्रामि सजिता॥
(*Markandeya Purana*)
- 54 *Imagining India op cit* quoted p 133 The author says, 'Each village was an inner world, traditional organic community self-sufficient in its economy, patriarchal in its governance, surrounded by an outer one of the other hostile villages and despotic governments' *ibid* p 133
- 55 R N Goodine, *Report on the village communities of the Deccan with special reference to the claims of the village officers in the Ahmednagar collectorate to purbhara Huks or Remuneration from their villages independent of what they received from the Government*, Bombay, 1852, p 5
- 56 G R Madan, *Western Sociologists on Indian Society*, London 1979 Marx considers a village as a geographical unit, 'a tract of country comprising some hundred or thousand acres of arable and waste land, politically viewed, it resembles a corporation or township' p 12 Spencer says that as simple family groups grew into compound family groups, so those becoming too large for a single household grew into clusters of households house communities, develop into village communities", p 47, Max Weber observes that in a self-sufficient rural economy of early history, the typical neighbourhood is the village, a group of households bordering upon each other", p 74
- 57 Louis Dumont, "The village community from Munro to Maine" *Contributions to Indian Sociology*, No IX, Paris, 1966, p 67
- 58 "The most difficult thing for a foreigner to understand about the village community is that it is a functional and territorial group in one, representing and fulfilling common interests economic, judicial and religious' Quoted from his *Democracies of the East* p 354 by Weber *op cit*, p 149
- 59 Chattopadhyaya, *op cit*, p 17
- 60 Iravati Karve, "The Indian Village", *Deccan College Bulletin*, 18, Jan 1957, pp 73-75
- 61 Madan, *op cit*, pp 74-75
- 62 Deccan comprises the modern States of Maharashtra, Goa, Karnatak and Andhra Pradesh However, in the present study, the Deccan Village means mainly the village in Maharashtra the study of which is based mainly on Marathi sources along with others
- 63 Sardesai, G S (compiler), *Hand Book to the Records in the Alienation Officer Poonja* Bombay, 1933, pp 23-25
- 64 *Ibid*, pp 17-18
- 65 V T Gune, "Land laws' in *History of Medieval Deccan*, *op cit* p 544
- 66 The records referred to here are from *rumals* or bundles of Indapur Village of the *Jamat* section of the Pune Archives, Pune
- 67 *Manu Smriti*, (Ch 9 Verse 44)
- 68 'Whosoever cultivates waste lands does thereby acquire the property of them a *zimme* (infidel) became proprietor of them in the manner as a Mussalman' Wilks *op cit* p 127
- 69 *Ibid*, p 135

- 70 Embree Ainslie T "Land Holding and British Institutions" - Frykenberg *op cit* , pp 33-52, P 43
- 71 *Ibid*, p 47
- 72 "The Farman to Muhammad Hashim (Art 2) lays down flatly that 'if after investigation it appears that despite their capacity to undertake cultivation and (the availability of) irrigation they (the peasants) have withdrawn their hands from cultivation' the revenue officials should "coerce and threaten them and visit them with imprisonment and corporal punishment" If even despite these compulsive methods, a peasant was found incapable of cultivating the soil, his right to the land lapsed at least temporarily and could be transferred to another, Irfan Habib, *Agrarian op cit* , pp 115-116
- 73 Embree quoted from S M Ikram's *Muslim Civilization in India*, *op cit* , p 45
- 74 Irfan Habib *Agrarian* pp 111-126
- 75 *IESHR*, I-IV, April-June, 1964
- 76 V T Gune, "Land Lava" *History of Medieval Deccan*", *op cit* , p 559
- 77 *Ibid*, p 560
- 78 *Ibid*, p 558
- 79 *Ibid*, p 561
- 80 Ramachandra Pant Amatya *Ajnyapatra* (Marathi) translated into English by S V Puntambekar in *JIH* Vol VIII, parts I and II and reprinted as *A Royal Edict*", Madras, 1929, pp 33-35
- 81 A R Kulkarni, *Maharashtra in the Age of Shivaji*, Poona, 1969, pp 69-72
- 82 *Ibid*, p 73 - Also see V K Rajwade, (ed) *Marathyanchnya Itihasachi Sadhane*, (MIS) Dhule, 1912, XV, letters 2,3,4,1,273, 279
- 83 K Marx, *Articles on India*, *op cit* , p 3
- 84 For a detailed discussion, see D N Jha, *Studies in Early Indian Economic History*, Delhi, 1980, pp 59-64, Lallanji Gopal, *The Economic Life of Northern India*, Motilal Banarasi Das, New Delhi, 1965, pp 32-37
- 85 A S Altekar, *State and Government in Ancient India*, Reprint, Delhi, 1972, pp 270-271
- 86 Irfan Habib, *Agrarian op cit* p 195
- 87 A R Kulkarni *Maharashtra op cit* , p 154, *Shivakalin Maharashtra* (Marathi) *op cit* , p 76
- 88 W H Moreland, *The Agrarian System of Moslem India*, Delhi, Reprint, 1990, p 209
- 89 For the terms used for these village offices in different parts of the country, Wilson's Glossary, would be more useful. Molesworth's *Marathi-English Dictionary*, and M T Patwardhan's *Persian-Marathi Dictionary* as well as Y N Kelkar's *Atihasik-Shada Kosh* (Marathi) are very useful for understanding Marathi terms. A Glossary compiled by Khwaja Yasin (Ajiz) in 1790 at the instance of a British Officer, and introduced to us by Qeyamuddin Ahmad through the Aligarh Muslim University publication *Medieval India*, A Miscellany II Asia, Bombay, 1972, pp 275-281 is useful for a comparative study of North and South
- 90 A R Kulkarni, 'Service-tenures Under the Marathas' *Proceedings of the Historical Records Commission* XXX viii, New Delhi, 1967, pp 100-107. Amatya's *Ajnyapatra* says, It is merely a language of common convention that the *Deshmukhs* and *Deshkulkarnis* (*Deshpandes*), *Patils* and other hereditary right-holders are to be called *watandars*. They are no doubt small but independent, chiefs of territories. *Royal Edict op cit* p 33
- 91 A R Kulkarni *Service Tenures* , *op cit* pp 100-101
- 92 *Shiva Charitra Sahitya (BISMQ)* Vol 3 43, Rajwade - MIS 15 272, 392
- 93 A R Kulkarni, *Maharashtra op cit* , pp 66-68

- 94 MSS EUR-D 464 Grant Duff's letter from Satara to William Chaplin, Commissioner of Poona, dated 17th June 1821 (India Office Library, London)
- 95 *Royal Edict, op cit*, pp 33-38
- 96 Forrest G W (Ed) *Officials Writings of M Elphinstone*, London, 1884 p 379
- 97 *Ibid*, p 297 See also 3 576, which mentions the possession of land by paying *nazar* or *sherani* (money paid to the court in satisfaction of some purpose)
- 98 D N Jha, *op cit*, pp 68-69
- 99 SCS See I 21, (1623 A D), 22 (1625 A D) and 41 (1653 A D), SPD 31 II (1628-29 AD) 15 (1634 A D)
- 100 V T Gune, *Judicial* pp 14,20
- 101 Grant Duff, *A History of the Maharattas*, OUP, 1921, Vol I, p 65
- 102 MIS Rajwade, 18 22
- 103 S N Sen, *Shiva Chhatrapati* (Translation of Sabhadasad), Calcutta, Reprint, 1976, p 64
- 104 V T Gune, *op cit*, p 133
- 105 Rawar Deshmukh Papers, B I S M, Pune Pune Archives, Monglai Section, Rumat No 173 1745
- 106 A R Kulkarni, *Maharashtra, op cit*, pp 33-45 and 121-123
- 107 H Kotani, 'The Vatan-system in the 16th Century Deccan' - Towards a New Concept of Indian Feudalism", *Acts Asiatica* - 48, Tokyo, 1985, p 42 and 50
- 108 H Kotani, "Land Relations in the pre-British Maharashtra and British Concept of Landed Property" to be published in the proceedings of the II International Conference on *Maharashtra Society and Culture*, held in Poona in June 1987
- 109 R S Sharma *Urban Decay op cit*, p 177
- 110 See Wilson's Glossary, for details of this system prevailing in various parts of the country See also, for instance, the monographs of G S Dikshit and K S Shivanna for Karnatak where the balutedars are called *ayagars*, M P R Reddy for Andhra Pradesh, Sarda Raju for Tamil Nadu, referred to earlier
- 111 Altekar, *op cit*, p 91
- 112 *Jnyaneshwari*, Rajwade (Ed), Government of Maharashtra publication, Bombay, 1960 p 422
 अहो जीवु एख उखिता। वस्ती करू वाटे जाता ॥
 आणि प्राणु हा बलीता म्हणोनी जागे ॥ 13 : 35 ॥
 Venabai, the disciple of Saint-poet Ramdas of Shivaji's times, in her poetic work "Seeta Swayamvar, Dhule, 1913, mentions *baluti* as the *watandars* of Ayodhya"
- येस जय प्रताप किर्ति । हे अयोध्येची बलुती ॥ 6 : 63 ॥
- 113 See Molesworth's *Marathi English Dictionary*, Bombay, 1873 and 'Marathi Shabdakosh' Y R Date, Pune, 1934
- 114 M R Bodas, *Prachya Va Pashchyatya Deshatil Gramsamstha* (Marathi version of Sir Henry Maine's *Village Communities*, with an Introduction), Bombay, 1893, Introduction, p 27
- 115 M G Panse, *Yadavkalin Maharashtra*, Bombay, 1963, p 82
- 116 For instance, Jnyaneshwar mentions the number as Eighteen -
 अठरही बलीते ते केले घडीते ।
 खळे दान देते । सनकादिता ॥ 213 ॥
 P N Joshi (Ed) *Jnyandev Gatha*, Suvichar, Pune, 1980

- 117 Gune, *Judicial op cit*, p 142 - *Mahajar* of 1474 A D , A R Kulkarni, *Maharashtra op cit*, p 48, Symbols of the *balutedars* Potter (Wheel) barber (mirror), carpenter (chisel), shoe-maker (thread and pricker), washerman (mallet), *gurav* (censer), goldsmith (hammer), *mulana* (knife), etc
- 118 Rajwade, *MIS* 18 4 pp 6-12
- 119 K S Shivanna, M P R Reddy, Sarada Raju, *op cit*
- 120 *BISMQ* Year VI Nos 1-4 p 70, - Gune *op cit*, p 166 - For references to *balute* in different periods see *SCS I* 21 p 33 of 1623 AD, *SCS 2* 218 of 1661, *Bavada Daftar*, (Ed by K G Sabnis), Vol I pp 11-16 of 1670 *Aithasik Samkeerna Sahitya* (Ed by V V Khare) Vol 7 32, *Gune op cit*, p 328-29, *Chandrachud Daftar* Vol I 4 of 1734, Rajwade, *MIS*, 16 55, PP 59 63 OF 1735
- 121 Thomas Coats *op cit*, p 194
- 122 A R Kulkarni, *Maharashtra op cit*, p 47
- 123 One of the 'interrogations' of Elphinstone which he circulated among the collectors under his charge was about *Barra Bulotee* (No 97) Captain Grant, on the basis of his personal enquiries and records from Satara gave a detailed reply to the queries regarding powers, duties, emoluments, perquisites, mode of their payment etc See MSS EUR-D 464, India Office Library London, for details as well as his *History op cit*, pp 29-32
- 124 *Ibid*, Interrogation No 97
Grant Duff has not properly understood the terms *hadki**hadola*, which are generally used together as the *watan* or *inam* land of *mahar*. Molesworth makes a distinction between *hadki* and *hadola*, the former being the ground allotted to the *mahars*, and the latter means the land grant for lifting the dead beasts from the village habitation. *Hadki*, therefore, does not mean *inam* for the attendance. The term used for such duties in Marathi records is *rabata mahar* signifying thereby that a member of the *mahar* community rendering free service to the village officers, for a period of time in a year. A *Mahar* may hold both *mharki* (*maharki*) and *hadki-hadola* inams together, like the Kulkarni holding the additional *watan* of *Joshi*, the village astrologer
- 125 Grant Duff *History op cit*, Vol I fn 1 p 30 *Mahar* was considered as *watandar* in the Maratha country, and this *watan* continued even during the British period by special legislation. However, Dr B R Ambedkar, the champion of the cause of *maharas* was against the continuance of *mahar watan* in the Bombay Presidency as per the Bombay Hereditary Act, 1874, as he considered this *watan* as the greatest barrier in the progress of the *mahar* community, the chief cause of its deterioration, killer of the ambition and self-respect of its members, and thereby making them dependent on others. For details, see his writings in *Bahishkruta Bharat* and *Mook Nayak* reprinted by Government of Maharashtra, Bombay, 1990, and Ed by Vasant Moon - No I dt 2 9 1927, p 90, No II, dt 16 9 1927, p 98 and No III dt 30 9 1927, p 106. See also Daniel Thorner (Ed) *The Social Framework of Agriculture, op cit*, chapter 7, 14 and 15 (H Mann's articles) dealing with the present status of *maharas* and *mangs* of the Deccan, particularly of Poona and Saswad, based on field work, for a better understanding of the community, - See also Thomas Coats' account of *balutedars* of Loni Coats, *op cit*, PP 197-203. *Mahar* was called *Mahapurukh* in Konkan, see C K Dikshit *Adivaryachi Mahakali*, Pune, 1936, p 151
- 126 Grant says, "He (*mang*) is executioner. He beats the *halgi*, large and small *tambunn* in front of the temple. The *mangs* are a hardy strong built race of men but neither so active as the *Ramoshis*, nor so intelligent as the *mahars*" MSS EUR-D, 464 *op cit*
- 127 A R Kulkarni *Shivakalin Maharashtra, op cit*, p 39
- 128 Prabhakar Mande, *Gavgadyabahr*, *op cit*, Ch I for details
- 129 Grant Duff, *op cit*, I pp 30-31 fn i, See also Thomas Coats, *op cit*, p 203

- 130 A I Chicherov *Indian Economic Development in the 16th-18th Centuries Outline History of Crafts and Trade*, Moscow, 1971, pp 15, 21, 31
- 131 H Fukazawa, *The Medieval Deccan, Peasants, Social systems and states*, OUP, 1991, pp 199-244
- 132 Max Weber, *General Economic History* (Translated from original German into English by Frank H Knight), London, 1923, pp 22-23
- 133 Goodine, *Report, op cit*, pp II, 23
- 134 Fukazawa, *op cit*, p 219-222
- 135 R V Outurkar, (Ed) - *Peshwekalin Samajik va Arthik Patravayavahar*, Pune, 1950, p 65
- 136 N G Bhavare, "Shivakalin Vethbegar' BISM (Q) Vol 63 No 2, Oct 1984 pp 15 25 - S C S 9 63, 71, A R Kulkarni, *Maharashtra, op cit*, p III
- 137 Fukazawa, *op cit*, pp 131-147
- 138 Bodas, *op cit*, pp 25-28
- 139 M G Panse, *Yadvakalin Maharashtra*, Bombay 1963, pp 80-82
- 140 Rajwade, *MIS* 15 p 25 S C S 2 98 and 295
- 141 SCS 9 83 pp 86-87
- 142 Oturkar, *op cit* pp 133-138
- 143 Rajwade, *MIS* 18 4 pp 6-12 See also Coats, *op cit*, p 203
- 144 SCS I 27 p 49-50, Rajwade, *MIS* 13 15 p 118
- 145 SCS I 21, p 33
- 146 Gune, *op cit*, pp 196-198
- 147 D B Parasnis, (Ed) *Nivada Patra* p 12
- 148 Rajwade, *MIS* XV 12
- 149 Elphinstone, *Report, op cit*, p 68
- 150 Ballhatchet, *op cit*, p 107-113, Altekar, *op cit*, pp 52-53 *Panchavats* on the medieval pattern are still found functioning in some tribal areas

ABBREVIATION

MIS *Marathyanchya Itihasachi Sadhane* (Ed) V K Rajwade

I

ANCIENT INDIA

ADDRESS OF THE SECTIONAL PRESIDENT

COMMUNALISM, INTEGRATION AND ALLIED PROBLEMS: ANCIENT INDIAN PERSPECTIVE

N.N. BHATTACHARYYA*

Mr President, Fellow Delegates, Ladies and Gentlemen,

At the outset I would like to express my sincere gratitude to the Executive Committee of the Indian History Congress for selecting me to preside over the Ancient India section of the present session. I deem this honour as a recognition of the little work I have done in the field of ancient Indian history and civilization. This makes me elevated, though I am quite aware of my own shortcomings. I have not that competence to enlighten you with my own views of history or to preach sermons on the norms of historical research. Instead, I would like to share with you some of my stray thoughts on the question of communalism, integration and allied problems in ancient India - a topic which seems to be relevant for the present sessions, because our country is now passing through a period of serious crisis characterised by violent communal outbreaks caused by the fanning of communal passion and hatred by wily politicians.

- 1.1 To define the term 'communalism' is a matter of proverbial difficulty. Its literal meaning, as found in the lexicons, can hardly cope with the denotation it has acquired in space and time. As a minimal definition it may be said that communalism is a narrow view of life which cannot visualize mankind as a whole and go beyond the extent of a given community - ethnic, linguistic,

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religious and so forth. In a restricted sense, no one is devoid of communal instincts, since every individual belongs to a community. This community-consciousness which seems to have been conducive to the survival and welfare of a particular group of people at a remote period of history when reaches at its extreme height develops the dangerous potentiality of subjugating other communities. The intensity of communal hostility of course varies from place to place and is conditioned by various factors among which the economic factor is the most important that operates in a twofold way. On the one hand it strengthens the communal bond by way of providing a special economic basis for their survival. For example, in an ethnic community, such as the Todas, it is an all-round pastoral economy, in a religious community, such as the Jains, it is trade and commerce, among the castes, it is the specific caste-occupation. On the other hand, it is responsible for initiating a counter process - that of bring harmony among communities sentimentally hostile to each other - which is owing to the fact that at a certain stage of historical development interdependence of communities in relation to production, distribution and exchange becomes imperative.

- 1 2 While dealing with communalism, especially in the Indian context, the problem of religious intolerance is generally stressed, but its other forms pertaining to race, caste, language etc., are by no means insignificant or less dangerous. It should also be pointed out in this connection that there is a gulf of difference between the ancient and modern forms of communalism. While the earlier forms were caused by the natural hostilities among various groups of peoples owing to ethnic, linguistic or religious differences, the modern forms are specially manufactured and meticulously planned by cleverly exploiting the communal sentiments in order to secure political dividends. In ancient and medieval India there are numerous instances of communal strifes and even of some rulers pursuing policies of religious intolerance. But these were occasional outbursts, being sentimental reactions to certain specific situations appearing like bubbles on calm water leaving no tangible impact. The policy of religious intolerance pursued by some rulers was due to their personal fanaticism and not to any ulterior political motive. In most cases such policies proved abortive and detrimental to their own interest.

II

- 2 1 A section of historians subscribed to the myth that the civilization of ancient India was a concrete unity. The past is interpreted as if it was part of a single cultural trend. All contradictions were smoothed out and what could not be fitted into a preconceived mould was simply ignored. A popular view was thus formulated that in ancient India there was no communal problem and that unlike the West, religious and cultural tolerance was the source and spring of the functioning of public life. In formulating such an idealistic view they did not take into account the historical suggestivity of the fact that in a vast country like India where we have countless tribes and castes, numerous languages and an amazing variety of religious cults and sects, conflicts among various

groups were inevitable and that even the earliest source-book of Indian history, viz the *Rigveda*, refers to the abundance of ethnic, linguistic and religious conflicts. There are, in fact, more than one hundred passages in the *Rigveda* which refer to the ruthless attempts of exterminating or subjugating various groups of people not belonging to the cultural tradition of the dominant section.

- 2.2 Frequent references are made in the *Rigveda* to the differences in race, language, colour, culture and religion between the powerful section of the people, the so-called Aryas, and the Dasas, Dasyus, Panis and other ethnic groups who are described as belonging to a different culture, though having *purah* or fortified towns of their own, wealth of various kinds and chiefs with legendary fame. Their difference in physical characters with the Aryas is indicated by such expressions as *dasa-varna* or *dasa-colour*, *krishna-tvach* or black skin, *anas* or flat nose and so forth, while linguistic difference is indicated by the term *mridhra-vac*, meaning, 'as having unintelligible speech' attributed to them. But the greatest difference was in the field of religion. They are described as *a-karman* or riteless, *a-devayu* or indifferent to gods, *a-brahman* or without devotion, *a-yajvan* or not-sacrificing, *a-vrata* or without law, *anya-vrata* or following strange ordinances and *deva-piyu* or reviling the gods. They are also described as having *shishna* or phallus for their deity. Indra is repeatedly besought not to let the *shishnadevas* approach the place of sacrifice and the obliging Indra is said to have slain the *shishna*-worshippers while sacking the treasury of the 'hundred gated fort'.
- 2.3 The Rigvedic evidence quoted above is meant to suggest that the ethnic, linguistic and religious conflicts were historical realities even in hoary antiquity. Such conflicts happened everywhere in ancient world. In ancient Greece, where there was the fiction of equality and social homogeneity, the ruling community in each city-state was only a governing minority dominating a more numerous population of aliens and slaves. In Rome, the Romans remained a privileged race of rulers from which subject peoples extorted only a third-rate citizenship as a result of a series of sanguinary social wars. The history of medieval Europe was characterised by violent and prolonged religious and racial wars. Modern Europe also failed to bring equality and homogeneity among various ethnic, cultural and religious groups, notwithstanding the introduction of the nation-state concept based on the value of the almost mechanised individual, solely guided by the interest of the state, either for aggression or for self preservation. Even the countries which were till recently under the socialist order failed to prevent the outbursts of the forces of separatism and communalism of ethnic, linguistic and religious types.

III

- 3.1 In India, we have from the beginning such an amount of diversity in ethnic, linguistic and religious matters that the ideals of homogeneity became something out of question. The races were many, the languages were numerous, customs varied from region to region. Consequently the social

structure was a federated organisation in which there was a spirit of harmony which welded together the discordant elements. As a result, we find a tendency towards forming a social whole out of diverse and conflicting elements. A derivative social organisation was thus developed in ancient India which sought to put an end to the other alternative of ethnic wars and the extermination of the conquered. Such an organisation came into existence with hierarchical grades for diverse communities and with social duties and means of livelihood allotted to each of them. In this way the principle of equality was sacrificed, but in its place the lower orders received a guarantee for the protection of life and property and proper chances for the maintenance of life. The system had undoubtedly its defects but it did much to mitigate ethnic and other hostilities among different sections of peoples by the creation of economic compartments within the caste groups and entrusting each one of these with a peculiar function and means of livelihood.

- 3.2 A process of historical determinism must have given a concrete shape to this system which came into existence as a result of a long social evolution extending over centuries. The working of this process, however, did not escape the notice of the ancient law-givers-the authors of the Dharmasutras and Dharmashastras - who were eager to incorporate conflicting tribes of various cultural grades within the framework of an idealised fourfold social order and to rationalise their existence in the prescribed set up by inventing the theory of *varnasankara* or 'mixed castes' by which even the foreign tribes such as the Abhiras, Yavans, Shakas, Paradas, Kushanas, Cinas, etc., could be inducted into the scheme of the fourfold system. They tried to create a plural society by offering the detribalised castes special hereditary occupations and absolute cultural freedom to follow their traditional social practices, cults and rituals, laws and customs. But they were not ready to give them equality of status and position.
- 3.3 While one group of ancient Indian sociologists believed that such an ideal could be achieved by persuasive legislation in accordance with the historical trends, others thought that the use of force, the pressure from outside, was necessary to quicken the process. Kautilya, who was the champion of organised statehood, categorically prescribed that the tribes should be destroyed by any means-war, diplomacy, sabotage, bribery and any suitable corrupt practice-and that the tribals should be cut loose from their kinship bond and engaged in various professions required by the larger society or by the state. They should be lured to leave their original habitat and settle in villages and towns and given specific occupations to cater to the needs of broad-based societies. Being dissociated from their environment they would become occupational groups at the first stage and then transformed into castes of various status under the bigger fold of Hindu society according to the importance of their profession and service. To a certain extent these measures were followed in practice with considerable success, but complete detribalisation could not be possible, nor could the ethnic conflicts be averted.

IV

- 1 It is against this background that Asoka's policy of *dharma-vijaya*, i.e., conquest through peaceful means, is to be understood and evaluated. It was a means by which the hostile and unruly tribes were sought to be brought into the fold of the expanding state power voluntarily. Any type of imperialism or expansionism needs the pretext of certain ideal for its justification. The traditional method of conquest by force appeared to Asoka to be inconsistent with the reality of his time. The extermination of the Kalingas was achieved at a very high cost. Hence he required an ideal, a new state theory, which was likely to inspire the neighbouring peoples to transcend the narrow limits of their isolated group-life and to develop a broad and nationalistic approach, albeit under the shadow of the Maurya empire. He sought to achieve this by promoting the concepts of a welfare state, the paternal ruler, religious tolerance and an ideal society run on ethical principles. To popularise these concepts he made mass-contact through a well-organised publicity medium which he himself invented. Not only did he get numerous edicts containing his message inscribed and placed in different parts of his empire but he also appointed a class of officials whose job was to spread the message of the *Dharma* to the remotest corner of his empire. An open reference to the tribes is found in his R E XIII "Here in the king's dominions, among the Yavanas and the Kambojas, the Nabhakas and Nabhapanthis, the Bhojas, Andhras and Parimdas, everywhere they follow the teaching of the Beloved of the Gods in respect of *Dharma*" Asoka was also eager that the neighbouring kings should appreciate and adopt his viewpoint. It is difficult to determine to what extent the policy of Asoka was successful in bringing the whole of this subcontinent, comprising numerous communities with various degrees of material, mental and intellectual attainments, under an orderly pro-national framework without destroying their ethnic and cultural identity by force. The problem which Asoka had to confront persists, though in a different way, in India even today, and it is impossible to conceive of any means other than a non-violent and ideological approach by which it can be tackled.
- 2 It is also from the inscriptions of Asoka that we find that religious intolerance had become a vital problem of his time. The Buddhist and Jain canonical texts refer to sectarian rivalries and conflicts which often took a violent turn. Asoka thought that the problem of religious communalism could be solved only if the rulers had an impartial consideration for all sects and if people of various religious communities possessed a broadness of outlook. In the Shahbazgarhi version of his twelfth rock edict he says

"And the growth of the essentials of *Dharma* is possible in many ways. But its root lies in restraint in regard to speech, which means that there should be no extolment of one's own sect or disparagement of other sects. On the contrary other sects should be duly honoured in every way on all occasions.

"If a person acts in this way, he not only promotes his own sect but also benefits other sects. But if a person acts otherwise, he not only injures his own

sect but also harms other sects Truly, if a person extols his own sect and disparages other sects with a view to glorifying his sect owing merely to his attachment to it, he injures his own sect very severely by acting in that way Therefore, restraint in regard to speech is commendable, because people should learn and respect the fundamentals of one another's *Dharma*

"This indeed is the desire of the Beloved of the Gods that persons of all sects become well-informed about the doctrines of different religions and acquire pure knowledge" (D C Sircar's translation)

V

- 5 1 The law-givers of ancient India viewed the problem in a different perspective Because their purpose was to lay down rules for creating an integrated and harmonious social order, they were eager to uproot all causes of social tension While they were in favour of patronising the customs and rituals which became interwoven into the social fabric of ancient India so as to retain the cultural identity of various groups and communities among whom they were originally fostered, they did not favour the idea of any institutionalised religion in the Western sense prescribing a distinct mode of social and ethical life for the followers and the converts and enabling them to form a community of brethren under some organisation, the authority of which could be ignored only at the risk of being a renegade or excommunicated Instead, they insisted on a threefold way of life (*trivarga*) - *kama* or desire to survive and propagate, *artha* or earning a livelihood and *dharma* or following the laws of social behaviour - which could be universally followed in all conditions A fourth way which is *moksha* or liberation was also suggested But that was not meant for all It was only for the *mumukshu* or the seekers, manifold and dependent on the temperament, mental inclination and cultural standard of the aspirant
- 5 2 In other words the authors of the Dharmashastras had no preference for any special type of religious system, but they were not ready to give recognition to any system which was opposed to the social ideals prescribed by them That is why they were critical towards Buddhism and Jainism though they did not hesitate to incorporate the ideals of Buddhist and Jain ethics into their scheme of social welfare Manu, in fact, gives the exact Sanskrit versions of the sayings of the Buddha and Lord Mahavira, though he rejects outright the systems introduced by them At the same time it has to be remembered that the popular view that these systems and also those of the later monotheistic creeds like Vaishnavism, Shaivism and others were in constant conflict with the adherents of the orthodox Brahmanical religion is fallacious There was no such Brahmanical religion in Indian history, though there was no dearth of Brahmanical authority and influence on most religious systems including Buddhism and Jainism In fact the renowned Buddhist and Jain teachers and theoreticians were mostly brahmanas and they gave to these systems a new class-orientation through the process of Sanskritization

VI

- 6 1 The contents of the inscriptions of Asoka convincingly prove that although he had a great attraction towards Buddhism he had extended his patronage to all forms of religious systems of his time. Asoka's policy of patronage were followed by subsequent rulers. The Hathigumpha inscription of Kharavela is an important example. According to this inscription this great king of Kalinga in his first life was a pleasure-seeker, though he was a devout Jain. But his doctrine of non-violence did not prevent him from launching a career of conquest during which he restored with a fanatic religious zeal the Jina images originally taken away by a Nanda King of Magadha from Kalinga. As a devout Jain, he excavated a number of caves in the Kumari parvata (Khandagiri) and erected a monastery, but what is most interesting about him is that in his inscription he declared that though as an individual he was an orthodox Jain, even a *bhikshu-rajā* or monk-king, in discharging his royal duties, he was absolutely secular, extending his patronage to all sects and creeds.
- 6 2 The religion of the Kushana kings varied from individual to individual, and all of them displayed a spirit of patronising all the cults and sects belonging to the empire, and showed their special interest on the existing systems of their times through the coins issued by them. Among the Kushana kings, Kujula Kadphises was a convert to Buddhism as is indicated by the legends occurring on the reverse of his coins. His son and successor Wema Kadphises on the other hand was a follower of Shaivism. On the reverse of his coins is found representation of Shiva with two arms, hair in spiral top-knot and tiger's skin over left arm, grasping combined trident and battle-axe in right hand. The third Kushana king, Kanishka, was a Buddhist, but it is interesting to note that the reverse of his coin types represents Greek, Sumerian, Elamite, Persian and Indian deities. This diversity of deities points to a sort of religious eclecticism on the one hand and reflects the various forms of religion that prevailed in different parts of his vast empire on the other, and suggests that the king had to concern himself, for the sake of political expediency, with all forms of religious systems current in his time. The same holds good in the case of the coins of Huvishka whose coin-types represent figures of Roma, Heracles, Sarapis, Mao, Ardoksho, Anio and other extra Indian deities, along with Vishnu, Skanda-Karttikeya, Shiva, and others. His personal inclination was probably towards Vaishnavism as is indicated by a seal-matrix. Vasudeva, the last king of the Kushanas was a follower of Shaivism as most of his issues exhibit the figure of Shiva with his bull Nandin.
- 6 3 That the Satavahanas notwithstanding their inclination towards the Smarta-Puranic way of life had extended patronage to Buddhism has been proved by their inscriptions. The same holds good in the case of the Guptas who were *paramabhagavatas*, though Samudragupta had a Vedic leaning. Prabhakaravardhana, the father of the emperor Harsha was a sun-worshipper, while Harsha's elder brother Rajyavardhana was a Buddhist. And Harsha, though a Shaiva, was a great patron of Buddhism as is attested by the testimony of Hiuen Tsang. The Valabhi Kings were Shaivites and Vishnuites.

but we find them for nearly a century making donations to a Buddhist monastery. Not only did the princes of the same dynasty profess the most diverse religious creeds, but the same prince often distributed his bounties among several sects. A good number of monarchs, for instance, whom Hiuen Tsang speaks of as professed patrons of the Buddhist church, were in reality adherents of one or other of the non-Buddhist systems. And his statement is not contradicted by the evidence of contemporary literature, such as the *Malatimadhava*, *Mrichchhakatika*, *Mudrarakshasa*, *Nagananda*, etc.

VII

- 7.1 But the same Hiuen Tsang accused Shashanka, the king of Gauda, as 'the wicked king of Karnasuvarna' of oppressing the Buddhists and even of cutting the Bodhi tree. But his version of Sashanka is not supported by the evidence of the presence of the Raktamritika Vihara near Karnasuvarna which was visited by the Chinese pilgrim himself who spoke in glowing terms about the prosperous condition of the monastery, the ruins of which have now been found near Chiruti in the Murshidabad district. Probably the erudite Buddhist pilgrim's vision was coloured by Sashanka's rivalry with his patron the illustrious Harshavardhana. The liberal attitude followed by most Indian rulers must have been a part of the state policy. But an official policy of religious tolerance has no invariable concomitance with the same spirit of tolerance in public life. There were communal and sectarian forces. A spirit of animosity is found in the Epics and Puranas towards the heterodox systems like Buddhism or Jainism. A lot of passages may be cited from the Epics and the Puranas which speak contemptuously about other systems.
- 7.2 The fact which is generally overlooked is that it was a common practice among the ancient Indian sectarian writers to make disparaging comments on sects other than their own. The Shaivas did not spare the Vaishnavas, the Vaishnavas did not spare the Saktas, the Buddhists did not spare the followers of the Vedas, the Jains did not spare the Buddhists. Even the Pancarattras or the Pashupatas were regarded as Vedabahyas, i.e., belonging outside the pale of the Vedas. The *Kurmapurana* says that after having fallen from the Vedic path some people began to worship Shiva and Vishnu with popular hymns. The *Devibhagavata* equates the Vaishnavas, Kapalikas, Ganapatyas, Pashandas, Kaulikas, Buddhists and Jains with the worst sort of peoples. The *Sutasamhita* states that Gautama cursed some brahmanas with the following words: "Be you all worst of brahmanas having got yourselves initiated into the Pancaratra, Kapalika, Kalamukha and Shakta doctrines. Be you all worst of the Brahmanas having got yourselves initiated into Baudha, Arhat, Pashupata and Shambhava doctrines." Some Tantric works even ridiculed the followers of the Advaita Vedaanta: "Wicked at heart and apparently clean in appearance, you will give up works of religious merit because of the arrogance caused by the study of *hetuvidya* (logic) and the knowledge of *brahman*" (*Maheshvaratantra XVIII*). Tensions were not only between the adherents of different religions or sects, but sometimes even between those of the two groups belonging to the

same sect, as it appears from the Paschimbhag copper plate inscription of Shrichandra, a king of the tenth century A D in Eastern Bengal

VIII

- 8 1 But from all accounts it appears that sectarian or communal hostilities in the ancient period of Indian history were due to a kind of sectarian chauvinism, a perverted glorification of one's own sect or creed by casting slander upon other sects. Apart from this it had no ulterior motive to achieve some political or other specific ends, unlike the modern forms of sectarianism or communalism. Such type of reciprocal slandering is a universal practice even today, not only in the field of religion but in that of race, language and culture as well. Even within the same culture people of a particular locality or district speak about others in a disparaging way. But there is ample evidence to show that such attitude was discouraged by the mentally and intellectually advanced people of all communities. From Madhava's *Sarvadarshanasamgraha* it is abundantly clear that the doctrinal differences among the Buddhists, Jains and various Hindu systems were viewed from an academic angle and there was no sectarian feeling among the exponents and interpreters of various systems. In popular belief, Shankaracharya exterminated Buddhism from India. But the fact is just the reverse. Even a casual study of his commentary on the *Vedanta Sūtras* would reveal that though he tried to refute the Buddhist arguments regarding the doctrines of momentariness and others, he was himself so influenced by the Buddhist Madhyamika and Yogacara schools that his critics called him crypto-Buddhist. Gaudapada, the author of *Mandukyakārika* who was Shankara's mentor (his teacher's teacher) was a Hindu by his personal religious practices, but a Buddhist by conviction. His critics humourously said that so much did he appropriate from Buddhism that being aware of the plagiarism he made he had to put on record *naitad budhena bhasitam*, i.e. 'not spoken by the Buddha'. The Mimamsakas were severe critics of Buddhism, but they did not fail to appreciate many Buddhist fundamentals. Prabhakara, the second luminary of the Mimamsa school after Kumarila was often called 'a real bastard son of Buddhism'. The Buddhist scholars and logicians in their turn refuted many aspects of the Sankhya, Vedanta, Nyaya-Vaisheshika, Mimamsa, Yoga, Jainism and so forth. But they reciprocated the same feeling of tolerance and appreciation of the views of their opponents and enriched their doctrinal standpoint by adopting many ideas from them.
- 8 2 Buddhism had its closest relation with the Nyaya-Vaisheshika philosophy - a relation of appreciation and criticism characterised by a prolonged debate running through several centuries. In his classic commentary on the *Nyaya-sūtra*, Vatsyayana tried to refute Buddhism which paved the way for an intellectual campaign of the Nyaya-Vaisheshikas against Buddhism and vice-versa. The challenge was accepted by the Buddhist Dignaga (fifth century A D) who made a counter-refutation of the arguments of Vatsyayana. The views of Dignaga were subjected to a sharp criticism from Uddyotakara of the Nyaya-Vaisheshika school (sixth century A D) and his defence of Vatsyayana was

acclaimed by Subandhu in his *Vasavadatta* as an event which the world should remember. The position of the Nyaya-Vaisheshikas as established by Uddyotakara on the other hand was assailed by the Buddhist Dharmakirti (seventh century A.D.). He was followed by his commentators Dharmottara and Vinitadeva and also by Shantaraksita, Kamalashila and a host of others. On the Nyaya-Vaisheshika side Uddyotakara was followed by Vacaspati Misra, Jayanta, Udyana and Sridhara in the ninth and tenth centuries. This was the golden period of Indian logic. Their refutations and counter-refutations were not meant simply to establish their own logical standpoints but for greater learning and enrichment of their views. In fact, though Vacaspati Misra belonged to the Nyaya-Vaisheshika school, his understanding of Buddhism was far better than of any confirmed Buddhist theoretician, and this was acknowledged even by his bitterest opponents. In the prolonged controversy lasting over so many centuries both the Buddhist and the Nyaya-Vaisheshika doctrines received their depth and clarity.

- 8.3 Jain narrative literature and biographical works, are replete with the accounts of the Jain monks who were received honourably at the courts of the non-Jain rulers. In many cases Jain monks also secured from a non-Jain ruler the promise that he would decree a ban on killing animals on certain days in honour of the Jain doctrine of non-injury to living beings. Biographies of the Jain patriarchs show how they worked tirelessly through the channels of power, which were not Jain, in order to maintain for the community the right to continue their religious practices and preserve their distinctive religious identity. The Jains like their non-Jain religious counterparts, exhibited an eagerness to study and understand the various religious groups around them. They studied every major contribution to knowledge written both by their co-religionists and by those outside their faith. Jainism has produced some of the greatest logicians of ancient and medieval India, who have a position of great honour and authority in the Hindu and Buddhist philosophical tradition. It is often said that works of Jain authors such as Mallavadin, Haribhadra, Gunaratna and so forth are the best sources for the understanding of all the forms of Indian philosophical systems including the Buddhist philosophy as well.

IX

- 9.1 In view of what has been said above in the context of ancient Indian history, the following conclusions naturally transpire. The view that there was no communal and allied problems in ancient India and that tolerance was the basic principle on which ancient Indian public life used to be evolved is not valid. There were tensions and hostilities of all kinds - religious, linguistic, ethnic and so forth - the intensity of which of course varied from place to place and was conditioned by various factors. At the same time, the functioning of a counter-process, that of bringing harmony among different ethnic, linguistic and religious communities is met with, which must have contributed a great deal to the creation of a composite culture which made its appearance felt in

different spheres of life - in local cults, dress, food-habits, behaviour, literary and scientific pursuits, commercial and technological practices and so forth. This syncretism is Indianism. Communal and allied tensions were due to natural hostilities among different groups, but such feelings were not systematically exploited by interested parties. The measures suggested by Asoka to mitigate communal and sectarian tensions are valid even today. A king might have inclination towards a particular religious system, but the royal office maintained equal treatment to all. It is also a feature to be observed that very often in a single dynasty different kings followed different faiths, but at the same time they identified themselves with all religious systems prevailing within the boundaries of their kingdoms. The law-givers of ancient India were in favour of creating an integrated and harmonious social order by giving recognition to the cultural traits of various communities. Communal and sectarian chauvinism was not encouraged by the mentally and intellectually advanced people. And what is most striking is that the leaders and theoreticians of all the important religious sects although made strenuous academic and logical combats with others to establish their own standpoints, they displayed the rare spirit of speaking in glorious and respectful terms about their opponents and to learn and enrich their views from such controversies.

Thanking you all, Ladies and Gentlemen

PERCEPTIONS OF POWER: AN ANALYSIS OF THE PARYAYA SUKTA (8.10) OF THE ATHARVA VEDA

KUMKUM ROY*

I

- 1.1 The need to define the nature of power and power-based relationships is commonly experienced in societies where existing definitions are challenged and/or new ones emerge. In such situations, attempts are often made to reiterate existing definitions of power or to arrive at new definitions. In either case, the definitions which are evolved or regarded as acceptable constitute a means of justifying claims to power and the use of power as a means of ordering social relationships. It is within this context that we propose to analyse a specific definition of power which is found in the *paryaya sukta* (8.10) of the *Atharva Veda*.¹
- 1.2 The theme of the *sukta* in question, which consists of six sections, and thirty-three smaller divisions, is the exaltation of the *viraj*, conceived of as feminine personification of power. It is mainly in prose and does not seem to have been used in the ritual context. Traditionally, its composition is ascribed to an *atharvacarya*. As this is neither a proper name, nor a *gotra*-based name, it is likely that the author(s) was (were) anonymous. In other words, if one attempts to locate the *sukta* within the vast corpus of later vedic literature, one may suggest that its position is somewhat marginal in the sense that it was

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probably not related to the dominant ritualistic tradition. Viewed from this perspective, the concept of power enunciated in the *sukta* assumes a certain unique significance, as it permits us to explore a definition of power which was different from that expounded within the dominant brahmanical tradition, and the problems encountered in handling it.

II

- 2.1 The description of the *viraj* commences with an emphasis on her all-pervasiveness (AV 8.10.1.1) which evokes fear in everything else.² This fear appears to be resolved through specifying and consequently delimiting the nature of the pervasiveness of the *viraj* at a number of levels, and through working out the relationship between the *viraj* and a range of categories.
- 2.2 The first aspect of *viraj* which is highlighted relates to her identification with ritual dimensions of *agni*, fire. This is conceived of as a "descent" into various forms of fire, such as the *garhapatya*, *ahavaniya*, and *dakshinagni* (AV 8.10.1.2,4,6), central to the sacrifice.³ Knowledge of this is, moreover, perceived as a means of enabling a man to participate in the sacrificial cult. For instance, a man who was aware of the significance of the descent into the *garhapatya*, was thought to become a *grihamedhin* and a *grihapati* (AV 8.10.1.3).⁴ Thus, the *viraj* was viewed as intrinsic to but not distinct from the sacrifice. Besides, while the *viraj* was regarded as implicitly endowing the sacrificial fires with an element of power, this was then transferred to the human situation, where ritual power was ascribed to the "knower" as opposed to the ignorant. The notion of all-pervasive power associated with the *viraj* was thus channelled into a definition of power in terms of significant ritual categories. Further, in the human context, this power was attributed not to the *viraj* but to those who controlled such categories, and the activities associated with them, including the sacrifice. In other words, the diffuse, amorphous powers attributed to the *viraj* were conceived of as flowing from her to others. These "others" were not defined as the totality of the population, but as a limited category.
- 2.3 The notion of the descent of the *viraj* into specific institutions, and her consequent absorption in them, followed by the transfer of power to the knower, outlined above, is reiterated in the connection between the *viraj*, and the *sabha*, *samiti* and the *amantrana* (AV 8.10.1.8,10,12). While the *sabha* and *samiti* are fairly well-known Vedic assemblies, the *amantrana* probably signified an invitation (to such assemblies?). Once again, the "knower" is assured of becoming a *sabhya*, *samitya*, and an *amantraniya*, i.e. a man worthy of participating in the activities associated with these institutions.

III

- 3.1 A second theme which is explored, and which is, in a sense, a variation of the first, defines the *viraj* as approaching certain categories of beings. She is then

destroyed by them, but re-emerges. However, the benefits of her re-appearance accrue to those who destroy her rather than to *viraj* herself. For instance, she is conceived of as approaching the trees, who kill her; she revives in the course of a year, hence, trees which are cut grow within a similar span of time (AV 8 10 3 1,2) ⁵ In an identical fashion, she was thought to approach the *pitris* (ibid 8 10 3 3), *devas* (ibid 8 10 3 5), and *manushyas* (ibid 8 10 3 7), who were conceived of as killing her. The only difference is in the time of her envisaged resurrection, which varies from a month in the case of the *pitris*, to a fortnight in the case of the *devas*, and a day in the case of human beings, this being taken to coincide with the recommended periodicity for the offerings to be made to each category ⁶

IV

- 4 1 In spite of broad similarities, certain differences are evident in the two attempts to link the power of the *viraj* to the human social order, defined so as to encompass prevalent notions of the entire universe. While the first theme explores how the power of the *viraj* may be mediated through institutions such as the sacrifice and assemblies, the second theme focuses on a more direct relationship between the *viraj*, conceived of as an empowering agent, and specific categories of what were regarded as sentient beings. These included animate categories such as the *vanaspathis* and *manushyas*, or categories conceptualised in anthropomorphic terms (e.g., the *pitris* and the *devas*). Each of these categories was conceived of as active agents in the relationship with the *viraj*. They were, moreover, viewed as destroying her and appropriating her powers. The powers which were thought to be transferred included those of resurgence and sustenance, basic to continued existence.
- 4 2 The relationship between the *viraj* and categories conceived of in anthropomorphic or animate terms was explored further through the concept of the *viraj* as a cow (AV, 8 10 4 5). In this context, the *viraj* is regarded as a cow who approaches various categories, and is invoked by them. This was thought to lead to the production of a *vatsa* or calf, often a legendary or mythical figure, regarded as her offspring, to the appearance of a *patra* or vessel made of a different substance in each case, and to the milking of certain qualities from the *viraj*, knowledge of which is considered as empowering, enabling the knower to become a source of sustenance ⁷
- 4 3 The categories associated with this particular concept were varied (see Table-I for details), including *asuras*, *pitris*, *manushyas*, *saptarishis*, *devas*,⁸ *gandharvas* and *apsaras*, *itara jana* (other people?), and *sarpas*. What is interesting about this list is its looseness—there is no discernible hierarchy amongst the categories, with the *asuras* placed first, and the *devas* ranked fifth, with the *manushyas* in between. Alternatively, if there is an order, it is clearly very different from that commonly found in the brahmanical tradition, as for instance in the *pariplava* cycle of the *ashvamedha*, where almost all the categories mentioned above are referred to. What is also noteworthy is that

the relationship envisaged between the *viraj* and each of the these categories is uniform. In each instance, the *viraj* is conceived of as approaching the category in question, being invoked by them, producing a son and obtaining a vessel. She is then milked, this "milk" in turn producing the source of sustenance for the category in question.

V

- 5.1 The conceptualisation of the *viraj* as a cow who produces calves and is milked, thus elaborated, was located mid-way between the two possibilities outlined earlier. While the common element of transferring the power of the *viraj* to others was reworked and elaborated, two media were envisaged in this case, consisting of the calf, who was directly empowered, and the milk, conceived of as an instrument for providing sustenance to the specific category. These media were related to, but not identified with the *viraj*. What is more, both were related to the procreative or generative powers of the *viraj* /cow. Thus, the power of the cow was not conceived of as being hers to exercise in her own right, but was thought to be transferred to her sons and those who milked her. Nevertheless, this did not involve killing the cow (the golden goose).
- 5.2 The power attributed to the cow, which was thus appropriated, was regarded as constituting the essence of the categories in question. This is underscored by the use of identical or related terms to "call" the *viraj* and describe her milk. For instance, the *asuras* were thought to have invoked her as *maya* and to have obtained *maya* as her milk, whereas *manushyas*, who were supposed to have invoked her as *ira* or food, were regarded as obtaining *krishi* and *sasya* (agriculture and grain) as her milk. In each case, the "milk" was regarded as intrinsic to the existence or nature of that particular category, and was thought to define it. This "milk" moreover, was by definition available to all those who were regarded as members of that particular category. In other words, the notion of power embodied in the idea of appropriating the milk of the *viraj* was probably accessible to all those who belonged to a specific category.
- 5.3 At another level, however, certain named personages were conceived of as more powerful or playing a more significant role in society than others. These included *vatsas* or "calves", and milkers. The status of the two categories was by no means identical. A comparison of the proper names occurring in each category indicates that the former included well-known mythical or legendary figures such as Yama, Manu, Vaivasvata, Soma, Indra, Kuvera, and Taksaka, most of whom were regarded as *rajas* of their respective groups in the context of the *pariplava* cycle of the *ashvamedha*. The list of milkers, on the other hand, contains the names of relatively unknown personages such as Antaka, Martavya, and Rajatanabhi, Kaberaka. Even where the names of relatively well-known figures are included, as, for example, in the case of Savitri, the milker of the *devas*, they are less important than those regarded as calves, Indra in this context. This difference may be explained in terms of the general thrust of the brahmanical tradition, which accorded recognition to those who

concentrated power in their own hands, typified by those described as *vatsas* in the present context. As opposed to this, those who shared power with their community were relatively marginalised.

- 5.4 Turning to the *patras* or vessel, this seems to have been envisaged as a symbolic receptacle or *adhara* for the milk which was thought to be transferred from the *viraj* to the community. While the symbolism is fairly apparent in some cases, as for instance in the notion that the *prithvi* or earth is a *patra* for *krishi* and *sasya*, it is less easy to analyse in other cases.⁹

VI

- 6.1 The definitions of the attributes and the significance of the *viraj*, as incorporated within the *Atharva Veda*, were thus complex. As we have seen, efforts were made to relate the *viraj* to the ritual and social context, defined in the widest possible terms. What is also significant is that no one single possibility was imposed. Instead, a variety of possible relationships were explored. These point both to the importance of the notion of *vairajya* and the problems of incorporating it within the brahmanical tradition. In a sense both these aspects were interrelated.
- 6.2 The common strand which runs through the three definitions of the *viraj* outlined above is a notion of power which is benevolent, associated with notions of sustenance, and transferable. While the attribute of benevolence and sustenance was not challenged in any of the definitions, the notion of transference was reworked at two levels.
- 6.3 In the first place, the mechanisms of the transfer were the subject of speculation. Was this transfer automatic, owing to the very fact that the *viraj* was pervasive, through a violent appropriation of her qualities, or through the appropriation of the manifestation of her power, typified by the calf and the milk? The acceptance or rejection of any one of these mechanisms would have had different social implications. In the first instance, power would have theoretically been accessible to virtually anyone, although this was, in effect, limited to those who had access to the sacrificial cult or assemblies, as noted earlier. Acceptance of violence as a mechanism for appropriating power would have implied a recognition of the importance of coercion in determining the nature of social relations. Identifying oneself or one's leader as the calf of the *viraj* would reinforce claims to divinity, and would have underscored the distinction between the leader and led.
- 6.4 Secondly, and related to the above, it was clearly necessary to specify the person or persons who acquired the power thus transferred. As we have seen, these included the male knower and the community as a whole. Here, once again, there is a distinction drawn between the former – an individual man who was thought to appropriate power himself, and the larger community, whose essential attributes and very existence were thought to rest on the *viraj*.

VII

- 7.1 The existence of a plurality of definitions of the *viraj* and her relationship to what may broadly be termed as society, points to tensions and conflicts in defining power-based relations in the later Vedic context. The *viraj* was associated with the benevolent sharing of power. This was perhaps not problematic in a situation where social stratification was relatively undeveloped. However, in a situation where economic, political and ritual differences were becoming sharper, and were being accorded recognition, the universalistic definition of power, associated with the *viraj*, possibly the product of different, less inegalitarian social circumstances, posed a threat. As we know, it was not, and probably could not be negated outright, possibly owing to the traditional prestige accorded to it. Hence, it was reworked, and the attributes associated with it were appropriated and assimilated to a changing social situation. This led to attempts to conceive of the power of the *viraj* as transferable, resulting in a conceptual shift from the perception of the *viraj* as a subject to that of the *viraj* as an object. In this context, the fact that the *viraj* was perceived of as feminine, both linguistically and symbolically, in the form of a cow, indicates that the redefinition of power which was attempted was stratified along gender lines. This is reflected in the notion of controlling the powers of nurturing and sustenance associated with women, typified in the powers attributed to the calf and milk.
- 7.2 The position accorded to the *viraj* and the related notion of *vairajya* was by no means central within the later vedic tradition in particular and the brahmanical tradition in general. Nevertheless, the fact that references to the notion occur occasionally would suggest that at least some of those who subscribed to the brahmanical tradition thought it important enough to attempt to grapple with it and to bring it into harmony with other definitions of power. The persistence of such attempts indicates that resistance to the structuring of social relations within any single framework was probably continuous.

NOTES AND REFERENCES

- 1 *Paryaya suktas*, eight in number, constitute a distinct set of predominantly prose works, and are distinguished from the other hymns of the *Atharva Veda*, which are regarded as *arthasuktas*.
- 2 *Virat va idam agra asit Tasyah jatayah sarvam abibhet, iyam eva idam bhavishyati, iti*
- 3 For example, *sa udakramat, sa garhapaty, nya-akramat* (AV, 8.10.1.2)
- 4 *Grihamedhi grihapatih bhavati yah eva veda*. Knowledge of the significance of the *ahavaniya* made a man dear to the gods, *prvaha devanam* (AV 8.10.1.5), whereas that of the *dakshinagni* enabled a man to perform sacrifices and probably receive *dakshina* (ibid 8.10.1.7)
- 5 *Sa udakramat Sa vanaspatin agacchat Tam vanaspatayah aghnata Sa samvatsare samabhavat Tasmait vanaspatinam samvatsare vriknam api rohati*
- 6 In each case, knowledge of the significance of the relationship between the *viraj* and the category in question is viewed as a means of empowerment (AV 8.10.3.6)

- 7 For instance, her relationship with *the asuras*, which marks the beginning of the cycle, is described thus *Sa udakramat Sa asuran agacchat Tam asurah upahvayanta, maya ehi, iti Tasyah virocana Prahladih vatsah asit, ayas patram patram Tam dvimurdha artavya adhok Tam mayam eva adhok tam mayam asurah upajivanti, upajivaniyah bhavati yah evam veda* (AV, 8 10 4 1-4)
- 8 The relationship between the *viraj* and the *devas* is also explored along more or less similar lines in AV, 8 10 2, where they hail her as *urja, svadha, sunrta*, and *iravati*. In this context too, Indra was regarded as her *vatsa*, and the attributes milked out from her included the *osadhis* or plants, *vyacas* or expansion, *apah* or waters, and the *yajna* or sacrifice
- 9 For instance, the link between the *ayas patra* (iron or copper vessel) and *maya* is not clear

<u>CATEGORY</u> <u>APPROACHED</u>	<u>INVOCATION</u>	<u>VATSA</u>	<u>PATRA</u>	<u>MILKERS</u>	<u>MILK</u>
ASURAS	MAYA	VAIROCANA- PRAHLADI	AYAS	DVIMURDHA- ARTAVYA	MAYA
PITRIS	SVADHA	YAMA RAJA	RAJATA	ANTAKA MARTAVYA	SVADHA
MANUSHYA	IRA	MANUVAIVA- SVATA	PRITHIVI	PRITHU VAINYA	KRISHI SASYA
SAPTARISHIS	BRAHMAN VATI	SOMA RAJA	CHANDAS	BRIHASPATI ÂNGIRASA	BRAHMAN, TAPAS
DEVAS	URJA	INDRA	CAMASA	SAVITRI	URJA
GANDHARVAS APSARAS	PUNYA GANDHA	CITRARATHA SAURYA VARCASA	PUSKARA PIRNA	VASURUCI SAURYA- VARCASA	PUNYA- GANDHA
ITARAJANA	TIRODHA	KUVERA VAISHRAVANA	AMAPATRA	RAJATANABHI KABERAKA	TIRODHA
SARAS	VASHAYATI	TAKSAKÂ VAISALEYA	ALABU	DHRTARAstra AIRAVATA	VISHA

**A STUDY OF THE ORIGIN MYTHS:
SITUATING THE GUHILAS IN THE
HISTORY OF MEWAR
(A.D. SEVENTH TO THIRTEENTH CENTURIES)**

NANDINI SINHA

I

- 1 1 Mewar has been merely treated as a periphery to Northern India in early medieval period and therefore, its history has also remained a minor topic. It is either an endless list of dynastic histories of Mewar¹ or a case study of a feudatory state for the School of Indian Feudalism.² The emergence of the Guhilas into history has been linked up with the decline of their so called overlords the Pratiharas. This kind of treatment suits the political decentralization-cum-fragmentation aspect of the concept of "Indian Feudalism". The very existence of the Guhila power in Mewar as early as the seventh century and therefore the phenomenon of state formation in early medieval Mewar is thus denied. To quote Herman Kulke, "A structural interpretation of post-Gupta era reveals that this period of North-Indian decentralization coincided with a very intensive process of state formation on the local, sub-regional, and regional levels in some parts of Northern India, in many parts of Central India, and in most parts of Southern India."³ B. D. Chattopadhyaya has elucidated the political mechanisms and economic, social and religious processes of state formation in early medieval period.⁴ The

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present essay views the origin and crystallization of the Guhila state not as a result of political fragmentation but rather as a manifestation of complex processes marking the historical evolution of a region

- 1 2 The essay also seeks to review the historiography of Rajput origin. The vast literature available on the subject ranges from col Tod's foreign origin theory to the pure Vedic Aryan origin of the staunch nationalist historians.⁵ This is the result of the separate treatment meted out to the Rajputs by the historians. No attempt has so far been made to view the origin of the Rajputs in terms of a process which characterized the political developments characteristic of early medieval India. Important Political developments characteristic of early medieval India reflected in the exaggerated accounts of genealogies of the microscopic kingdoms should find a parallel in the inflated claims of origin made by the different Rajputs lineages.⁶ When viewed from this perspective, mighty claims made by the Rajput ruling families may be seen as attempts to get away from the actual origin than to reveal it. After all, the category of 'Rajput' like other Varna categories has been assimilative in time and space. Thus the history of the Guhilas of Mewar remains a relevant case study for both early medieval Indian polity as well as for the origin of the Rajputs. The sources for the study have been mainly drawn from epigraphical records, archaeological excavation reports, bardic traditions recorded in the major secondary works on Mewar and the *Sthala-Purana Ekalingamahatmya*. However, the paper is confined to the study of the gradual process of transformation of Guhila lineage from a mere ruling house to a regional power through a survey of the origin-myths recorded only in their official charters. The origin-myths when corroborated with the actual political status and territorial extent, it becomes viable to situate a ruling lineage in the history of state formation in the given region.

II

- 2 1 Southern Rajasthan comprising the districts of Bhilwara, Udaipur and Chittorgadh is popularly known as Mewar (Ancient Medapata). A political map of seventh century Mewar shows three different centres of Guhila power and Chittorgadh as a seat of the later Mauryas (also known Mori) of Eastern Rajasthan and Uttar Pradesh.⁸ The three different Guhila powers are the Guhilas of Nagda-Ahad (Mewar-Hill region with Udaipur as its centre), the Guhilas of Kishkindha (Present Kalyanpur area on the border of districts of Udaipur and Dungarpur and belongs to middle Mahi basin) and the Guhilas of Dnavagarta (present Dhor in Bhilwara district, very close to Chittorgadh city, belongs to upper Banas plain). The epigraphical records of all the three different Guhila powers do not claim any prestigious origin in the seventh century.
- 2 2 The Nagda-Ahad Guhilas use the simple expression of *Guhilan-vaya* for themselves while the Kishkindha Guhilas are content with *Guhilaputtr-anvaye*.⁹ But it is significant to note that not only the Nagda-Ahad Guhilas are

silent in so far as any respectable origin is concerned but also make no reference to their overlords in their seventh century records. But even then the fact remains that they did begin their career as subordinate allies of the Moris of Chittorgadh as is evident from the title 'Rawal' for Bappa Rawal of legendary fame.

- 2.3 In contrast, the Guhilas of Dhavagarta clearly mention the Mori overlords in their official charter. The Guhila ruler Dhankika refers to the reign of the ruling Mori King *Sri Dhavalappadeva as Parambhattaraka-maharajadhiraja-paramesvara*¹². Similarly most of the Guhila Kings of Kishkindha bore subordinate titles particularly from the second quarter of the seventh century to the last decade of the same century. Titles such as *Avaptaasesa-mahasabda* for king Devagana¹³ and *Samadhigata-panchamahashabda* for Bhavihita¹⁴ are recorded in their official charters. Therefore, it is clear that all the three Guhila powers had limited territorial control and political status in the seventh century. However, all the three powers enjoyed an extensive rural base in the seventh century, as they came to control the surrounding countryside from their seats of power. The different sources of rural economy are evident from seventh-eighth century epigraphical records. The most significant aspect of the material base of the Nagda-Ahad Guhilas is perhaps the royal initiative in founding new settlements in this early period. Emigrating community from Vatanagara (Vasantgad in district Sirohi) in the reign of Guhila King Shiladitya founded an *akara* (mine) at a place called *aranyakupagiri* and also built a temple of *aranyavasini*¹⁴. Both these terms indicate a hilly and forest region and the foundation of a mine alongwith it would most probably point to the lower ridges of Aravallis within the copper-belt of Ahad. It seems to have been an important workshop for local manufactures sending its goods to the nearest exchange-centre, Ahad. The temple of Aranya-vasini is stated to have been visited by poets from various countries¹⁶ indicating a good pilgrimage traffic. This traffic in due course is likely to have given rise to an exchange centre at this place. Therefore, this record provides an instance of the creation of an exchange-cum-manufactural base within the dominion of the Bhils. This process in itself is indicative of the revenue needs of a rising ruling lineage in its early phase. On the other hand, sufficient rural base for Nagda-Ahad region is evident from the Udaipur inscription of King Aparajita,¹⁷ which had in any case been enjoying a flourishing material base since the Chalcolithic age¹⁸. Similarly, in Kishkindha pure initiative to sustain and expand agricultural yields within the spatial limits of the village can be seen in irrigational works attached to the fields owned by different individuals. The main methods of irrigation seem to have been wells, tanks and similar other reservoirs¹⁹. A grant of village was made according to the principle of *bhumichchidra* indicating the opening up of virgin land²⁰. Dabok inscription of Guhila Dhanika of Dhavagarta also refers not only to the *araghattas* and *tadagas* but also to the different kinds of fields such as *sharadagraishmika*²¹.

- 2.4 Following the thrust of the initial stage in seventh century the Guhilas emerge into the second stage of their history in tenth century. But by now history knew

only of the Guhilas of Nagda-Ahad as there is absolutely no independent trace either of the Dhavagarta Guhilas or the Kishkindha-Guhilas. In contrast to the simple expression of *Guhilan-vaya* of seventh century the Guhilas of Nagda-Ahad for the first time laid claim to prestigious origin in their official charters. Also for the time they provided the charters with long geneological lists. They speak of Guhadatta as the founder of the Guhila dynasty who was a brahmana (Mahideval) by birth and belonged to a brahamana family which had emigrated from Anandapura (Vadnagar near Idar, North-East Gujarat)²². The other significant development is the mention of the famous legendary Bappa Rawal as Shri-Bappa of Naghrada (Nagda) for the first time in their official charters²³. The geneological lists have the title of *maharajadhiraja* for the tenth century Guhila kings such as Bharttripatta (II)²⁴ and Atpur (Ahad). Inscription eulogises his son Shaktikumara who is stated to have consolidated his Kingdom²⁵. The Kadmal plates of Vijayasimha of late eleventh century also repeats the same verse regarding Guhadatta as the origin-claim for the Nagda-Ahad Guhilas. The claim to such prestigious origin for the first time in tenth century does suggest a significant change in the political status of the Nagda-Ahad house which had managed to consolidate its power in its base region, the Mewar hills. The increase in their political power is reflected in their social relations and in the administrative, economic and religious processes in Mewar hills in this period. Matrimonial alliances were contracted with the contemporary, powerful rising rajput lineages. Queens were brought from such families as Rastrakutas of Hastikundin, the Hunas of Central India, Paramaras, Chahamanas etc.²⁶ It is possible that the Hunas of Central India sought political alliance with the Nagda-Ahad Guhilas through matrimonial alliance, faced with the onslaughts of the Paramaras of Malwa. The matrimonial alliances were not only confined to the political level but also helped the Guhilas to organize their internal network of power at some levels. Pratihara and Huna elements appear as the prominent members of *goshtikas* (administrators attached to important temples or religious institutions).²⁷ Similarly marriage alliances of their functionaries such as *mahasamantadhipati* of Nagahrada (Nagda) with the solar families of Bharukachha (Bhrigukachha) must have been exploited by them for the same purpose. By this period their resource base had expanded from a mere rural economy to that of any urban

- 25 The extent of urban-cum-commercial dimension of Ahad is evident from Saraneshvara temple inscription of Guhila Allata of A D 953. It records the grant of a number of commercial cesses paid by merchants and people coming to Ahad from Karnata (modern Karnataka), Madhyadesha, Lata (ancient Gujarat and northern Konkan) and Takka (Punjab) on various heads and also dues from varied sections of residents of Ahad.²⁸ The grants recorded in this inscription are indicative of the fact that every item entering the market of Ahad from outside was properly assessed and duly taxed. The proliferation of important settlements such as Ekalingaji (14 Kilometers north of Udaipur), Paldi (near Udaipur), Jagat (on the border of districts Udaipur-Chittorgadh), Dariba (near Kankroli, district Udaipur), Achalgadh (Mt. Abu, district Sirohi) and Chirava (between Nagda and Udaipura) between tenth and thirteenth century

are evident from their epigraphical records²⁹ Few of these are likely to have emerged as exchange centres in addition to Ahad

- 2 6 Tenth century was also the period when for the first time the Pashupata sect came to be associated with the Nagda-Ahad Guhilas And it was the period of the construction of the famous temple of Ekalingaji at Nagda under the Guhila patronage³⁰ It may not be an exaggeration to suggest that the Nagda-Ahad Guhilas might have contributed to the declining hold of the Pratiharas over the strategic fortress of Chittorgadh in southern Rajasthan The weakening of the Pratihara power at Chittorgadh by mid-tenth century is not only testified by Karhad plates of A D 959 and Deoli-plates of Krishna III of A D 940-41 but also by an unpublished inscription of the reign of Guhila King Alatta (Alu Rawal of tradition) in which the King is said to have killed in battle field a strong enemy named Devapala³¹ G H Ojha has identified this Devapala with the contemporary Pratihara ruler Devapala³² Moreover, this was exactly the period when powerful rulers like Siyaka II of the Paramara lineage, Mularaja Chaulukya, Chandella Dhanga were all overriding the Pratihara dominion from greater parts of Central and Western India³³
- 2 7 The increased political status of the Nagda-Ahad Guhilas in tenth century is also corroborated by the fact that they are being recorded by their contemporary powers for the first time in this period in reference to the battles The Nagda-Ahad Guhilas must have attained sufficient height of power for they had begun to be invaded by the neighbouring powers The Bijapur inscription dated A D 997 of Dhavala Rashtrakuta of Hastikundin records the shelter given by the Hastikundin prince to the armies of King (name is lost) and the lord of the Gurajaras when Munjaraja Paramara had destroyed Aghata, the pride of Medapata and caused them to flee³⁴ It was on this occasion that the fortress of Chittorgadh passed into the Paramara hands Munja Vakpati's nephew Bhoja Paramara is known to have resided often at Chittorgadh where he built the two famous temples of Tribhuvana-narayana and of Samaddhishvara in early eleventh century³⁵ In any case Chittorgadh did not remain for long in Paramara possession since it was conquered temporarily by Chaulukya King Kumarapala in A D 1150-51 from the Chahamana King Arnoraja of Sapadalaksha³⁶ The Guhilas of Nagda-Ahad had also to reckon with the Chahamana attack by Vakpati II of Shakambhari and Guhila King Shaktikumara's son Ambaprasada, who is said to have been killed in this battle³⁷ However, neither the history of Chittorgadh nor the vicissitudes in the political career of the Nagda-Ahad Guhilas had anything to do with the processes of state formation in early medieval Mewar Not only had the Nagda-Ahad Guhilas consolidated their power in the 'Mewar hills', sub-region of Mewar in the tenth century but in all possibility had also integrated northern portions of Middle Mahi basin, as the circumstantial evidence points out³⁸ Thus the Nagda-Ahad Guhila state had also territorially extended towards its south by tenth century In eleventh century the Guhila state had also expanded northwards as is evident from Kadmal plates of Guhila Vijayasimha of A D 1083 The King made grant of the fifth part of the village

'Palli' to a bramana Unanalacharya³⁹ The village of 'Palli' is identified with the town of Pali in the present district of Pali.⁴⁰ In spite of territorial extension beyond the traditional limits of Mewar there is no new claim to origin but the Guhadatta origin story is repeated in the 11th century. But then their new status along with the territorial extension is clearly reflected in the new political title of *bhupale meda-patamahimam*.⁴¹ The Paldi inscription of A.D. 1116 of Guhila Arisimha proclaims the King as the ruling prince of Medapata.⁴² Reference to Medapata as their own dominion is a very significant development, for this was the first time in history that a Guhila ruler called himself the ruler of Medapata in his own records. In other words by early twelfth century the Nagda-Ahad rulers were in a position to lay claim to the region of Mewar and thus began to identify themselves with it. But it was not yet the time for the region to identify itself with the Nagda-Ahad Guhilas.

III

- 3.1 The culminating stage in the integration of Mewar is realized in thirteenth century. This is the period when the Nagda-Ahad Guhilas actually took possession of the coveted fortress of Chittor and transferred their capital there.⁴³ The acquisition of Chittorgadh, the symbol of political sovereignty of ancient Mewar gave the Nagda-Ahad Guhilas the long-awaited title of sovereign of Mewar. Now they could legitimately identify themselves as the rulers of the entire region of Mewar. This decisive turn in their political career is reflected in the new origin-myth recorded in their inscriptions. For the first time instead of Guhadatta of tenth-eleventh century it is Sri-Bappaka who is claimed as the progenitor of the Guhila dynasty. Both the Chittor (A.D. 1281) and Achaleshvara temple (A.D. 1285) inscriptions of Guhila Samarasimha specifically refer to Guhila King Bappa as the founder of the royal house of Medapata while his son is called Guhila.⁴⁴ Sri Bappaka is called Bappa Rawal in Chittor inscription⁴⁵ while Achaleshvara inscription records bardic traditions of the association of Bappa Rawal with Pashupata sage Haritarashi who granted him the regal fortunes of Medapata and blessed him with the conquest of Chittor.⁴⁶ Bappa is also stated to have obtained the lustre of a Kshatriya from the brahma-like sage and in return gave the sage his devotion, his own brahmanical lustre.⁴⁷ Thus was legitimized the Kshatriya role of the Guhilas. Bappa is therefore, given the prestigious status of a Brahma Ksatra instead of the simple brahmanical origin of Guhadatta of the tenth-eleventh century records. With the conquest of Chittor, the Nagda-Ahad Guhilas were successfully able to integrate upper Banas plain to their existing territories and thus ruled the entire region of Mewar. It is needless to say that addition of Chittor to Mewar hills brought additional resources to the state as is evident by the mention of the grant of drammas from the custom-houses of Talahatti, Khohar and Sajjanpura, situated near Chittorgadh. At this stage claiming prestigious origin and local roots in their official records suggests the fact that it was at this point of time in history that the region of Mewar came to identify itself with the Nagda-Ahad Guhilas.

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- 9 'Samoli Inscription of Guhila Shiladitya', A D 646, ed R R Halder, *EI* XX, pp 97-99 p73
- 10 'Grant of Bhavivita', A D 653, ed D C Sircar, *EI*, XXXIV, pp 171-173 Similar simple expression such as 'Kishkindhipur at Guhila-naradhipa-Vamshe' is found in the Grant of Babhata, A D 688, ed D C Sircar, *EI*, XXXIV, p 174
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- 12 Dabok inscription of Guhila Dhanika, A D 644, ed R R Halder, *EI*, XX, pp 122-125, V I
- 13 i) Grant of Bhavivita, A D 653, ed D C Sircar, *EI* XXXIV, pp 171-173
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- 14 Grant of Bhavivita, *Loc cit*
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- 18 Nandini Sinha, *op cit* , Chap II
- 19 'Dungarpur Plates of Guhila Babhata, A D 688 *EI*, XXXIV, pp 173-176 The irrigated works are referred to as *kupa-kaccha*, *pahaka tadagika*, *pantpovarta*, etc

- 20 Grant of Kishkindha Guhila Bhavivita, A D 653, *EI*, XXXIV, pp 171-173 In fact the Kalyan Fragmentary inscription of the time of Kadachi, early A D 8th century refers to the grant of *dramma* (coins), D C Sircar *The Guhilas of Kishkindha*, Calcutta, 1965, pp 76-77
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- 23 'Ekalingaji Temple Inscription, A D 971,' ed D R Bhandarkar, *JBBRAS*, XXII (NS), pp 151-165
- 24 Pratapgadh Inscription of the time of Pratihara King Mahendrapaladeva records the grants of Guhila King, Maharajadhiraja Bhartripatta (II) A D 942, ed G H Ojha, *EI*, XIV, pp 176-188
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- 26 *Ibid* VV,4,5,6 & 7
- 27 Saraneshvara Temple Inscription of Allata, A D 952-953, Peter Peterson ed A Collection of Sanskrit & Prakrit Inscription Bhavnagar Archaeological Department, pp 67-69 vv 7 & 8
- 28 'Saraneshvara-Temple Inscription of Guhila Allatta, A D 953, *IA*, LVIII, pp 161 62 The list of the grant runs as follows one *Ghatikapala* (unit of measurement for liquids) of milk from every confectioner of the city one *pala* (a ladle containing four tolas) of oil from every oil-mill, one *rupaka* from *randhani* feast held for the entertainment of the members of a family) one *adhaka* (a measure of grain containing three-and-half seers) from a *hatta* (weekly fairs or a market place), etc Such a list definitely stands in contrast to the list of residents we get from the village settlements in the epigraphical records
- 29
 - i) 'Ekalingaji, Temple inscription, A D 971, *Loc cit*
 - ii) Paldi inscription of Guhila Arisimha, A D 1116, ed A K Vyas, *EI*, XXX, pp 8-12
 - iii) Jagat inscription ed G H Ojha, *Annual Report of Rajputana Museum*, 1915, IV p 3
 - iv) Kanknoli Road Station inscription of the time of Guhila Samarasimha, A D 1298-99, in G.H Ojha, *Udaipur Rajyaka Itihasa*, p 177
 - v) Achaleshvara (Mt Abu) temple inscription, A D 1285, *IA*, XVI pp 345 353
 - vi) Chirwa Inscription of the time of Guhila Samarasimha, A D 1273 ed R R Halder *EI*, XXII P 285
- 30 'Ekalingaji Temple Inscription of 971 A D ' *EI*, XXII It records construction of the magnificent temple of Ekalingaji at the instruction of such Pashupata acharyas as Supujitarasi Vimshchitarashi, etc during the reign of Guhila King Naravahana at a place called Kailashapuri or Ekalingaji at Nagda As stated above, Bappa Rawal of the legends figures for the first time in this inscription It also contains the famous *Kayavarohana* origin story of the Lakulisha-pashupata sect
- 31 G H Ojha in *Udaipur Rajya Ka Itihasa*, p 124 fn 3 quotes the following verse from an unpublished inscription, *Durdharamarim Devapalam Vyadhat Kabandham Vyachhat*
- 32 *Ibid*
- 33 D Sharma, *Rajasthan Through the Ages*, p 198 (Ch Devapala)
- 34 *EI*, X, pp 17-24
- 35 'Kumbhalgadh Slab Inscriptions A D 1460', *EI*, XXIV, pp 304 ff
- 36 'Chittorgadh Inscription of Kumarapala of A D 1150-51', *EI* II, pp 422-24
- 37 D Sharma, *Early Chauhan Dynasties*, p 34 Also see D Sharma, *Rajasthan Through the Ages*, p 249
- 38 The total absence of the Kishkindha Guhilas by tenth century has already been stated in the second section

- 39 'Kadmal Plates of Guhila Vijayasimha, A D 1083', ed A K Vyas, *EI*, XXXI, pp 237-248 ll 12-38
- 40 *Ibid* , p 244
- 41 *Ibid*
- 42 'Paldi Inscription of Guhila Arisimha, A D 1116', ed A K Vyas, *EI*, XXX, pp 8-12 v 7
- 43 The Chittorgadh inscription of *samvat* 1322 refers itself to the reign of Guhila prince Jaitrasimha. From all-available evidence it seems that Jaitrasimha was the first Guhila King who actually took possession of the fortress of Chittor (See *Progress Report of Archaeological Survey, Western Circle*, 1905-06, pp 61-62. As to the age of Jaitrasimha, an inscription from Ekalingaji Temple Says 'Samvat 1270 Varshe maharajadhiraja Shri-jaitra simhadeveshree'. A number of Guhila records came to be issued from Chittorgadh from the time of the reign of Tejasimha onwards. See, G H Ojha, *History of Udaipur*
- 44 i) 'Chittor Inscription of Samarasimha, A D 1281', in Peterson *op cit* pp 74-76
ii) Achalesvara temple Inscription, *Ibid* , pp 84-86
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THE HISTORICAL GEOGRAPHY OF INDIA 1800-800 B.C.

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- 1 There are two means for reconstructing the geography of India and its north-western borderlands during the millennium following the end of Mature Indus Culture (a) using the archaeological evidence, and (b) the linguistic and literary evidence. Owing to the complete absence of any epigraphic record and the failure to read the Indus script, it has not been possible satisfactorily to reconcile (a) with (b). In our effort to map India of this period there has therefore, been no alternative to constructing separate maps based on the two kinds of evidence. A map showing the archaeological cultures of India between 1800 and 800 B.C. was presented to the Indian History Congress at its 49th (Dharwad) session (1988) (see pp 103-108 of the *Proceedings* for the text). We now present the companion maps based on linguistic and literary evidence.
- 2 Linguistic information (and theory) forms an important source for our map. The starting point here is the distribution of the major language families: Dravidian and Indo-European.¹ Distribution maps of various languages appeared in the volumes of the *Linguistic Survey* and in the Atlas volume of the *Imperial Gazetteer*, (Oxford, 1931), Plates 13-14, the latter prepared under Grierson's own supervision. A more precise and accurate map, which has been followed by us, is provided in Joseph E. Schwartzberg (ed.), *A Historical Atlas of South Asia*, [Chicago & London, 1978, p 100 (Plate X B 1), text, pp 234-5]. No fixed boundaries can, of course, be expected, and not only have they fluctuated but

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old languages have died and new have arisen all the time. What concerns us, for the moment, are the main language families and groups.

- 3 The first family to be considered is the Dravidian. The main Dravidian block now covers much of Peninsular India, and if earlier descendants of the Proto-Dravidian language were also spoken in that area in the second millennium B C, one would have to suppose an identity of Dravidian speakers there with the authors of the South Indian Neolithic cultures. An exclusive identification with them is, of course, ruled out by the presence of Brahui, "undoubtedly a Dravidian language" in Baluchistan. There is no known migration in historical times which could enable us to suppose Brahui to be a late arrival in its present area. The language from which it is descended must have been spoken there in the second millennium B C, and, if so, whatever migration it was the result of, must have preceded the expansion of the Indo-European languages in South Asia. The Proto-Dravidian spread, on this evidence, must have taken place in neolithic times.

The antiquity of the ancestral Dravidian languages has now been strongly reinforced by David McAlpin's discovery of links between Elamite and Brahui, with the consequential hypothetical reconstruction of a 'Proto-Elamo-Dravidian'.² The Elamite territory lay in south-western Iran and Elam enters recorded history as early as c 2700 B C.³ McAlpin's thesis seems to have received increasing acceptance from historians.⁴ This discovery makes it practically certain that a chain of Proto-Elamo-Dravidian languages existed stretching in a wide arc from South-western Iran to South India, well before 3000 B C. Those in the western part of the arc, in the Persian plateau and the Indus plains, entered the Bronze Age around that time, while those on its southern tip did not. Unfortunately, since Dravidian compositions that have survived date only from post-Mauryan times, with Tamil-Brahmi inscriptions and Sangam literature, it is not possible to put on our map any geographical name received through Dravidian channels.

- 4 The early history of the Indo-European languages in India rests heavily on the two great compilations, the *Rigveda*, the earliest composition in the Indian/Indo-Aryan (the s-branch) and the Avesta in the Iranian (the h-branch, h substituting there for the Indic s). The date of the *Gathas*, the earliest portion of the Avesta, had generally been taken to be c 600 B C.⁵ This rested on the later traditional date for Zoroaster, stated in relation to Alexander. Zoroaster has now been convincingly placed much earlier, by keying the Avesta to the recorded appearance of 'Iranians' (the Medians and Persians) in Western Iran (9th century B C). The *Yashts* have accordingly been dated c 900 B C and the *Gathas*, c 1100 B C.⁶ Burrow's chronology suits the archaic character of the *Gathas* relative to the 'Old Persian' of the Achaemenid inscriptions, but it is surely not possible to extend the distance between the two any further. Given the remarkably close linguistic affinities between the *Rigveda* and the Avesta, even if all the precisions of Glott-chronology are ignored, the earliest compositions of the *Rigveda* could hardly have been 500 years older than the *Gathas*. One would, therefore, be justified in putting the ceiling of 1600 B C.

for the *Rigveda*. This date has to be taken in conjunction with the appearance, in Hittite and Egyptian records, (c 1400 B C), of Indo-Aryan words, personal names and gods amongst the Mitanni, the ruling class of the Hurrians.⁷ It is significant that here the Iranian element (with the substitution of 's' by 'h' and specific Avestan deities) is totally missing. The astonishing closeness of the Mitanni words and names to Rigvedic cognates suggests that the division of the Proto-Indic into its Indic and West Asian components could not have taken place more than half a millennium earlier, that is, not much before 2000 B C. Again, in view of the Avestan - Rigvedic affinities, the division of the Proto-Iranian and Proto-Indic could not have preceded this by too far a date.

- 5 For our maps, this chronological setting of the two great linguistic bifurcations is very important, it is equally important to know where these bifurcations took place. This would become simple if we could be sure about the original "homeland" of the hypothetical Proto-Indo-European language, that homeland, however, eludes us despite the confident reconstruction of the vocabulary (and, therefore, of indicators about the original social structure and natural environment of the speakers) of that language. One could nevertheless make some negative inferences about where the homeland could have been situated. The present zone of Indo-Iranian languages is excluded even if we accept Renfrew's "Hypothesis A" that Indo-European languages were already present in India and Iran in the sixth millennium B C (neolithic age).⁸ This would be opposed to the conclusions of Glotto-chronology that the great divisions of Indo-European languages belong to the fourth millennium B C.⁹ Furthermore, the relative lack of linguistic diversity in the Indo-Iranian zone suggests a relatively late Indo-European presence here.¹⁰ If then, the balance of evidence is in favour of an Indo-European entry from outside the Indo-Iranian zone, the alternative routes reduce themselves to three (even if the homeland remains unknown) Asia Minor, Caucasus, and Trans-Oxiana. Leonard Woolley had chosen the first for the Hittite immigration and the second for the "Aryan advance to India".¹¹ But as Burrow has shown,¹² and as Gnoli has now strongly argued¹³, the Iranian movement has been from east to west, with Afghanistan as the core of the Avestan zone. This leaves us with Central Asia as the only entry route for the Proto-Iranians, ruling out the Caucasus, as well as Asia Minor. The late split between Proto-Iranian and Proto-Indic must rule out these two other routes for entry of the Proto-Indic as well, since they would presuppose an enormously earlier separation of the two groups. Entry through Trans-Oxiana accords with what Renfrew presents in his Hypothesis 'B' for the Aryan route to India.¹⁴ Such a hypothesis has irresistibly given much significance to the role played in the Indic/Iranian emigration by the Andronovo culture of southern Siberia and Central Asia which was "beginning to emerge in the early second millennium B C".¹⁵ In the context of the chronology that we have preferred, the Andronovo culture would be of rather too late a date for speakers of the proto-Indo-Iranian speech, and the culture must, therefore, be regarded more in the nature of a Proto-Iranian residue after the Proto-Indic languages had moved further southward. For in Central Asia, or at any rate in its southern portion, the Bactrians and Sogdians

were found to speak "the same language but with slight variations" as these in 'Ariana' in early third century B C ¹⁶

- 6 If the division between the Indian and Iranian ancestral languages took place some time before 2000 B C in Trans-Oxiana, it must lead to further inferences about language movements across the area of our Map
- (a) The remarkable occurrence of two *centum* languages, the so-called Tocharian A and B, also styled Turfanian and Kuchean, found in A D seventh and eighth century records from Sinkiang (western China), on the extreme periphery of the Indo-European world, suggests a displacement of their ancestor-language from further west under the pressure of the Proto-Indo-Iranian occupation of Trans-Oxiana ¹⁷ This movement having possibly begun before the two great *satem* (Indo-Iranian) sub-families divided, is therefore marked No 1 on our Map I, although it is certainly not our contention that the proto-Tocharian had already, by 2000 B C, reached the territory in which its descendant-languages were found fifteen hundred years later
 - (b) According to historical linguists, Proto-Indic or 'Proto-Indo-Aryan' threw off two branches, the Dardic and the Indic, the latter having its earliest representative in the Rigvedic language. The Dardic group embraces Kafirî in Afghanistan and Kashmirî in India and its zone is confined to the westernmost segment of the Himalayas and the surrounding high ranges. Although there are no known compositions in any Dardic language before medieval times, in linguistic genealogy proto-Dardic is situated very high in the relative time-scale, and its separation from Proto-Indic must have come very early, presumably before the *Rigveda* was composed. It should therefore have made its entry into the present Dardic territory from the west when the Punjab was still not linguistically "Aryanised". This justifies the depiction of the Dardic movement (No 2) on our Map I. It may be recalled that this is how B & R. Allchin have also seen it, they have in fact suggested that the Gandhara Grave Culture of the Swat valley dated by C-14 to middle and late 2nd millennium B C, was created by speakers of proto-Dardic ¹⁸
 - (c) The Indic branch which appears with the Mitanni among the Hurrians on the borders of Syria and Asia Minor in the 15th and 14th centuries B C must have split off from Proto-Indic not long after 2000 B C. In presuming this split within, or north of, Afghanistan, and then a westward movement, we have followed Burrow ¹⁹. The movement appears as No 3 on our Map I. We cannot, of course, show its ultimate destination in West Asia which lies far outside the frame of coordinates encompassed in our Map.
 - (d) The movement of Indic proper, through Afghanistan into what we have called the Rigvedic zone, is marked No 4 on our Map I. This has to be studied in conjunction with the subsequent movement of Proto-Iranian into the zone of the Avesta, centred in Afghanistan. This we consider as

the final language movement in the primary phase, put as No 5 on the same map. It may be mentioned in passing that Burrow²² puts its date as "not later than the 14th century B.C." and it may therefore well have occurred after the bulk of the *Rigveda* had been composed.

- 7 The *Rigveda*, the point of destination of Language Movement No 4 on our Map I, is the first text from which it is possible to begin constructing a *historical* geography of India, i.e. where one can record river and place-names as they were known at that time. We have used mainly the following two authorities for our Map II: (1) Ralph H. Griffith, tr., *The Hymns of the Rigveda*, 2 vols. 3rd ed., Banaras, 1926, and (2) A. A. Macdonnell and A. B. Keith, *Vedic Index of Names and Subjects*, 2 vols. London/Delhi, 1912/1967.

A) RIVERS AND THE SEA

Sarayu

The most extreme river name that appears in the west is the Sarayu. In *RV* X, 64.9 it is described as one of 'the great Streams', the three named being Sindhu, Sarasvatī and Sarayu. In *RV* V, 53.9, it appears alongside Rasa, Krumu, Anītabha, Kubha and Sindhu. The latter verse makes it certain that it was a trans-Indus river, and helps us to see it as the river forming the valley of Harōya, the sixth good land created by Ahura Mazda, where the initial *s* is replaced by *h*. This is the Haraiva of Achaemenid inscriptions and Aria of the Greeks, who gave the name of the river as Areius. The Indo-Iranian name still remains essentially well preserved in the medieval and modern name of the river, Hari-rud, the Hari river.²²

It is possible, however, that the name of the river had been given also to a river in the Punjab, because in *RV*, IV, 30, 17-18 the Turvashas and Yadus apparently cross a river of this name to defeat Citraratha and Arna. While Sarayu (Sarayu-1 in our Map II) as the name of Hari-rud is fairly well established,²³ the application of Sarayu-2 to the Old Beas channel, the once active arm of the united Sutlej-Beas, is largely speculative. There is, finally, no evidence from Vedic literature of the transfer of the name of the river on which Ayodhya was to stand later (the medieval Sarju).

Sarasvatī

Sarasvatī appears in numerous passages in the *Rigveda* and already bears a religious significance. It could in different passages apply to one of the three following rivers:

- 1 Sarasvatī-1 must be the Harakhvatī or Harahvatī, the river which gave its name to the 10th land created by Ahura Mazda,²⁴ appearing in the Achaemenid name for the territory, Harakhuvatis, the Arachosia of the Greeks.²⁵ The one uncertainty is whether Sarasvatī-Harakhvatī refers to the Arghandab as is often assumed,²⁶ presumably because of the Avestan name Haetumant, already available for Helmand. But it seems likely, in view of the much smaller volume of water in the Arghandab, that Sarasvatī-Harakhvatī was the name for the Helmand above its junction with Arghandab. Otherwise it is difficult to understand how Sarasvatī could be put between Sindhu and Sarayu, i.e. the Indus and Hari-rud, as the major intervening river in *RV*, X, 64.9.
- 2 The Indus is a claimant for Sarasvatī-2, on the basis of Sarasvatī being called 'foremost of rivers' (*nadītama*)²⁷ with 'limitless unbroken flood' (*RV*, VI, 51.8 'mother of floods', VI, 36.6 & X, 17.7-10), swollen with rivers (VI, 53.6), the mightiest (*RV*

96 1), which pursues "her course from mountains to the ocean" (VII, 95 2) ²⁸ These statements could hardly apply to the Hakra (=Sarasvati-3), for, by the time of the *Rigveda*, the Sutlej was combining with the Beas (see below) and so could no longer feed the Hakra to enable it to reach the sea via Eastern Nara

- 3 Sarasvati appears separately from Sindhu or Indus in *RV*, X, 64 9, where Sarasvati-1 is meant, but in X, 75, Sarasvati appears among the tributaries of the Sindhu ("O Ganga, Yamuna, O Shutudri, Parushni and Sarasvati" - X, 75 5), and here the present Sarasvati-Ghaggar-Hakra of the Survey of India maps must be meant with the town of Sirsa still attesting by its name the lower course of that river This is also the sacred Sarasvati of the later Vedic and post-Vedic literature

Rasa

The presumption that Rasa is either the Syr Darya (the Araxes or Jaxartes of the Greeks)²⁹ or the Oxus³⁰ has no seeming basis The Avestan name for the Oxus was Daitya, not Ranha, or Rangha, and the proto-Indic origin of the medieval Persian Vakhsh, Greek 'Oxus', and *Mahabharata* 'Vakshu' has been restored to Indo-Aryan Vah-sy,³¹ a name that does not occur in the *Rigveda* at all

The Rasa seems to be one of the western streams of the Indus system In *RV*, V, 53 9 we have "Rasa, Krumu, or Anitabha, Kubha or Sindhu", and in X, 75 6, "with Rasa, and Susartu, and with Svetiya here, with Kubha" The possibility of its being one of the affluents of the Kabul (Kubha) river is obviously very great, and it has seemed to us that among these the most plausible claimants is Panjsher, the medieval name of which had two forms, Panjshir and Panjhir³² Panj is a number ('five') prefixed to the main name 'Shir' or 'Hir', which could represent alternative Indic and Iranian forms If so, one may imagine that here we have a simple reversal of consonants, RS (Avestan, RH) into SR(HR), a hypothetical change from Rasa → Sara → Shir or Ranjha/Rangha → Hara → Hir

Suvastu, Shvetya

A ford on Suvastu is mentioned in *RV*, VIII, 9 37, and there seems little linguistic difficulty in seeing here Arrian's Soastos,³³ the modern Swat In *RV*, X, 75 6, the words "with Rasa and Susartu, and with Shvetya here, with Kubha", suggest that Shvetya or Shveti was another way of pronouncing the same river-name of Suvastu

Kubha

Kubha is mentioned twice (*RV*, V, 53 9 & X, 75 6) alongside, or in proximity to, Rasa, Krumu and Sindhu, and there is little room for doubting its identification with the 'Cophen' river of Alexander's historians and later Greek accounts,³⁴ where it clearly represents Kabul R Since the Greek 'ph' is a well-known variant of Skt 'bh',³⁵ cophen is a fairly close representation of Kubha

Krumu

Krumu appears in the two verses by the side of Rasa and Kubha (*RV*, V, 53 9 & X, 75 6) It has been almost unanimously identified with the modern Kurram R³⁶ The name of the river in Mughal times was Bangash³⁷ but Kurraman, the name of the district based on the river name is mentioned by Minhaj Siraj, (A D 1259-60), for the district situated between Ghazni and India³⁸

Gomati

In *RV*, X, 75 6, Gomati appears paired with Krumu, among the Indus affluents, and the identification with modern Gomai or Gumai R seems certain³⁹ The first reference to the

name Gomai for the river, however, occurs rather late, being found in no text earlier than the *Baburnama*⁴⁰

Sindhu

There are many references to the Indus under this name in the *Rigveda*, elsewhere *sindhu* appears as a word for river generally⁴¹ In the *Rigveda*, the Indus rivals, and perhaps surpasses, the Sarasvati, in the praises it receives for its bounty and sanctity The famous *nadistuti* or river hymn tells us that "Sindhu in might surpasses all streams", (*RV*, X, 75 2) and describes to us its course from the channels in the mountains cut by Varuna to its successive junctions with its various tributaries Clearly Sindhu as a proper name in *RV* means the Indus, and no other river

Sushoma

Put in *RV*, X, 75 5, among the Punjab affluents of the Indus, and therefore probably the same as Megasthenes' Soanos, which fell into the Indus coming "without a tributary from the hill-country of the Abisarreans"⁴² "Abisares" was the king of mountaineers beyond Taxila⁴³ The river must therefore be the present Soan or Sohan

Vitasta

RV, X, 75 5 contains the sole reference to Vitasta, named among the Punjab affluents of the Indus This name for Jhelum occurs in its Rigvedic form in Kalhana's *Rajatarangini*, A D 1149⁴⁴ and survived in medieval Bihat (Kashmiri 'Veth') It was possibly corrupted by the Greeks into Bidaspes⁴⁵ a variant of Hydaspes, their more common designation for the Jhelum⁴⁶

Asikni

Paired with Sindhu in *RV*, VIII, 20 25, and put among its Punjab affluents in X, 75 5 The identification with the Chenab is made certain by the name Akesines given to it by Alexander's historians and by Megasthenes⁴⁷

Marud-vridha

Mentioned in *RV*, X, 75 5, immediately after Asikni and Vitasta, so that it has been held to be the name of the river formed by their junction⁴⁸

Aurel Stein in his article 'On Some River Name in the *Rigveda*',⁴⁹ argues that the name Marud-vridha survives in the territorial name 'Maru-wardwan', the valley of an affluent of the Chenab, W of the Kashmir valley The name now and, we may add in the 16th and 17th centuries,⁵⁰ is supposed to represent the names of two rivers Maru (in survey maps, now Marau) and its main branch Wardwan Stein argues that this is merely the result of popular etymology, and the original name must have been Marudvridha-vana, 'forest of the Marudvridha river' There are analogies of this in Chandra+Bhaga, and Tunga+Bhadra Stein's argument seems quite persuasive Our Map II is on too small a scale to show this river, however

Parushni, Yavyavati

Parushni is described as a Punjab affluent of the Indus (*RV*, X, 75 5), a 'mighty flood' (VIII, 64 15) and the river on which Sudas won a great victory over his enemies (VII, 18 8-9) The identification with the Ravi is not very firmly based, and one with the Yamuna has been urged on the basis of the latter's association with Sudas' victory in the same hymn, VII, 18 19⁵¹ But Parushni and Yamuna both appear as separate rivers in *RV*, X, 75 5 Iravati, the original form of Ravi, was in use by fourth century B C, since Alexander encountered

the river under that name, whence the Greek 'Hydraotes'⁵² This raises the interesting possibility that Yavyavati of the *Rigveda* is really Iravati In *RV*, VI, 27 5-6, we are told of Indra that "at Hariyupiya he smote the vanguard of the Vrichivants on the Yavyavati" If Hariyupiya is Harappa,⁵³ as is very likely,⁵⁴ Yavyavati has to be Ravi

Vipash

Appears paired with Shutudri in *RV* III, 31 1-3, and alone in IV, 30 11 Undoubtedly, the Hyphasis of the Greeks,⁵⁵ 'Bibasis' of Ptolemy,⁵⁶ modern Beas R

Shutudri

One of the Punjab affluents of the Indus in *RV*, X, 75 5, and paired with Vipash in III, 33 1 The ancestral name of modern Sutlej, appearing as Zaradros in Ptolemy⁵⁷ From the pairing with Vipash, it seems clear that the Sutlej had abandoned the Hakra for the Beas by the time of the *Rajveda* We have assumed that after the Beas-Sutlej junction, the river divided into two distinct parallel channels, as continued to be the case till the Mughal times⁵⁸

Apaya

In *RV*, III, 23 4, mentioned along with Drishadvati and Sarasvati On the basis of a reference in *Mahabharata*, it is thought to be the affluent of Sarasvati passing by Kurukshetra⁵⁹

Drishadvati

Owing to its being paired with Sarasvati in *RV*, III, 23 4, it is reasonable to accept its usual identification with the Chautang

Yamuna

The *Rigveda* has only three references to the Yamuna (V, 52 17, VII, 18 19, and X, 75 5) In the last it is paired with the Ganga

Ganga

Ganga appears only twice in the *Rigveda*, at X, 75 5, where it is paired with the Yamuna, and at VI, 45 31⁶⁰ The rareness of the references suggest that the Ganga in its upper course was on the periphery of the Rigvedic zone, though it was known that the Yamuna was its tributary

Samudra

The Rigvedic *samudra* probably meant the sea as well as a large sheet of water or large river, but in *RV*, VII, 95 2, the word makes sense only if it refers to the ocean (see above in note on Sarasvati-2) But it may be readily accepted that the sea is no part of the mythology and familiar world of the Rigvedic people⁶¹ It may, then, be inferred that lower Sind, though known to them, for the Samudra lay beyond it, was not really a part of the Rigvedic zone

(B) TRIBES AND REGIONS

Srinjaya

This name for a Rigvedic tribe seems to correspond to Achaemenid 'Zranke', represented in Greek Drangiana, med Persian Zarang or Seistan⁶² One may, therefore, be entitled to place Srinjaya-1 in Seistan Assuming a movement to the Punjab, where its chief Daivavata is shown as victorious over the Turvashas and Vrichivants,⁶³ we can place Srinjaya-2 somewhere in western and central Punjab

Bhalana

RV, VII, 18.7 speaks of 'the Pakthas, the Bhalanas, & C', coming to oppose (or assist?) the Tritsus, and it is, therefore, possible to see them settled around the Bolan Pass adjacent to Paktha territory. The name Bolan for the river and pass seems of little significance, however, since it is unattested before the 19th century.

Paktha

The basic reference in *RV*, VII, 18.7, where the Pakthas appear with the Bhalanas and others in the great war of the Tritsus. The name appears in the Paktiye (or Paktyike) of Herodotus: it was a district near Bactria and bordering on the Indus from (or along) which Scylax sailed during the reign of Darius I (B.C. 521-486).⁵⁴ It has been linked to Pakhtun (whence Pashtu, the language, and Pathan, the popular name for the people). The name Paktiya borne by a district in Afghanistan is a modern official revival of the name, but is geographically probably not far wrong, it borders the fertile basin of the Kurram, which we have taken to be the best claimant to the territory of the Pakthas.

Vaikarnas

Mentioned once (*RV* VII, 18.11), the placing of this tribe in Kashmir is justified merely by a late text and some scholarly speculation.⁵⁵

Gandharis

The tribe finds an oblique mention in *RV*, I, 126.7 in the phrase 'ewes of the Gandharis'. It is to be assumed that the tribe's territory was the historic Gandhara: the territory around Taxila, including perhaps the modern district of Hazara and a substantial trans-Indus tract.

Druhyu

The tribe is mentioned several times in the *Rigveda*: once (I, 108.8) along with Anus and Purus. This supports later Epic tradition that they were connected with Gandhara.⁵⁶

Krivi

From *RV*, VIII, 20.24, 25, it appears that the tribe was settled along the Sindhu and Asikni, and, therefore, in the Upper Sindh Sagar and Chanhath Doabs.

Purus

Several times mentioned in the *Rigveda*, once in conjunction with the Yadus and Turvashas (*RV*, I, 108.8) and elsewhere as enemies of the Tritsus (VII, 18.13). They are said to dwell on the Sarasvati in VII, 96.2, where that river is called 'the mightiest of streams' and must, therefore, mean the Indus (our Sarasvati-2) as Zimmer thought.⁵⁷ This would be reinforced if the name of Porus, the famous opponent of Alexander, ruling over the occupying land between the Hydaspes and the Acesines,⁵⁸ could be seen as the name of the tribe over which he ruled. Then one could assume that the territory of the Puru originally extended from the Indus over the Salt Range into the Chanhath Doab. Their disappearance from later Vedic literature could be accounted for by the shift of the core zone of that literature further eastwards.

Sapta Sindhavah

"The Seven Rivers", frequently occurring in the literal sense in the *Rigveda* (eg I, 32.12: Indra has 'let loose to flow the Seven Rivers'. But in *RV*, VIII, 24.27: 'Arya on the Seven Streams' in Griffith's transl.) Sapta Sindhavah must represent the land of the Seven Rivers.⁵⁹ The Avestan Hepta Hindu: the 15th land founded by Ahura Mazda (Vendidad

119), makes it clear that the word had come to mean the region enclosed by the Indus and its great tributaries, corresponding, except for the prefixed number, with the medieval and modern Punjab (Persian for "Five Rivers") Whether Sapta Sindhavah included the land along Sarasvati-3 is uncertain

Shivas

Mentioned in *RV*, VII, 18.7, along with the Pakthas, Bhalanas, Alinas and Vishanins, preceding the last in the list. Identified with the Sibi or Siboi whom Alexander found occupying the land along the united Hydaspes-Acesine (Chenab) river below the junction ~

Yadus and Turvashas

The two appear frequently paired in the *Rigveda*⁷¹ In *RV*, IV, 30.17-18, they were both brought across the Sarayu by Indra, and in VII, 18.6 & 9, the Turvasha, are shown fighting across the Parushni. This gives some indication of their territory.

Vrichivant

Indra "smote the vanguard of the Vrichivant" at Hariyupiya (*RV*, VI, 27.5-7), so the tribe is placed in the vicinity of Harappa in our Map II.

Tritsus

Mentioned several times in the *Rigveda* from *RV*, VII, 18.7, 9, 19, where the Tritsus win two battles, one on the Parushni and the other on the Yamuna. It would therefore seem that the Ravi and the Yamuna represented the opposite ends of the territory of the Tritsus.

Bharatas

In *RV*, III, 33.1-3, 11-12, Indra is said to have aided the Bharatas over the Vipash and Shutudri, which may mean the united river. In III, 23.2-4, two Bharata chiefs, Devashravas and Devavata, are placed "on Apaya", and "on the rivers Drishadvati (and) Sarasvati" so that the territories containing the tribe must have extended to the upper Sarasvati-3 and its affluents. Closely allied, if not identical, with the Tritsus⁷² they were like them enemies of the Purus (VII, 8.4), & their territory must, on the north-west, have extended up to the Ravi.

Kurus

Two personal names in the *Rigveda*, Kurushravana (X, 33.4) and Kaurayan (VII, 3.1) imply the presence of the Kuru tribe⁷³ probably in the same area where they were later found with Kurukshetra as their territory.

Paravatas

Tribe slain on the Sarasvati(-3) (*RV*, VI, 61.2). The *Panchavimsa Brahmana* places them on the Yamuna ~

Matsya

In *RV*, VII, 18.6 not matsya (fish), but Matsya, a tribe seems meant. The name does not occur in later Vedic literature and figures among the sixteen *Mahajanapadas*. In the absence of any suggestion to the contrary we have placed them in the later territory of eastern Rajasthan.

Chedi

In the sole reference to them the liberality of the Chedis is praised in *RV*, VII, 54.7-8. There is no indication of their territory. We have therefore hesitatingly defined the territory

immediately SE of the lower Chambal as that of the Chedis, since they were later to be found in Central India

(C) MOUNTAINS

Mujavant

In the celebrated hymn against dice-playing there is a reference to Soma form Mujavant (*RV*, X, 34.1). Since the *Atharvaveda* puts Mujavants along with Gandharis and Balhikas (Bactrians), Mujavant must be a mountain range W of Kashmir ⁷⁶

Himavant

'Snow-covered mountains', *RV*, X, 121.4 Presumably the Himalayas

- 8 The boundary-line of the Rigvedic zone drawn on the basis of the above information must be considered as very rough. It does not necessarily mean that people of all the areas in the zone spoke Rigvedic Sanskrit or that the zone as delimited by us defined the limits of the geographical knowledge of the Rigvedic people. Rather it is to be seen in the light of the region with which the composers of the Rigvedic hymns were most familiar or most concerned.

The agricultural products mentioned in the *Rigveda* are surprisingly limited. *Yava*, frequently mentioned, stands for barley, but may include other grain. *dhana* too means grains ⁷⁸. Thus there is no specific reference to wheat or rice, nor to cotton.

Among the metals, there seems to be a reference to collection of gold-sand from the Indus "Sindhu with his path of gold" (*RV*, VIII, 26.18), "rich in gold" (X, 75.8). Curiously, the *Vedic Index* records no Rigvedic term for silver. *Ayas* in the *Rigveda*, as seems well established, means bronze.

Given the time and geographical horizons, and the absence of iron, the strongest claimant for Rigvedic associations from amongst the archaeological cultures seems to be Cemetery-H and the associated late post Indus cultures of eastern Punjab, Haryana and Western U.P. ⁸⁰ Better investigations of Cemetery-H sites in Bahawalpur (Pakistan) may possibly prove to be of key importance in at last enmeshing the archaeological record with the historical.

- 9 The *Avesta* is usually excluded from sources shedding any direct light on Indian history. As more recent researches tend to set the Avestan world more and more in Afghanistan and the Indus basin rather than in Khwarizm and Western Iran, this lack of attention to the Avestan evidence for geography and society seems quite surprising. Our present purpose being geographical, we have tried to define the Avestan zone in the same manner as we have defined the Rigvedic zone. We have used the translation of James Darmesteter and L.H. Mills⁸¹ and generally (but not invariably) followed the geographical interpretation advanced by Gherardo Gnoli ⁸²

The Avestan zone (Map III) is set for us by the *Avesta* itself by its list of the sixteen "good lands and countries" created by Ahura Mazda and named in the

Vendidad, Fargard I (compare the 'Sixteen *mahajanapadas*' of the Indian tradition)

- (1) "Airyana Vaejah by the good river Datya" (*Vendidad*, I, 3, II, 21, *Yasht*, V, 17, 104, & c) The Pahlavi texts state that "the river Datya comes from Eran Vez and goes to Subdastan (Sogdiana) and that "the land of Gopat (Sogdiana) has a common border with Eran Vez on the bank of the river Datya"⁸³ As Gnoli shows, Eran Vez here cannot possibly mean Chorasmia (Khwarizm), for, to take these statements as they stand, Eran Vez must have stood above, not below, Sogdiana⁸⁴ The river Datya ('Datya' of the Avesta) must then, as is generally believed, be the Oxus, and Airyana Vaejah must have corresponded to the Hindukush and Badakhshan, a location which suits the high mountains ascribed to it in Zoroastrian and Manichaean tradition⁸⁵ The high altitudes and the short seasons when alone are the passes free of snow may explain the Avestan description of short summers and intense cold
- (2) Gava In *Yasht*, X, 14, this is glossed as Sukhdha, or Sughdha,⁸⁶ the Achaemenian Suguda, and Sogdiana of the Greeks
- (3) Mourv See also *Yasht*, X, 14 Achaemenian Margush, Greek Margiana, med and mod Merv 'Mourv' also survives in the name of the river watering the territory Murgh-ab, *ab* meaning river
- (4) Bakhdhi Achaemenian Bakhtish, Greek Bactria Medieval and modern Balkh, Northern Afghanistan
- (5) Nisaya, according to the list itself, a territory situated between Mourv and Bakhdhi The name is not attested anywhere else
- (6) Haroiva Achaemenian Haraiva, Greek Aria Medieval and modern Herat, valley of the Hari-rud, both survivals of the same Avestan name (=Rigvedic Sarayu) An Avestan mountain range which can possibly be identified is Vaiti-gaesa, or Badghis, well described by early Arab geographers⁸⁷ Mount Erezefiya (*Yashts* V, 45, & XIX, 2) is possibly the same as Ptolemy's Sariphi Mts placed in the same region⁸⁸
- (7) Vaekerata Identified in traditional commentary with Kapul or Kabul (*Zend Avesta*, Part 1, transl Darmesteter, p 2), and by modern authorities with Gandhara⁸⁹ The latter identification has been followed by us
- (8) Urva Location very doubtful Geiger's suggestion that it was the territory between the Kurrum and Gumal rivers⁹⁰ has been accepted
- (9) Khnenta Not identified
- (10) Harakhvati Achaemenian Harakhvatish, Greek Arachosia (cf Rigvedic Sarasvati) The upper basin of the Helmand and its affluents
- (11) Haetumant Greek Etymander, med and mod Helmand The territory corresponded to the lower basin of the Helmand, the Achaemenian Zranka, Greek Drangiana, and later Sakastan/Seistan The Haetumant river is mentioned in *Vendidad*, XIX, 39 It flowed into the sacred lake Kasaoya or Kasava, (*Yasht* XIX, 66) This lake must be the present Hamun-i Helmand Seistan seems to be the region most familiar to, and possibly the home of, the composers of the *Yashts*⁹¹
- (12) Ragha We have followed Gnoli⁹² in rejecting the identification with Median 'Raga' (medieval Ray in Persian) and in placing this territory 'between the valley of the Logar and the Helmand', i.e. within the Hazarajat The latter supposition seems rather speculative

- (13) Chakhra Identified with medieval and modern Charkh, on Logar R., by Gnoli, Charkh would be an understandable medieval variation of the Avestan Chakhra, on the analogy of the classical Persian word *charkh* (wheel) corresponding to Rigvedic *chakra*
- (14) Varena Corresponds to Panini's Varana⁹² Its locality is established by Alexander's campaign against Aornus⁹⁴ This is the medieval and modern dist. of Buner. It apparently contained opponents of the Avesta deities, hence 'Varenya fiends' in *Yasht* (XIII, 137) possibly a reference to the worship of Vedic deities here⁹⁵
- (15) Hapta Hendu, called the land of "excessive heat" There is, of course, no doubt that the name is merely 'Sapta Sindhu' in its Iranianized form, and represents the same territory as the Rigvedic Sapta Sindhavah. The Hendu or Indus appears as the 'easternmost' river in *Yasht*, X, 104
- (16) Ranha or Rangha Under this name a river is mentioned in *Yashts* V, 63, 81, 104, XII, 18, XV, 27, XXII, 4, and XXIV, 2. In the last two references, it being distant is emphasized, while in *Yashts* XIV, 26 and XVI, 7, it is represented as the westernmost river. Rangha is thought to be the Avestan form of the Rigvedic river-name Rasa, which we have already identified with Panjshir R. Ranha/Rangha would then be the name of the Panjshir valley as well.

But it is obvious that the Avestan Ranha/Rangha is more important in the Avesta than the Rasa is in the *Rigveda*, where it is mentioned only twice. It seems probable that the name Rangha is given in the Avesta not only to the Panjshir, but also to the entire course of the Kabul river, of which Panjshir is a tributary. Three affluents of the Ranha are named in the *Yashts*: Aodhas (XII, 18), Sanaka (XII, 19) and Gudha (XV, 27). Of Gudha there are two possible identifications: 1. The Ghorband R., the first major river joining Panjshir R. ('Ghor' might here represent 'Gudha'), and 2. Panjkhora R., an affluent of Swat, called by the Greeks Guræes⁹⁶. Here 'Kora' in the modern name could be a survival of the local source of the Greek Guræous and Avestan Gudha. Our map gives both alternatives, but the latter looks more appealing. 'Aodhas' seems to us to be the Avestan variant of Rigvedic 'Suvastu', the initial Indic *s* being lost. For Sanaka, we can offer no suggestion.

If the Avestan Rangha was thus the Panjshir-Kabul R., into which the Swat and other rivers fell, and which then could be treated as the 'eastern', while the Indus was the 'western' river, Rangha as a territorial name could have covered a much larger area than the Panjshir valley, it could have included the plain of Kabul as well.

- 10 On the basis of the most recent work on Avestan geography, then, it is apparent that the Avestan zone considerably overlapped the Rigvedic. Its core area was Hindukush-Seistan, just as that of the *Rigveda* was the Punjab. The present boundary between Iranian and Indic languages runs roughly along the Indus, and this may well go back to the time when the Avesta was being composed, which, as we have seen, was c. 1100-900 B.C. In the first quarter of the third century B.C. limits to Ariana (an extension of Airyana Vaejah?) viz. Indus on the east, the sea on the south, the Paropamusus (Hindukush and its extensions) on the north, put "further extended to a part of Persia and Media, as also to the Bactrians and Sogdians on the north", who "speak approximately the same language"⁹⁷

The material culture that the Avesta gives evidence of, must relate to periods rather distant to each other in time. The earliest portion, the *Gathas*, have

practically no mention of metals, or crops, though they imply cattle-rearing and agriculture. The later portions show a much larger inventory of metals than offered by the *Rigveda*. The *Vendidad*, VIII, 74 & 75, refers to utensils of gold, silver, "brass" (bronze, surely), and steel(?), *Vendidad*, VIII, 87-90, to goldsmith, silversmith, worker in "brass" and "blacksmith", and *Yasht* X, 70 to iron and X, 129-132, to things in gold, "brass", "red" and "golden brass" and iron (in Darmesteter's translation). The latter portions of the *Avesta* seem to have been compiled after the onset of the Iron Age. But for the rest, the economic environment seems similar to that of the *Rigveda*. Money is absent, wealth is measured in terms of male horses, oxen and lambs (to be sacrificed) in *Yashts*, passim, and rewards are prescribed in terms of camel, stallion, bull, cow and lamb in *Vendidad*, IX, 37-38. Crops too are not specified in any detail. By "corn" in the translation, barley would seem to be meant (e.g. *Vendidad*, VII, 35), there does not seem to be any definite reference to wheat.

With these indications one may conjecture that the spread of Proto-Iranian in Afghanistan took place at the close of the Helmand Civilization, whose post-urban phase probably ended in c. 1600 B.C. It is likely, then, that Mundigak Phase III (c. 1400-1100 B.C.), with its copper shafted axe, was probably the first Iranian culture, archaeologically attested, in the Avestan zone.

- 11 The later Vedic literature is generally held to comprise essentially the *Atharvaveda* and the *Brahmanas*. We have decided to exclude the *sutra* texts as possibly too late for our period. But there is little means of setting a firm chronological line. The geographical information does seem generally to be earlier than the epoch of the sixteen *mahajanapadas* which could be as early as the seventh century B.C. For this section (Map IV), we have mainly relied on Macdonnell and Keith, *Vedic Index*, and Michael Witzel.⁹⁸

(A) RIVERS

Sindhu

Occurs in the *Atharvaveda*, but 'rarely afterwards and 'in such a way as to suggest distance'.⁹⁹

Yavyavati

Mentioned in *Panchavimsha Brahmana*¹⁰⁰ we have already suggested its identification with the Ravi, from its connexion with Hariyupiya in the *Rigveda*. If this identification holds, the Ravi would be the only important Punjab river, apart from the Indus, (Sindhu) finding mention in later Vedic literature.

Sudaman

In *Panchavimsha-Brahmana*, identified by Witzel¹⁰¹ with Sudaman, a tributary of the Beas.

Sarasvati

The only *Rigvedic* river which maintains its sanctity and frequency of mention in later texts. That it is Sarasvati-3 of the *Rigveda* is shown by the fact that the *Panchavimsha Brahmana* and the *Jaiminiya Upanishad Brahmana* show the Sarasvati as disappearing at a place called Vinashana (lit. disappearance).¹⁰²

Drishadvati

In *Panchavimsha Brahmana*, the river is the scene of special sacrifices, it is said to disappear at Triplaksha near the Yamuna.¹³ If Triplaksha was near the Yamuna, it may well have been the place where the river 'disappears' if you go upstream. This should happen because Chautang with which the Drishadvati is identified, rises near the Yamuna, and is a plains, and not mountain-fed, river.

Yamuna

Mentioned in the *Atharvaveda* and the *Atareya* and *Shatapatha Brahmanas*, as well as the *Panchavimsha Brahmana*.¹⁴

Ganga

Not mentioned in the *Atharvaveda*, but occurring in the *Shatapatha Brahmana*. In the *Taittiriya Aranyaka*, special honour is assigned to those living between the Ganga and Yamuna.¹⁵ a shift from the Sarasvati to the Doab as the sacred zone?

Varanavati

Mentioned in the *Atharvaveda*. Since Varanasi is as old as the time of the Buddha, and its name comes from the present river Barna (Skt. Varana) and another rivulet Asi, one may trace back the river name Varana to c. 600 B.C., its mention in the *Atharvaveda* then would not be surprising. Witzel, however, suggests a textual corruption here.¹⁶

Sadanira

A cold river, perennial (*Sadanira*), streaming down from the northern mountains, and forming the border between the Kosalas and the Videhas, in *Shatapatha Brahmana*. If it was E. of Kosala, it should be identified with the Gandak. But Witzel points out that in the Kanva version of the same text, the river is said to form the border between the Kuru-Panchalas and the Kosala-Videhas.¹⁷ In this case it should be the medieval Saru or Sarju (ancient Sarayu), carrying the waters of the Kauriala-Ghaghara, and using the old Sarju channel, to receive the Sarda above Ayodhya.¹⁸ The two alternatives appear in our Map IV as Sadanira-1 or Sadanira-2.

Samudra

In the later Samhitas Samudra repeatedly means the sea.¹⁹ We have followed Macdonnell and Keith in assuming that the metaphorical reference to eastern and western oceans in the *Shatapatha Brahmana* indicates acquaintance with the Bay of Bengal & Arabian Sea.

(B) TRIBES AND REGIONS

Bahlikas

The *Atharvaveda* expels fever to the Mujavants, Mahavishas and the Bahlikas. The *Vadhula Shrautasutra* puts the Ba(h)likas among those not following orthoprax customs.²⁰ The Bahlikas were thus outside the Vedic/Brahmanical zone, and this reinforces their identification with the Avestan Bakhdi (medieval Balkh), the Greek Bactria.

Kamboja

In *Vamsha Brahmana*, a Kamboja priest, is referred to as pupil of Madragara, which is taken to suggest that Kambojas adjoined (Uttara-) Madra country.²¹ The Kambojas may be related to the Rigvedic Kubha R. and to the Kamboja *mahajanapada*, and so identified with

the Kabul district Their Iranianization may explain why 'Yaska, in the Nirukta, refers to the speech of the Kambojas as differing from that of the other Aryas' ¹¹³

Udichyas

'Northerners', mentioned in the *Shatapatha Brahmana*, which also says that the speech of the north was similar to that of Kuru Panchalas ¹¹⁴ Probably, people of the Punjab and possibly Kashmir are meant

Gandharis

Mentioned along with Mujavants in the *Atharvaveda* ¹¹⁵

Uttara Madra, Uttara Kuru

Paired together as living beyond the Himalayas, in *Aitareya Brahmana* ¹¹⁶ Probably, Kashmir and Himachal Pradesh, respectively ¹¹⁷

Shakala

Shakalya, 'of Shakala', appears in the *Aitareya and Shatapatha Brahmanas* Possibly the district containing the later Sakala, =Sangala of the Greeks, ¹¹⁸ if not the town itself

Ambashthas

Implied in Ambashthya, name of a king (of the Ambashthas) in the *Aitareya Brahmana* ¹¹⁹ The 'Abastanoi', encountered by Alexander's troops near the confluence of the Acesines (Chenab) and the Indus ¹²⁰

Sapta Sindhavah

The name of this region, common to both the *Rigveda* and the *Avesta*, also occurs in the *Atharvaveda*, and *Yajurveda Samhitas*, but possibly in the sense of 'seven streams' rather than with reference to a distinct territory ¹²¹

Maru

An implied reference to Maru as the country of desert mounds near Kurukshetra has been traced in *Taittiriya Aranyaka* ¹²²

Kampila

Name of place in name of a woman in *Yajurveda Samhitas* ¹²³

Kurus

The Kurus appear as 'by far the most important people' in the *Brahmanas*, being often paired with the Panchalas A king of the Kurus is also mentioned in the *Atharvaveda* ¹²⁴ Their territory is named Kurukshetra in the *Brahmanas*, ¹²⁵ the name surviving in the site of the sacred tank One may suppose that the territory of the upper Sarasvati and Drishadvati was the area of the Kurus, i.e. Kurukshetra

Panchala, Kuru-Panchala

According to the Kanva version of the *Shatapatha Brahmana*, the Kuru-Panchala country bordered Kosala-Videha, the Sadanira river forming the dividing line ¹²⁶ It may be supposed that Panchala represented mod Rohilkhand and Doab, the later historical territory of that name

Parvatas

Placed on the Yamuna by the *Panchavimsha Brahmana* ¹²⁷

Matsya

Mentioned in the *Shatapatha* and *Gopatha Brahmanas* and in the *Kaushitaki Upanishad* ¹²⁸

Kaushambi

It is possible that the *Shatapatha Brahmana* refers to this town (or district) under the designation Kaushambeya for a teacher ¹²⁹

Madhyama Pratishtha Dish

'The middle fixed region' in *Aitareya Brahmana*, said to be inhabited by Kurus, Panchalas, Vashas and Ushinaras, the latter two not satisfactorily located Cf the Madhya-desha of later texts ¹³⁰

Kosala

Mentioned in the *Shatapatha Brahmana*, as bordering upon Videha Also connected with Kashi in the *Shankhayana Shrauta Sutra* ¹³¹ One of the *mahajanapadas* and identifiable largely with the large tract on both sides of the Sarayu river (roughly the Mughal suba of Awadh)

Kashi

Mention of the town/district occurs in the *Shatapatha Brahmana* in the Upanishads and Sutra texts it is associated with Videha ¹³² It is possible that Kashi was originally the name of the territory and Varanasi the name of the town, whenever in pre-Buddhist times it came to be built

Videha

Mentioned in the *Shatapatha* and *Panchavimsha Brahmanas* and later texts ¹³³ As we have seen, it bordered upon Kosala and Kashi It should have corresponded roughly with Bihar north of the Ganga, and included possibly parts of eastern U P

Prachyas

Eastern peoples, mentioned in the *Aitareya* and *Shatapatha Brahmanas* ¹³⁴

Magadha

The Angas and Magadhas appear in the *Atharvaveda* as alien peoples to whom fever is to be expelled 'A man from Magadha' (Magadha) is mentioned once elsewhere in the same text and in the *Yajurveda Gopatha Brahmana* ¹³⁵ The compound *Anga-Magadhah* also occurs ¹³⁶ The historical *janapada* of Magadha comprised the Bihar plains south of the Ganga

Anga

See preceding note Paired with Magadha, Anga was in eastern Bihar as in later times

Vanga

Doubtful mention in *Aitareya Aranyaka*, in the word *Vangavagadhah*, -Vanga-Magadhah? ¹³⁷ Presumably, Western Bengal

Pundra

Mentioned in the *Aitareya Brahmana* as people deemed outcastes Presumably surviving in 'Pudangala' of the Mauryan Mahasthan inscription, and Pkt Punavadhana/Skt Pundravardhana of pre-Gupta and Gupta inscriptions, and, therefore, from the locations of the inscriptions, eastern Bengal, above the delta

Vidarbha

Mentioned only in the *Jaiminiya Upanishad Brahmana*, where dogs kill tigers ¹³⁸ Apparently, therefore, a distant, wild region

Andhras

Mentioned among the outcastes in the *Aitareya Brahmana* along with Pundras, etc ¹³⁹

(C) MOUNTAINS

Mujavant

See notes on Rigvedic geography above In the *Yajurveda samhitas* too the Mujavant people appear as a 'distant folk' ¹⁴⁰

Himavant

The 'snowy' mountains or Himalayas are mentioned in the *Atharvaveda*, the *Yajurveda Samhitas* and the *Aitareya Brahmana* ¹⁴¹

- 12 If we use the above geographical information to set limits to the Late Vedic Zone, we find that it no longer included any territory west of the Indus (the Balhikas and Mujavants being deemed alien peoples), while there is greater penetration of the western Himalayas, and, above all, a considerable expansion into the Ganga valley, with southern and eastern Bihar and north Bengal on the fringe of the penetration (but outside the culture-zone) There does not seem to have been much penetration into central India, let alone into the Peninsula

The withdrawal on the western side is interesting, and, at present, Avestan geography best explains the phenomenon All trans-Indus lands as well as Hepta-Hendu/Sapta-Sindhvāh were regarded as part of Ahur Mazda's special creations listed in the *Vendidad*, as we have seen The Iranianization of the area (and Zoroaster's anti-'daeva' movement) might have been responsible for the permanent linguistic (and ritualistic) alienation of this area from the Indic zone — a divorce already reflected in the post-Rigvedic evidence

The eastern penetration may be ascribed to the use of iron, which appears among the metals found in the later Vedic literature (the other being gold, silver, bronze, copper, lead, tin — inventory based on entries in the *Vedic Index*) With iron, forests beyond the 30"-isohyet could be cleared Here the archaeological evidence at last matches the literary evidence The Painted Grey Ware (PGW) Culture with its major sites in the Doab and settlement distribution mainly within the 'Madhyama Pratishtā Dish', satisfactorily represents the core-area of late-Vedic culture The archaeological evidence for multiplicity of crops is matched by their profusion in late-Vedic texts, where

entries in the *Vedic Index* indicate the presence of rice, wheat, barley, millets, beans, sesamum and lentil. Cotton is, curiously enough, not on this list, it has not so far appeared also among material from PGW sites

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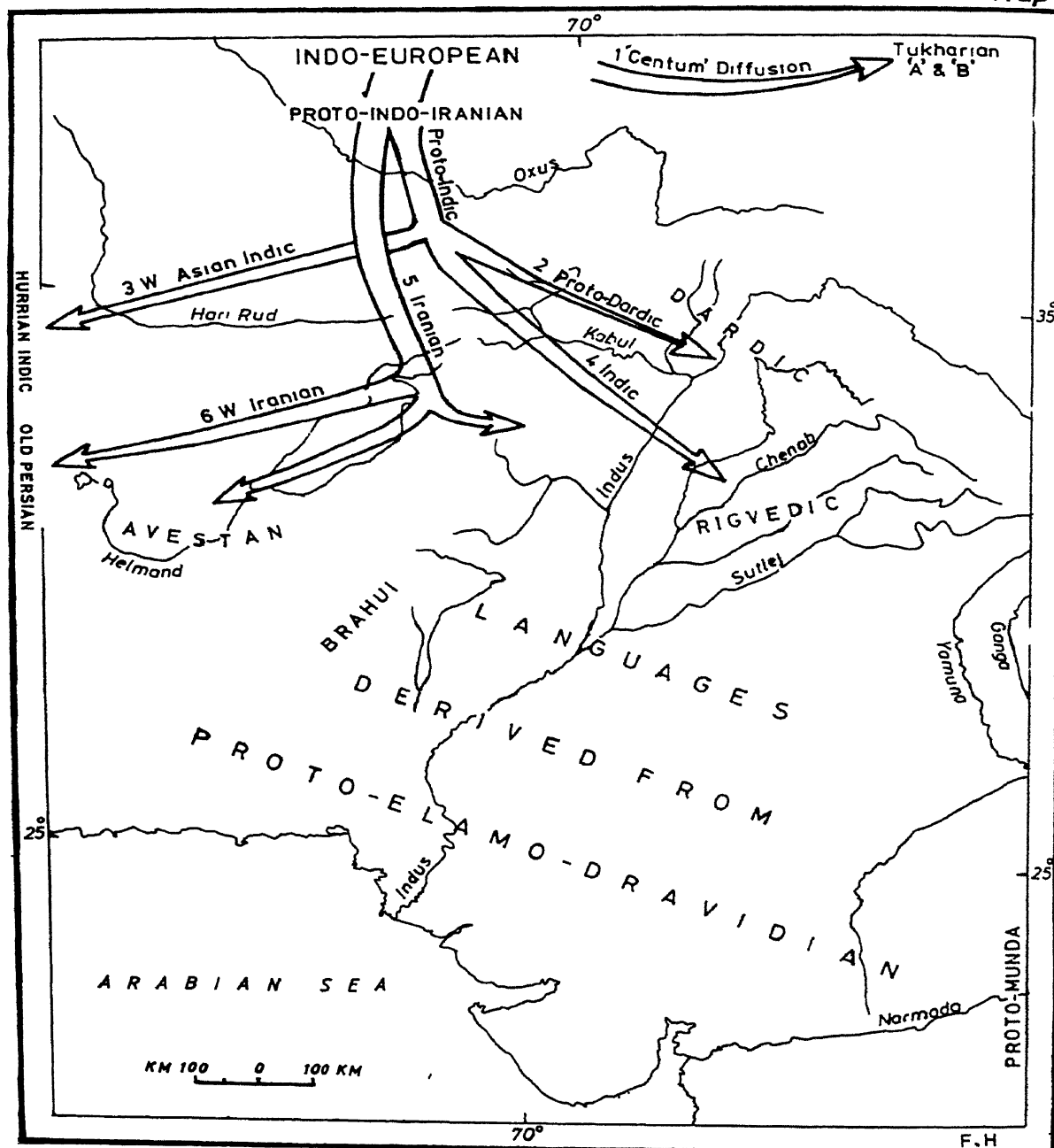
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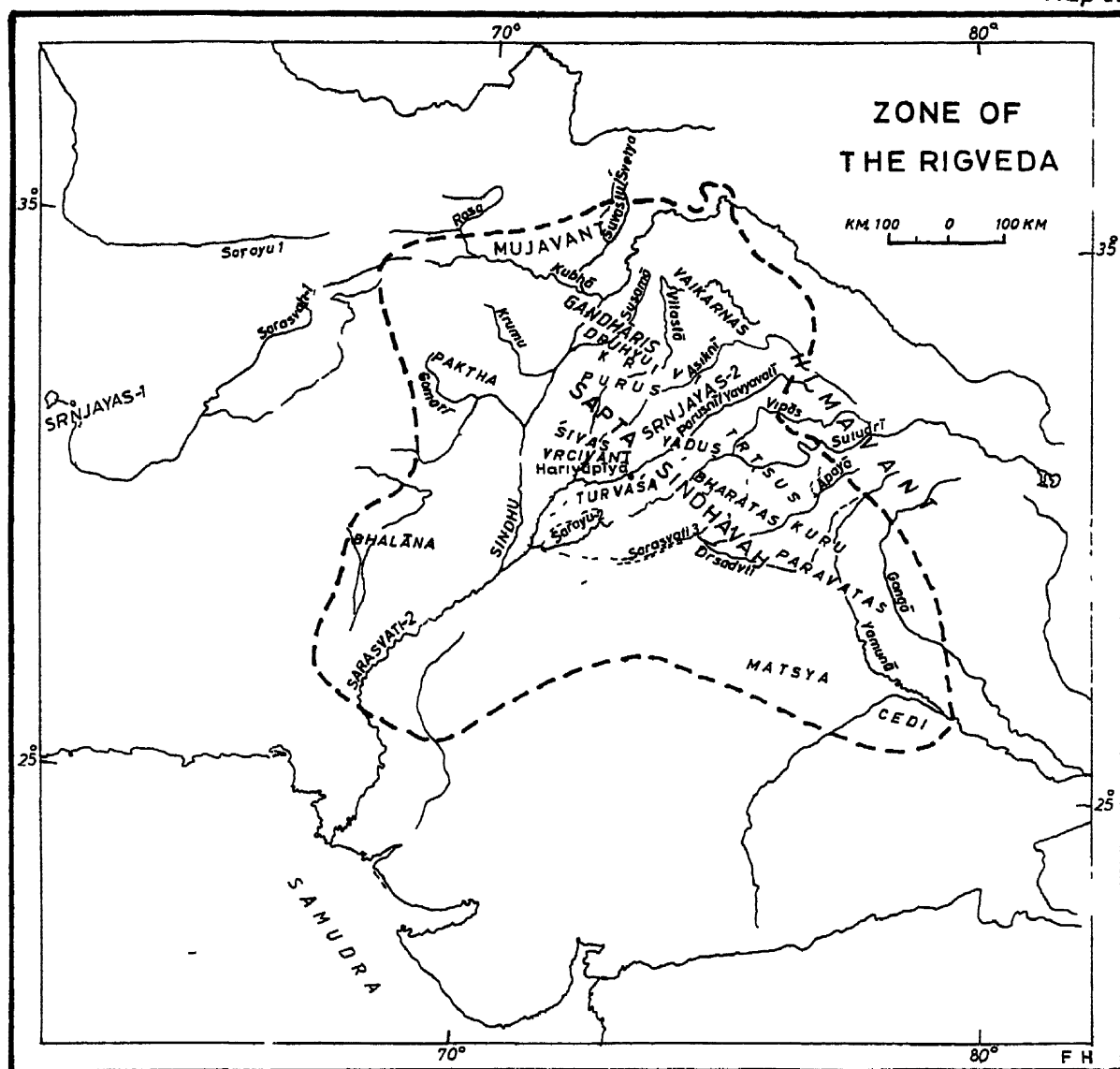
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LANGUAGE MOVEMENTS, c. BC 1800-800

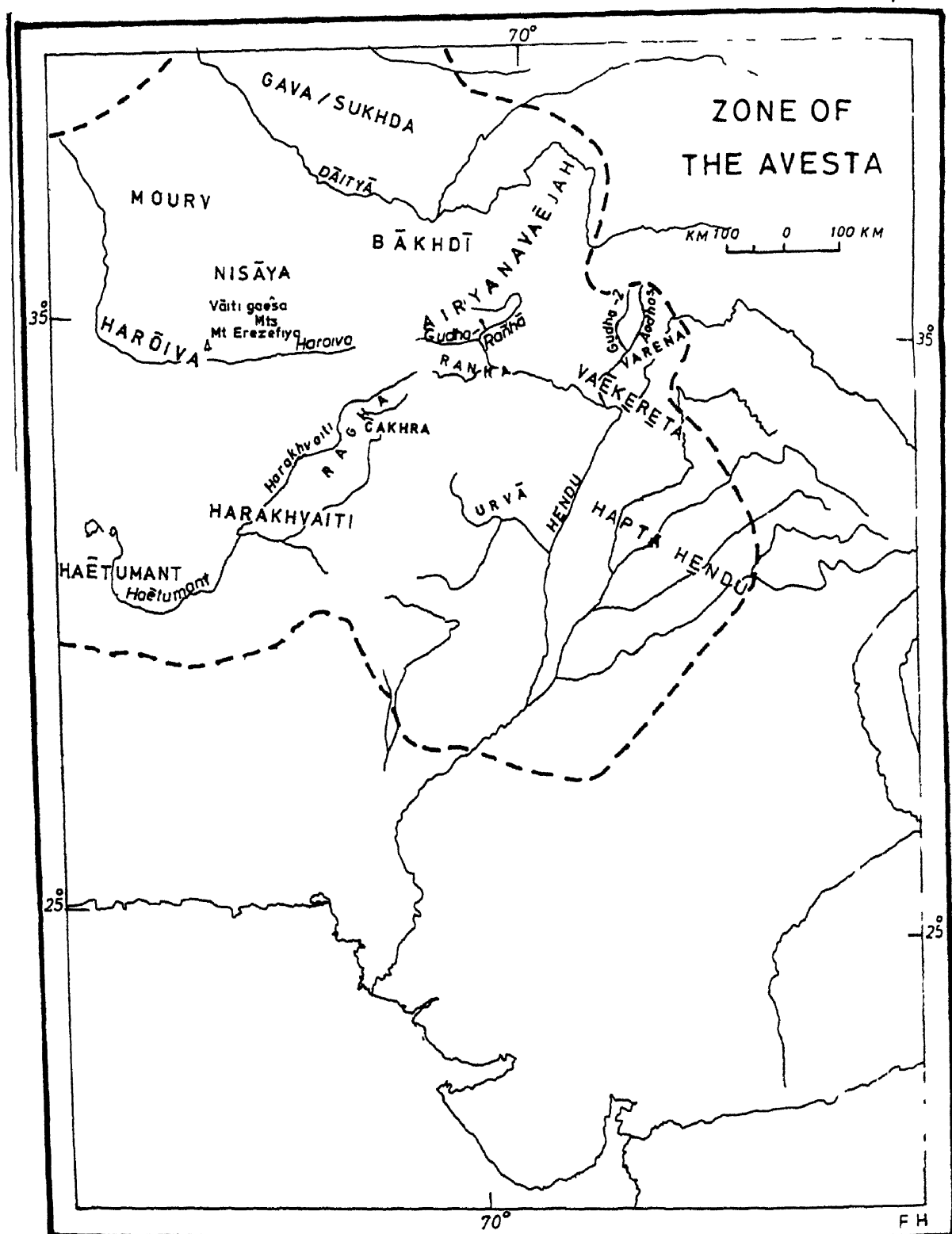
Map I

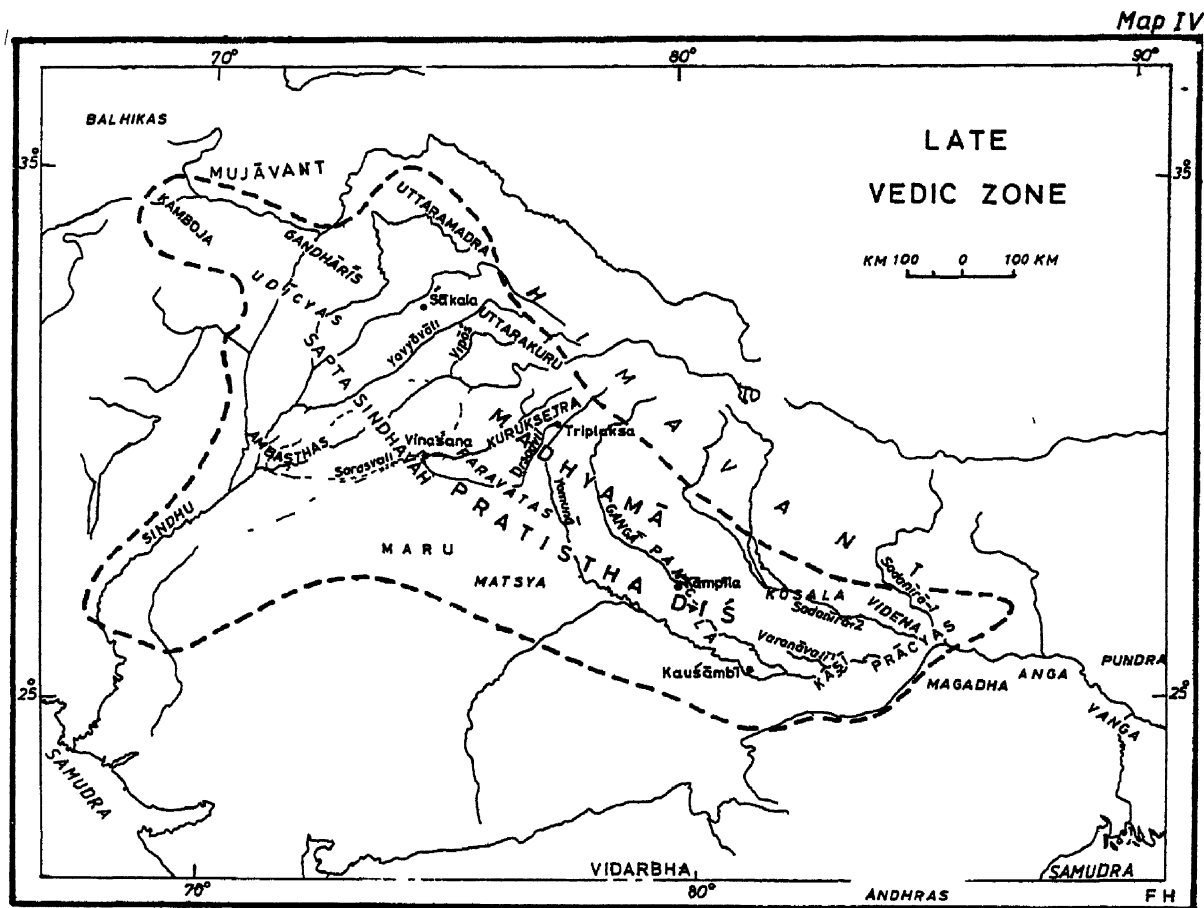


Map II



Map III





STORAGE AND RATIONING FACILITIES IN ANCIENT INDIA

(FROM EARLIEST TIMES TO THE EARLY CHRISTIAN ERA)

ATREYI BISWAS*

- 1.1 Natural calamities have always been a common feature in India. To fight against these maladies a strong socio-economic infrastructure was an essential pre-requisite. Sufficient storage of food stuff, by the state agencies and private individuals increases the bearing capacity of the society, and makes it capable to face the famine situations or similar such economic crisis. Let us see what storing and rationing provisions were made in different stages of our ancient history.
- 1.2 The beginning of agriculture can be traced in Mehrgarh (Baluchistan) as early as 6000 B.C. The Mehrgarh farmers cultivated besides emmer, einkorn and two-row barley. Jarige's¹ excavations at this site show continuity of occupation for more than three millennia, prior to the rise of the Harappan culture. The last phase corresponds to 4000-3000 B.C. The distribution area of the potteries of this period cover some 40 hectares. Mehrgarh, thus had acquired quite a large concentration of population and therefore, definitely needed to save their surplus grains for the years of scarcity. It is interesting to note that such a necessity was realized by its early occupants and they constructed a 'store house'. South of the neolithic settlement of Mehrgarh are the remains of settlement belonging to 5000 B.C. In this cultural horizon a large rectangular building has been

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found, which is divided into ten narrow corridors Jarrige² suggests that it was probably 'its storehouse' or 'granary', as large number of barley and wheat imprints are noticed in the compartments

- 1 3 In the Mature Harappan period the concentration of population in big towns was more evident. The society became more complex. Single yield in a year was generally done. Wheat and barley were the main crops. Rice production was limited only to a few regions. The Punjab and Sindh provide no evidence of it and our knowledge is confined to Kathiawar. *Bajra* (sorghum) and *Jwar* (millet) were not widely used. Therefore the whole burden was on the single yield of wheat and barley crops. They needed to store the surplus food, whenever they reaped an abundant crop yield. Some scholars have identified some buildings of Mohenjodaro and Harappa as their 'granaries'. Fentress³ has objected to the identification, on architectural grounds. Similar type of 'granaries' are not found in other urban centres of the Harappan culture. The Lothal structure has been designated by its excavator as 'ware house' and may not thus be a 'granary'. Tax was most likely collected in the form of grains and the same were given to workers in lieu of wages. Therefore, quite likely the 'store houses' of Mohenjodaro and Harappa were not constructed with the aim of mitigating the famine hit populace. Beside that the storage capacity of these two 'granaries' were insufficient. They could not have stored enough grains to supply it to surrounding satellite settlements. State run 'store houses' needed a vast state machinery, capable of controlling the economy. Moreover, how advanced their administrative system was, is yet a matter of discussion.
- 1 4 In the succeeding periods very few archaeological evidences are available to prove the existence of 'granaries'. The only 'granaries' so far identified, are from Inamgaon (Pune district), which is traced amidst the Malwa-ware cultural horizon (1600-1400 B C), and in Rajgir (Nalanda), which was of a later period and can be dated to c. 2nd - 1st century B C. In Sirpat Baram (Varanasi), a store house was found, attached to a monastery and can only be placed in the NBPW period.
- 1 5 Food crisis during natural distresses can be averted to some extent, if the general public are conscious of storing their food products privately. The necessity of storage of food was realized quite early. People of various cultural background built big 'store-jars' and 'storing' pits. For collecting grains for their personal use and safety. In the chalcolithic cultural context storage jars have been traced in Ahar, Bahal, Banawali, Eran, Kakoria, Kotla-Nihang-Khan, Maheswar-Navdatoli, Nevasa, and Sonpur. In the Malwa-ware-Jorwe-ware cultural background 'storage jars' are found in sites like Apegaon, Chandoli and Inamgaon. In the Bara-ware cultural context or in the contemporary period they have been reported from and Daulatpur. In the OCW cultural context 'storage-jars' were traced from Ambkhen, and Lal Quila. 'Storage-jars' remained in common use in the succeeding PGW and NBPW periods and have been reported from sites like Ropar (PGW period), Rajgir, Sarnath and Sirpat-Baram (NBPW period).

- 1 6 Some times 'storage-pits' were also built, for example in Ahar (chalcolithic period), Chandoli (Malwa-ware and Jorwe ware cultural context), Gilund (chalcolithic BRW period), Inamgaon (Malwa and Jorwe ware period)
- 1 7 Literary sources provide us with fairly extensive information on storage provisions of our ancient people. Whether there was any systematic storing during the Rig Vedic period is still not very easy for us to ascertain. The word 'urdara' occurs in *Rig Veda* II 74 11. Sayana (Monier Williams' *Dictionary*) renders it 'granary' but Roth and Zimmer (*St. Peterberg Dictionary*) seem to translate it preferably as 'garner' or a measure for holding grain.
- 1 8 The practice of small scale storing by private individuals became more and more common as years passed. Jain sources refer about 'samvaha', which used to be situated on hill tops or any other place of safety, where farmers could store their corn.⁴ Many types of storing jars and storing vessels are referred to in the Buddhist and Jain literature, like *Kumbhi*, *Karabhi*,⁵ *Idura*, *Alinda*⁶ and *Muttoli*.⁷ *Ocara*⁸ was a type of store house.
- 1 9 Small scale storing was insufficient to solve the massive problems during famines. With the rise of monarchical states and mercantile society the importance of storage of grains was gradually realised by the states and the rich people. In *Chhandogya Upanisada*⁹ a reference occurs about a king Mahavrsas Jnanasruti Pautrayana, who was very much anxious for the welfare of his people and built *Avasathas* everywhere in his realm, to mitigate the food problems of his poor subjects. But *Avasathas* were rest houses (like *dharmasalas*) and not granaries. They could not fulfill the objectives of a 'store house'.

The concept of proper storage of food products developed during the age of the Buddha when enough surplus was available to the states. In *Majjhima Nikaya*¹⁰ a reference occurs about a town 'Thullakotthika'. Identification of the place is not yet certain but this place got its name because its 'granaries were always full'. Amongst Buddhist sources the best reference about storing comes from *Divyavadana*¹¹. It mentions that the state made special efforts for the collection of food stuff and kept them in 'granaries' (*koshtagara*) in every village, town and cities.

- 1 10 In the Mauryan period when the state controlled all aspects of economy, storage of the surplus, by the government agencies for the purpose of relieving the poor during famines, became a common practice. The *Arthashastra* mentions a superintendent of store house. Whatever was collected for the store house, half of it was reserved to ward off the calamities. Old collection of grains was replaced by the new supply.¹² Two inscriptional references are found which show that in the Mauryan period storing of grains was regarded as the responsibility of the state. The Sohagaura copper plate¹³ discovered from Gorakhpur, contains a short Brahmi inscription of Mauryan times. It refers to two 'store houses' with the provision of fodder, wheat, etc. in the province of Kosala to ameliorate the sufferings of cattle and men in times of distress. The other is the Mahasthan fragmentary stone plaque inscription of the Mauryan

times¹⁴ This also refers to the store houses from where grains were distributed to the famine hit populace

1 11 The *Ramayana* and the *Mahabharata*¹⁵ urge the rulers to deposit all kinds of grains and other provisions in the royal granary, probably with the intention of supporting people during famines or some such situations Manu¹⁶ refers that capital cities possessed royal store houses Any person guilty of harming the 'store houses' was awarded severe punishment¹⁷ In Patanjali's *Mahabhashya*,¹⁸ we find that the granary was known as 'koshtha' or 'kusula' The person who stored grain in jars was known as 'kumbhidhanya'¹⁹

1 12 Not only the state but rich individuals showed a consciousness in efforts for storing But whether these stored grains were utilized for distribution amongst the needy, or these accumulated food grains were really hoarded for the purpose of making profits in the days of scarcity, depended on the person concerned We have examples of both types of people In *Dhammapada*²⁰ it is said that during the time of Pasendi, rich people were in the habit of keeping large quantity grains for the purpose of distribution amongst the mendicants and poor *Shresthis* like Anathapindaka and rich women like Vishakha and Suppavasa served the society by distributing food to the poor and *Bhikkshus* The *Mahabharata*²¹ says that rich people kept the grains in storage In the materialistic attitude of Kautilya, storing by the rich people was practically considered as 'hoarding' and thus a social evil The *Arthashastra* categorically states that hoarded wealth of the subjects could be confiscated for feeding the hungry' This may have practically materialised in the days of state controlled economy, but otherwise personal storing was in fact, hoarding, and thus a social abuse, which was difficult for the state to control In the *Milindapanho*²² a reference occurs about the stores of a wealthy man He has stores of all kinds of wheat, rice, paddy, barley, dry grains, oil seeds, beans, peas and also has molasses, kept in jars, pots, pans and every sort of container The tone of description indicates that this storing process was in fact, a hoarding, meant probably to gain profits during economic emergencies

1 13 We do find some evidence which show that chieftains, state officials or rich men had collected the food stuff with philanthropic attitudes too In the inscription of the early Christian era *sattras* (*Satta* in Prakrit) has been referred again and again They meant place of refuge or asylum, usually built by kings or government officials, even guilds or rich traders for religious benefit, with the purpose of feeding the poor This may have helped to mitigate the problems of hunger during the periods of scarcity, but they were not actual 'store houses' and could not fulfil the objectives of a 'granary'

1 14 Just 'storing' the grains is not sufficient remedy to fight the famines What was needed more was a state controlled distributive system This may be called 'rationing' in modern terms We have already expressed our doubts about the possibility of the distribution of food stuff to the flood or drought hit populace

in Harappan times. It needed a state controlled economic system and an all pervasive administrative machinery. Both the possibilities do not seem feasible during the Harappan epoch. The best example of distribution of grains to famine hit populace, is supplied by two Mauryan inscriptions, referred to above. Kautilya also confirms in his treatise that the state adopted a positive attitude to mitigate the troubles of famine effected regions. The equitable distribution of food (*bhakta samvibhagam*) has been mentioned in the *Arthashastra*. Besides that the state either forced the population to migrate to those areas, where food was easily available, or forced the hoarders to surrender their wealth, or advanced loans to poor farmers. The *Divyavadana* also provides us with an example of the method of rationing and distribution. It mentions the census of population for rationing, so that they could get an equal amount of grains (*samam bhaktam*). The officers who took the census were supposed to be experts in statistics (*ganita kusala*). The *Divyavadana* says that one *manika* per unit was the ideal standard for the equitable distribution of food stuff. Similarly in the *Anguttara Nikaya*²³ a reference occurs about mode of rationing during war. Thus, it can be said that in ancient India some concepts of controlled distributive measures during disturbed times was not unknown, but both in the matters of storing and rationing the state did not take a regular active interest on a large scale. In general it can be concluded that due to administrative slackness and vastness of the problem, storage facilities and its controlled distribution during economic emergencies, remained inadequate in most parts of our ancient history.

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AN EPIGRAPHIC EVIDENCE OF A VAPI IN SEVENTH CENTURY SAURASHTRA

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I

- 1.1 A remarkable element of continuity in the economic life of India from the ancient to the modern times has been the great importance of agriculture. Agricultural operations in India in ancient as well as in the present times initially remain a gamble with the monsoons'. Vagaries of the monsoon make irrigation projects an indispensable ingredient for successful agricultural output. The significance of the study of irrigation system of early India can therefore be hardly overemphasized.²
- 1.2 On the basis of the different recorded evidences we may say that there were three major types of irrigation projects or irrigation systems. First comes the natural or inundation irrigation. As and when flood waters recede after the rainy season, the silt carried earlier by floods enhances fertility of soil. This sort of irrigation was only possible in the lands which were adjacent to one or more than one river. Second type of irrigation contained the local and small scale irrigation projects, the typical examples being a small tank or a well in a certain area. The third one was the supra-local irrigation system, the aim of which was to bring a large area under the scope of irrigation by controlling the available riverine water. This sort of

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irrigation was made by constructing lake or reservoir or large dam (*setu*) The last type of irrigation projects seems to have been technologically, organizationally and financially too complex to be launched and maintained by an ordinary individual Many of the large scale irrigation projects are known to have been managed by ruling authorities of different periods and areas

- 1 3 This, however, does not imply that early India witnessed a kind of a hydraulic society³ in which the political authority exercised supreme authority over all types of irrigation projects In fact in a hydraulic society despotic power is firmly rooted to the control or management of water resources Pre-modern India, including early India, seems to have depended more on local level irrigation system, launched by non-governmental agencies than by direct initiatives of the ruling authority⁴ State care of large scale irrigation projects like the lake Sudarshana⁵ (which existed from C 4th century B C to the 5th century A D) was infact a rarity
- 1 4 Construction of small-scale local level hydraulic projects was widely prevalent in early India We come across terms like *vapi*, *kupa* (well), *tadaga* (tank, pond) in several inscriptions,⁶ all denoting local level irrigation projects In general the word *vapi* meant an oblong pond or reservoir of water The word *Vapi* comes from the root *vapa* which means a sower or act of sowing seed⁷ so we may safely conclude that *vapi* is reservoir of water used mainly for irrigation purpose This has some significance in the present context Early Indian terms for local level hydraulic projects generally do not distinguish an irrigational tank/well from a source of drinking water But so far as Western India is concerned *vapi* meant a step-well or an irrigation well as noted by D C Sircar In early medieval period (10th Century - 12th Century) specially in the Chaulukya period we get epigraphic evidences of the presence of step-wells which were plenty in number in Gujarat region⁸

II

- 2 1 In an inscription of the Maitrakas of Valabhi found near Amreli (Gujarat) dated in the gupta era (yr 322) the date which corresponds with 642 A D speaks of a *vapi*⁹ The term *vapi* in this inscription is translated as a step-well¹⁰ by D C Sircar and J Sundaram
- 2 2 The inscription under review records a gift of land consisting of two plots measuring 125 *padavartas* The first plot contained a step-well that covered an area of 25 *padavartas* lying in the north-western section of Ajakonha gram within the Kalepaka pathaka in Saurashtra It was known as 'Rajakiya *vapi*' which meant a royal step-well The impression one gets from this expression is that the said *vapi* was constructed and maintained by royal initiative, probably of the ruling Maitraka king If the term *vapi* can be taken in the sense of a step-well following Sircar and Sundaram the Amreli

Museum plates then furnish one of the early evidences of the use of a step-well in Saurashtra area. Such a *vapi* located within the donated plot of land must have facilitated availability of irrigational water. The other significant fact is the explicit reference to the construction and hence ownership of the step-well by the king (*rajakiya*). We have already pointed out that political authorities of early India did take initiative in producing irrigation facilities. But such efforts were mainly directed at launching supra-local irrigation projects. This, however, by no means suggests state/royal control over irrigation system in a particular area.

- 23 The importance of the use of *vapi* (step-well) in Saurashtra and Gujarat may be better appreciated if we keep in view the aridity and low rainfall pattern in Gujarat. Some information about the climatic conditions of Gujarat, Saurashtra and adjoining areas may be glanced from Huan-Tsang's (staying in India 625-645 A.D.) accounts.¹¹ The environment of this area is generally arid enough with some climatic variations. The precarious variability of rainfall being every where over 50% the natural cover of the vegetation consists of dry thorn forest. Much of the land is waste. Altogether about 50-60% of Kathiawad is cropped in small proportion given the low unreliable rainfall. Cultivation is only possible by careful exploitation of all available sources of water. There were no large irrigation works till some decades ago. Tanks and wells were used for irrigation. The wells are often aligned along the dykes in the Deccan lavas. In general the ground water level is low.¹² There appears to have been little climatic shift in early times than from the present situation. Due to the existence of low water level step-well was essential for irrigation in Western India. It is hardly surprising that epigraphic records are replete with references to *Vapis* in Gujarat area under the Chaulukyas. As our present inscription also speaks of a step-well as an object of gift we may safely conclude that the construction of this particular step-well in Valabhi territory in A.D. 7th Century appears to have been a precursor of the wide spread practice of step-wells in Gujarat during the Chalukya rule.

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THE NATURE OF AGRARIAN CORPORATIONS IN SOUTH CANARA UNDER THE ALUPAS AND HOYSALAS

KESAVAN VELUTHAT*

I

- 1 1 The existing literature on the history of South Canara is not much, and such as is available does not pay sufficient attention to the problem of the organization of locality groups and their administration. A few corporate bodies are mentioned in the context of administrative history in the writings of B A Saleore¹ and K V Ramesh.² Even in a recent study on the agrarian order in South Canara,³ this problem has not been treated with the seriousness which it deserves. In the present paper, an attempt is made to bring together evidence concerning the locality groups and institutions with an agrarian bias in this part of the West Coast. The author's interest was particularly aroused by references to recognisably brahmanical groups here as he had done a bit of research into the organization and functioning of brahmanical groups in Kerala next door.⁴
- 1 2 The sources for the present study are epigraphical. The monumental history of the Tuluvas by B A Saleore has a whole chapter devoted to the subject of village organization,⁵ but he depends largely on the traditional chronicle in Kannada called *Gramapaddhati* for his information. While the chronicle is no doubt invaluable for the brahmanical traditions contained there, its ageless character detracts from its value as a historical source, especially for our purpose, as it fails to document changes that took place over long periods in

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time inscriptions, on the other hand, are sharper in their chronological sense and record what happened at a given point in time. Being closely associated with the bodies with which we are concerned in this paper, they throw light on the details of organisation and functioning of such bodies although records which could be described strictly as the constitutions of these bodies are wanting. Nor are the data as copious as what is obtaining in Tamilnadu or even in Kerala, so that the nature and functions of these bodies will often have to be surmised, extrapolating from available evidence.

II

- 2.1 The early records from South Canara do speak of units of local organization, the counterparts of which are met within the records of Kerala and Tamilnadu. They include the *uru*, *nadu*, *grama* and *nagara*. In fact, the earliest known record from the region, the Vaddarse inscription of the reign of Aluvarasa I (A.D. 650-680), speaks of a *nadu*⁶. It refers to the *Nattu=mudime*, or "headmanship of the *nadu*", enjoyed by a certain Gundannarasa. It also speaks of *mudime* over lesser units: a certain Sattigari is mentioned as holding the *mudime* of Banna or Banne. Banna or Banne was, obviously, a subdivision of Paduvaliyanadu over which Gundannarasa held *nattu=mudime*. Similar instances of individuals enjoying *nattu=mudime* are available in a few other records: the Kigga inscription of Aluvarasa I refers to the *nattu=mudime* enjoyed by a certain Kundavarmarasa⁷ and two Udyavara inscriptions of Prithvisagara (810-840) and Maramma (840-870) speak of similar offices held during their reigns⁸.
- 2.2 About the composition of the *nadu* units, our sources do not shed enough light. It does not appear that they shared the corporate character of their counterparts from up the Ghats or Tamilnadu, where a number of peasant villages known as the *ur* constituted the larger locality unit of the *nadu*, with the assembly of its spokesmen, the *nattar*, formed by the spokesmen of the constituent *urs*. This constitutive character of the *nadu* there is brought out by records from those regions. For instance, a Hoysala record from Mysore Taluk speaks of the representatives of five villages as coming together to form the *nadu* in question: *bandhu samartha nadagi*⁹. The best representative from the Tamil country is what is recorded in a Kiranur inscription: the spokesmen of five *urs* are expressly described as constituting the *nadu* of Vada-ciravayil=*nadu*¹⁰. On the contrary, there is nothing on record to show such a character about the *nadus* in Kerala. There the *nadus* were territorial units under chiefs, some of whom followed hereditary succession and some others owed their authority to an appointment by the Chera king himself¹¹. The situation in South Canara appears to be closer to that in Kerala than the Tamil country in this respect, at least at this point in time.
- 2.3 References to *nattu=mudime* and *mudime* are not found any more after the reign of Maramma (A.D. 840-870). K.V. Ramesh explains this as following the establishment of feudatory principalities which replaced the office of

*nattu=mudime*¹² According to him, the office of *heggade* was the later counterpart of the earlier office of *nattu=mudime*. The problem does not appear to be as simple as the replacement of a name by another name or an office by another office. It seems to have more serious implications. In the records of later times, we do continue to get references to *nadu* units, which are placed under the agents of the Hoysala, Vijayanagara or even Keladi rulers who held sway over this region. Such agents were known as *mandalika*, *mahamandalika*, etc. It would appear, therefore, that the locally evolved chiefships in the locally evolved political unit of *nadu* - remember the title *arasa* borne by those who held the *nattu=mudime* - was liquidated and replaced by the direct administrative agent of the state.¹³ It is significant that, in most cases in South Canara, the institution of state did not have local roots and that its authority was superimposed from outside the region. The deeper entrenchment of this external authority in this region may have required either the liquidation of locally evolved political units and their authority or their co-option. Thus, the disappearance of *nattu=mudime* and its replacement by administrative agents of the state from the time of the establishment of the state in a firm manner in South Canara indicate a major political change in this region. This, incidentally, did not happen in Kerala where the pattern of political development was different, with the locally evolved Chera state exercising superordinate authority over the local units of *nadu*.

III

- 3 1 The picture of smaller units of organization in the localities is better illuminated in the records, dating from a slightly later period. Among such units are the agrarian villages known as the *uru* or *grama* and the trading centres known as *nagara* (spelt variously as *nakara*, *nakhara*, etc.) Although the former had an agrarian and the latter, a trading bias and character, the broad outlines of their organization appear to have been comparable, and the latter seems to have been largely subsumed by the interests of the former. We shall examine the records for a better understanding of the situation. They speak of both the agrarian and trading corporations at the lowest levels.
- 3 2 The records take into account the village (*uravaru*, *grama*) when a grant is made. They are mentioned as party to the transaction.¹⁴ Obviously, this could not have meant the entire population of the village, as had been thought by earlier scholars.¹⁵ What is likely is that this expression and similar ones stood for those influential sections of society who, on account of their ownership of land, high caste status and other privileges, had acquired the position of being the notables in society. To this may be added instances of the grant of land, where the villages are themselves the recipients *uravarige* or *gramadavarige kotta shasana*. So also certain other records expect the village, among others, to protect the grant in question. To look at these groups as a corporate body of the notables in society will reveal that South Canara, too, conformed to the pattern obtaining elsewhere in South India, where the locality groups such as the *ur* and *sabha* were constituted by the prominent landowners.¹⁶

- 3 3 It has been suggested that villages had the advantage of representative bodies in the field of administration. Among the representative bodies, mention is made of the "Thousand of Sivalli" (Sivalliya sasiravaru), "Thousand of Kota" (Kotaya sasiravaru), "Thousand of Handadi", "Three Hundred of Niruvura", "Three Hundred of Kudikuru", "One Hundred and Two of Brahmavuru", "One Hundred and Two of Sivapura", etc.¹⁷ Scholars have, however, not raised and answered the question as to whom these huge bodies represented if indeed they were representative bodies. The rather intimidating numbers such as a thousand suggest that they were only conventional numerical designations, their significance going beyond their literal meaning and thus standing for a smaller body. Brahman family names in South Canara which survive to this day, such as Munnuraya, Imnuraya (Imiraya), etc., would even suggest that just a single family represented this, as in the case of the Arunurruvar in Kerala, demonstrated to have been represented by an individual there.¹⁸ In fact, the existence of similar "thousand" and "hundred" organizations in Kerala offer further temptations of comparison,¹⁹ but the unmistakable brahmanical character of the groups in South Canara and the clear non-brahman character of those in Kerala preclude any further comparison, appearances notwithstanding. There is at least one record, of the reign of Vira Pandya Alupendra,²⁰ which refers to the *mahajanas* of Brahmavura whom Ramesh identifies with the One Hundred and Two of Brahmavara mentioned in other records.²¹ If this is accepted, it would appear that the numerical organizations mentioned above functioned as the *mahajanas* in the Deccan or the *perumakkal* in the Tamil country. The context in which these bodies are mentioned in the documents bears this out: they figure as donors, donees, witnesses, protectors of grants and assessors of the various kinds of levies to be paid by the villages. To this group may be added bodies whose strength in terms of number is less such as the "Fourteen of Niruvura".²²
- 3 4 Inscriptions of a slightly later period, i.e. from the later Hoysalas, mention another corporate body called *elame* or *elamegalu*.²³ *Elame* is often prefixed by a numerical adjective, generally 150 and less often, four. In fact, in the Vijayanagar records from South Canara, *elame* finds frequent references, generally preceded by the numerical appellation 150. K.V. Ramesh interprets the term *elame* as an association of people, deriving it in the form *elasu* after the lexicographer Kittel, from Kannada *ene* (Tamil *inai*) which means, by extension, union, connection, fellowship, equality, etc.²⁴ This, however, does not inspire confidence for one thing, the derivation is forced, the primary meaning of *ene* or *inai* being a pair. A comparison with the Tamil expression, *perilamaiyar*, which stood for peasants in the Chola records in the Tamil country may, however, provide the answer. The *perilamaiyar* in Tamil records were members of the *nadu* assembly.²⁵ In fact, a whole *nadu*, known as the Perilamainadu occurs in the documents.²⁶ The *perilamaiyar* of the Tamil documents have been shown as non-brahman peasants, perhaps belonging to the vellala community. The *elame* of South Canara, too, could be likewise suggested to represent a group of non-brahman peasants. If this is acceptable the interesting process of the growth of non-brahman peasantry

with its own corporate body and state recognition could be noticed towards the end of the Hoysala rule and the beginning of the Vijayanagar rule in this part of the country

- 3 5 This stratum of non-brahman peasant proprietors appears to have existed, and wielded influence, in slightly earlier periods, although a corporate body of theirs is not met with in the records. There are a number of individuals mentioned in the records holding the title *odeya*, meaning literally a possessor, owner, etc. Scholars have taken this to mean the head of a village.²⁷ Thus the *odeya* of *Puttigeya grama*, mentioned in an inscription from Puttige,²⁸ is taken to mean the head of the village of Puttige. But when there are more than one *odeya* in one village, as we come across in a Barakuru inscription,²⁹ this explanation fails to hold water. In this connection, similar situations in the Tamil country and the rest of Karnataka help us in a big way. We have shown elsewhere that titles such as *udaiyan* in Tamil, *odeya* in Kannada, etc. signified ownership of land and that those who held such titles were the prominent landowners of the region.³⁰ It was from among such landed magnates that the agents of the state, to represent it in matters of administration, were recruited, whatever the manner of recruitment. This appears to be true in the case of South Canara too, where agents of the state such as the *adhi kari*, *senabova*, *heggade*, *shrikarana*, *sthan*i and *behari* held these and similar titles.

IV

- 4 1 There are interesting details available concerning the corporate bodies in the trading centres. However, we restrict ourselves in this paper to just one problem, viz. that of the *okkalu* of a city. An Udyavara inscription speaks of Udayapura *nagarada erpattokkalu*, i.e., the 'seventy *okkalu* of Udayapura *nagara*'³¹ B.A. Saleore, recognizing the sense in which the term *okkalu* is used to mean a tenant in Kannada, argues that in the earlier period the word stood for a citizen and that the record under reference is speaking about an association of the citizens of Udayapura.³² K.V. Ramesh, on the other hand, takes it to mean a guild of the seventy tenancies of Udayapura.³³ The situation, however, attracts comparison with what obtains in the Syrian Christian Copper Plates of Kollam.³⁴ It is stated in the record that the two bodies of *ancuvannam* and *manigramam* accepted, with libation of water, the position of being the *karalar* of the *nagar* of Kollam together with the various privileges granted therewith.³⁵ *Karalan* in Malayalam and Tamil means, like *okkalu* in Kannada, a tenant. If this clue is taken, it is possible that the seventy *okkalu* of the *nagara* of Udayapura were of the same status of the bodies in Kollam, enjoying something of a privileged tenancy there. They were enjoying administrative, judicial and fiscal autonomy to a great extent. This falls into the pattern of socio-economic organization in South Canara.
- 4 2 The probings made above bring out interesting patterns in the history of South Canara. They demonstrate that historical evolution in this part of the country can be studied in a more meaningful way if placed within the larger context.

of the entire peninsula. It is significant that there were broad agreements while there were also features of a unique nature, showing the individual path of development in this region. The need for analysing the documents from this part of South India in the light of the experience in the rest of the peninsula is underlined by our attempt. More important is the need to consider the records from Kerala in the immediate neighbourhood, which has not been done by scholars so far.

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- 22 No 492 of 1928-29
- 23 Ramesh, *op cit*, p 257
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SYSTEM OF LAND GRANTS IN EARLY MEDIEVAL KASHMIR

Y.B. SINGH*

I

- 1.1 Accumulation of wealth was going on in Kashmir since the days of the Kushanas when it succeeded in developing trade with other parts of Asia and Europe¹ It is a well known fact that its commodities like *Kutha* (costus), and shawl were very popular among the Romans² Gradually, people came to know about the medical and other properties of saffron and it also started fetching money for Kashmir³ It was this accumulation of money which, perhaps encouraged the rulers like Lalitaditya and Jayapida to indulge in military adventures It was also this factor because of which the rulers of the valley were trying to have their hold over the trade routes by checking the advance of Arabs with the help of China⁴ The prosperity of the traders of the valley was beyond the imagination of even the kings⁵ However, inspite of this all out effort, the decline of trade started and the valley, too, was forced to develop agriculture The construction of dams and the digging of canals are known to us from the account of Kalhana⁶ From his narration one can easily infer the said process In the beginning, when the crisis was realised, king Lalitaditya tried to check it by providing all possible help to traders But later, when we come to the period of Avantivarman we find the achievements of Suyya which gave an impetus to agriculture⁸
- 1.2 The impact of such drastic changes in the realm of economy was felt in the other spheres of life also The emergence of the feudal set up is associated

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with this time frame Besides this, due to the foreign inroads life in north-western India was disturbed so much that the traders and the elites started migrating to the valley in search of fortune and patronage⁹ The rulers of Kashmir like Jayapida encouraged the process by inviting learned scholars from other parts of the country to revive *dharma* and the literary activities in the valley¹⁰ As a result of this we find the propagation of Puranic Brahmanism and construction of temples dedicated to Shiva and Vishnu It is interesting to note that though the earliest known temple of the Valley is dedicated to the Sun god, his worship could not continue in later years The reason is that the Brahmanas who entered the valley propagated the efficacy of those gods who were popular in the main Puranic belt At the behest of such Brahmana scholars and tantriks the rulers of the valley constructed the *mathas* also The academic attainments of these *mathas* is available to us in the form of *Puranas, histories, charitas*, etc¹¹ Thus inside the valley there were feudatories, nobles, priests and the scholars subsisting on the income from land like other parts of the country

- 13 Kalhana mentions the grant of *agraharas* in plenty and thus makes it clear that the valley was not different from the other areas in this regard Rather such grants appear to have been more in the valley Since the brahmanas went there at the request of the rulers they succeeded in obtaining more¹² Further, the kings who were new converts to Brahmanism showed more enthusiasm Besides these another factor was also there Alongwith their priestly duties the brahmanas started manning the bureaucracy also¹³ And, as a result of these factors they emerged as the organized minority having powerful bodies like *Purohita-parshada* and *asthanabrahmana*¹⁴ Thus, when we go through the account of Kalhana we learn mainly about the construction of temples, *viharas* and *mathas* alongwith the grant of *agraharas* in favour of them His account also indicates that the land grants were common in the valley even in times preceding to his own While talking about his source materials he specifically mentions the inscriptions recording the consecration of temples, grants by former kings and the laudatory verses

Drishtaischa pûrvabhûhartripratishthavastusasnaih¹

Prasastipattaih Sastraischa Santo Seshabhramaklamah¹¹⁵

("by looking at the inscriptions recording the consecration of temples and grants by former kings, at the laudatory inscriptions and at written works, the trouble arising from many errors has been overcome")

- 4 The tradition of the system of such recording remained popular in the valley because of the economic interest of the brahmanas till recently When *taluqdar* of Avadha went to pay his obeisance to Lord Amaranatha (either the famous shrine of Kashmir or the Buddha Amaranatha of Jammu region) he composed the *Amaranathastrotra* and got it engraved on a stone slab in the early decades of the present century¹⁶ Yet, so far no one has reported even a single land grant from the valley Since this appears very strange an attempt is made to understand the very system of the land grants

- 1 5 The account of Kalhana associates even the rulers of remote antiquity with the grant of *agraharas*. According to him even Lava, who belonged to the thirty sixth generation, if counted from that of the *Mahabharata* days, was kind enough to grant an *agrahara* ¹⁷ This way we learn that rulers beginning with Lava, who find place in the first *taranga* of the *Rajatarangini* of Kalhana, made as much as fourteen such endowments. Rather some of the rulers like Kusha are described only in relation to the grant of an *agrahara* in a single verse ¹⁸ This makes one believe that Kalhana being a brahmana considered the grant of *agraharas* as the most pious act and, therefore, he did not hesitate even in exaggerating the matter. It would certainly not appear impossible if one says that the learned brahmanas or religious symbols and shrines were given a piece of cultivable land for the purpose of maintenance in those early days. But it would certainly appear almost impossible if one tries to project the system of *agraharas* known to the early medieval days backward to the early phase of history. The *Mahabharata* which contains the description of that age does not mention *agraharas* though because of the process of interpolation the epic has certain verses which belong even to the eighteenth century A D ¹⁹ Thus, it is possible that Kalhana was trying to infer his own present from that part of Kashmiri history.
- 1 6 Coming to the years about which his knowledge is almost accurate we have more definite information about the *agraharas*. It tells us that due to the increase in their number often there were rifts between the rulers, Damaras and the brahmanas ²⁰ There are frequent references to the *prayopavesha* (threat through fast unto death) with the help of which brahmanas used to protect their rights. It also informs that the system of *agrahara* grants became so popular that in later years it did not remain the prerogative of the brahmana community alone. There was a Domba grantee also. Because of the beauty of his daughter he became a most powerful person of the court and after seeking permission from the King forced the reluctant recorder (*pattopadhyaya*) to record the grant (*danapattaka*) of a village as an *agrahara* in his favour by snubbing him badly ²¹

Rajna pradatte Rangaya Helugrames graharavat ।
 lilekha pattopadhyayo na yada danapattakam ।¹²²
 tadaskshapatalam gatva Rangah Kopattambravita ।
 Rangah sa Helu dinneti dasisuta na likhyate ।¹²³

(When the king had granted the village of Helu to Ranga as an *agrahara*, and the recorder of official documents (*Pattopadhyaya*) did not execute the document relating to the grant (*danapattaka*), then Ranga proceeded to the *Akshapatala* (office) and thus addressed that (official) in anger "you son of a slave, why do you not write Rangassa Helu dinna' ('Helu to be granted to Ranga')

- 1 7 This makes it clear that *agrahara* grants were having much importance in the valley. Brahmanas were trying to retain it for their subsistence. The rulers and powerful chiefs were making effort to reappropriate them particularly during the

days when trade was on the decline And, in view of their economic importance even a singer was trying to obtain a village as an *agrahara* Thus, one has to believe that because of such litigations their records were of very valuable nature Yet, we do not have any trace of such records The problem becomes more serious when the case of inscriptions recording the consecration of temples, mentioned by Kalhana, is taken into consideration Such inscriptions are generally engraved on the body of the temples But so far no such inscription has been found on the walls, etc , of any of the reported temples in the valley The burning of the temples, known to us from the case of Martanda, may have caused damage to such engravings but then this cannot be applied to other existing temple remains whose number is around thirty six Moreover, certain temples like those of Avantipur were built on very high plinths But even on the side of the plinths, too, at present, there are no inscriptions There are sculptures on the faces of the newel at the bottom but again inspite of their suitability for the engraving of inscriptions they are not there

- 1 8 The description of Kalhana also indicates alongwith the types of inscriptions the material on which they were recorded The narrative in this regard is not very clear but still it is sufficient to go for a conjecture He uses the word *patta* which means a slab, a tablet as well as a royal grant or edict It also means a piece of cloth The information when is analysed in the light of the saying of Ranga then it suggests the possibility of a material which was like a piece of paper and on which it was very easy to write the grants, etc Because he clearly compels the royal scribe to write the grant of the *agrahara* immediately at the very place where they - Ranga and the scribe - were sitting The description thus makes one believe that most of the grants were written on the birch bark, cloth, etc The suggestion is supported by the high number of such grants mentioned in the *Rajatarangini* of Kalhana and the fact that copper was not available in the valley ²⁴ Copper, as discussed elsewhere, was mainly brought from Nepal during the early medieval days ²⁵ Thus one cannot believe that the rulers would have allowed its use for the recording of grants as it was needed for the minting of coins which was more important for the state And, no donee would have preferred to have a grant recorded on a stone slab which was definitely cumbersome Further, we have references to the melting of metal coins and spoliation of temple wealth by the kings for want of money ²⁶ The process might have consumed some copper plates but not all Because whatsoever copper plates were there they were in the possession of the powerful brahmana community and, in normal course it was not possible for even the kings to act arbitrarily in the matters involving the interest of that community Another possibility is that the donees themselves utilised the available copper for minting of coins The currency of Toramana coins in the valley till the nineteenth century A D is well known ²⁷ Thus the possibility of the minting of coins by the private persons cannot be denied altogether particularly during the period when state mints were technically not very advanced In this context we also have to note that the birch bark is available in plenty from the Kishtawar area

- 1 9 The temples, as stated above, have not yielded any inscription carrying the names of the builders, etc. In this context we have to take first the statement of Kalahana which according to Stein says about the consecration of temples. The verse, cited above actually talks only about *Pratishthavastu* (things of prestige) and this has been taken by Stein as a mention to the temples. But it may denote the icons also. And, atleast one or two inscribed icons are reported from the valley. Moreover, the stone used in the construction of the temples was not of good quality. Therefore, the process of decay set in very fast. Thus the possibility of the loss of small inscriptions due to the natural chippings is also there.
- 1 10 The discussion leads to the following conclusions
- (a) Land grants were very important in Kashmir during the early medieval days. Since the services of the brahmanas in general and those of the priests in particular were required by the rulers, recording of land grants was entrusted to a separate department. This had much to do with the eulogising of the origin of the family of the rulers like Lalitaditya.²⁸
 - (b) The land grants were recorded by the *Pattopadhyaya* (scribe of the royal edicts) under the overall supervision of the officer-in-charge of the office of *akshapatala*.²⁹
 - (c) The land grants were known in Kashmir as *danapattaka*. The name and the description concerning the recording of the grant in favour of Ranga suggests that they were recorded generally on the easily perishable materials like birch-bark.
 - (d) The important grants were perhaps recorded on copper plates. The possibility, as stated above, is that the copper of such plates was utilised for the purpose of minting of coins in later years. In fact, after the establishment of the rule of rulers like Suha deva and Rinchana such grants had lost the status which is accorded to official records and, thus had become valueless.³⁰

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- 10 *RT*, (Stein's trans), IV, 488
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- 12 *Ibid*, IV, 492, 495-497
- 13 The entire *RT*, is full of such narratives Y B Singh "Brahmana in Early Medieval Kashmir" paper presented at the National Seminar on Ancient Society, Faculty of Arts, B H U 2-5, January, 1992 (unpublished)
- 14 Y B Singh "Purohita Corporations of Early Medieval Kashmir" in *Gurukul Patrika* (Gurukul Kangari Visvavidyalaya, Haridwar, Sept-Oct-Nov, 1988 Special Number concerning Seminar on "Localself Government in Ancient India), pp 34-35 (English Section)
- 15 *RT*, (Sanskrit text edited by Vishva Bandhu, V V R, Hoshiarpur, 1963), 115 The english translation of the verse is from the english translation of the *Rajatarangini* of Kalhana by M A Stein
- 16 The *Stotra* is inscribed on a stone slab and at present it is housed in S P S Museum, Srinagar It was edited and translated by me See the *Journal of the Gulab Bhawan Research Series*, III (2), October, 1982, pp 37-40
- 17 *RT*, (Stein's trans) I, 87
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- 19 *Mahabharata* (*Karnavadhaparvan*), p XXIII
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- 27 *Ibid*, Vol II, p 319
- 28 Y B Singh, "Some Suggestions Regarding Absence of Land grants in Ancient Panjab" *Proceeding of the Punjab History Conference*, 16th Session, 1982, pp 75-79 See also Y B Singh "Rajadharma in Early Medieval Kashmir - Analysis of a Regional Peculiarity in National Context" in K K Dasgupta et al (ed) *Studies in Ancient Indian History* (D C Sircar Commemoration volume pp 49-52, Y B Singh "Changing Dimensions of Socio-Political Ideals in Early Medieval India" in S D Trivedi (ed) *Essays on Indology, Polity and Administration* (*Padmabhushan R K Trivedi Felicitation Volume*), Vol II, pp 319-325
- 29 K S Saxena, *Political History of Kashmir*, Upper India Publishing House, Lucknow, 1974, p 304 The author has taken the term *akshapatala* to mean a record office And this appears quite correct in the light of its use in the *RT*, of Kalhana
- 30 Jonaraja, *Rajatarangini* (text with critical annotation by Srikanth Kaul), p 70 The description clearly shows the state of affairs in which brahmanas were wishing the victory of alien intruders against their king

SOME ASPECTS OF SHIVAISM IN MADHYA PRADESH C.AD. 550 - 1300

NILIMA CHITGOPEKAR*

I

- 1 1 One of the sources of Shiva's strength was his multifarious manifestations and the peculiar capacity by which antinomies cohere in him. He is the only god who is frequently described with his family - Uma, his wife, Karttikeya and Ganesha, his sons. Where Shiva is not invoked directly or in any of his other aspects, then other members of his family find mention which will after all indicate the popularity of the Great God. We know that a son or daughter, a brother or sister, even a husband or wife of a god or goddess, is often the externalization of a latent characteristic through the mythological myth making faculty and that they also indicate the rise of separate cults which retain a degree of independence inside the total complex of hierophany.¹ There was a kind of independence of various cults. This interdependence for survival has been seen time and again in the inscriptions of the period under review. The central concern of this paper is to study the number of times Ganesha and Karttikeya have been referred to in the inscriptions. An epithetical investigation delineating their attributes as well as their relationship with Shiva in these inscriptions will constitute our major thrust.

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- 1 2 The inscriptions studied here pertain to the various dynasties of Madhya Pradesh between c AD 550 and 1300 These included the Nalas, Chhinda Nagas of Bastar, Kacchapaghatas, Kalacuris of Tripuri and Ratanpur, Candellas, Paramaras of Malwa, Somavamshins, Panduvamshins of Mekala and South Kosala, Sharabhpuriyas, Haihayas and Gurjara-Pratiharas
- 1 3 Even though attempts have been found in the inscription to invoke a particular deity in the opening obeisance, a reading of the inscription completely bears testimony to the allegiance to all kinds of deities, sometimes familiar and sometimes unfamiliar

II

- 2 1 Ganesha the son of Shiva, is a member of the Shiva group of deities hence obeisance to him occurs in several inscriptions of the dynasties of this period, especially in those belonging to the Kalacuris of Tripuri In the Rewa plate of Jayasimha of (K) year 926, corresponding to AD 1175² we find in the beginning a verse in honour of Ganesha The epithet used is Heramba³ Heramba is described as, "Joyless and joyful, handsome and deformed, unimpeded and obstructing is Heramba, the Lord of Ganas"⁴ The object of the record is the grant of a village It may have been made on Ganesha Chaturathi and the religious ceremonies and the gifts to brahmanas connected with them must have been performed after the *tithi* commenced on that day⁵ Jayasimha the donor, has been called a devout worshipper of Maheshvara and the lord of Trikalinga⁶ Another inscription that invokes Heramba is the Modi Stone Inscription of (K) year 1314 Jayasimha - Jayavarman II Once again in the second line there is the description of a deity which appears to be Shiva⁷ The date corresponds to AD 1258⁸ The immediate object is to record some donations in the form of land, villages and money made to the temples at Modi The Harsauda Stone Inscription of Devapala of (Vik) year 1275 (AD 1218) opens with an invocation to Shiva but it is followed by three verses in honour of and invoking Heramba, that is Ganesha, who is bowed down to at the beginning of the undertakings along with Bharati and the three gods Brahma, Vishnu and Shiva Devapala is described, however, as a devout worshipper of Maheshvara The object is to record the construction of a temple of Shambhu by a person called Keshava⁹ As a remover of obstacles and bestower of success, Ganesha worship is almost non-sectarian in character and hence we find obeisance to him occurs along with other deities This inscription belongs to the Paramaras of Malwa In the Udayapur Stone Inscription of the eleventh century A D¹⁰ it is interesting to note an invocation to Ganesha along with that to Parvati Ganesha is described as holding a sharp axe, "raised in order to cut off as it were the root of the great sinfulness of his worshippers"¹¹ The Piplanagar, Copper-Plate grant of Mahakumara Harshachandra of VS 1253 (A D 1196)¹², like many other Paramara grants, opens with an obeisance containing two verses in honour of Shiva as Smararate and Vyomakesha,¹³ but there is an obeisance to 'Sri Ganesha' too¹⁴

- 2 2 In a Chandella Stone Inscription of Ganapati dated Vs 1339 (AD 1282)¹⁵ reference is made to "Dani Vinayaka" The Khajuraho Vishvanatha Temple Inscription of VS 1059 (AD 1002)¹⁶ Praises Shiva, Pashupati, Digambara, Shuladhara, Maheshwar Bharati and Ganesha¹⁷ The object was to record the construction of a temple of Shambhu by Dhanga in which were installed a *linga* of emerald and another of ordinary stone It is clear the way Ganesha is mentioned along with several other deities that he didn't have an independent cultic following in the region but he is given importance and is surfacing as an important element of the Shaiva pantheon In the Rewah (Dhureti) Copper Plates of Trailokyavaraman the verses open with an obeisance to Shiva and Ganapati¹⁸ The first two verses are in praise of Krishna and Shiva respectively¹⁹ This is a curious fact as Krishna is not a common deity among the Chandella inscriptions
- 2 3 The undated Paikore Pillar Inscription of Karna has a brief mention of the "holy Ganapati"²⁰ in the opening verse The object of the inscription is to record the dedication by King Karna of the image of a goddess whose name is not specified
- 2 4 In the Gurgi Stone Inscription of Kokalladeva II mention is made of installing Uma and Shiva united in the shrines attached to a temple and also Ganapati and Sarasvati at the gate²¹ The date of the inscription corresponds to AD 972-3²² This inscription belongs to the Kalachuris of Tripuri It is interesting that mention should be made of Ganapati in an inscription which is mainly concerned with the Shiva Saiddhantikas In the Bhera-ghat Stone Inscription of Narsimha of the same dynasty dated (K)E 907 (AD 1155?)²³ we get reference to Ganapati, not directly called Ganapati or Ganesha or by any of the other epithets but is described as "elephant faced who under the guise of a tusk whiter than jasmine, holds a piece of moon free from the slightest dark spot and capable of dispelling the intense darkness of multitudes of obstacles"²⁴ Once again the record is in connection with Shiva ascetics, that is the construction of a *matha* and a temple of Vaidyanatha
- 2 5 In the Gopalpur Stone Inscription of Vijayashimha the object is to record the construction of a temple of Vishnu but in the middle we read an interesting conversation between Ganapati and Parvati, where there is an indication towards the family of Shiva and as though an attempt is being made to introduce Ganapati as an integral part of Shiva's pantheon Ganapati is described as Eka-danta, i.e. "having only one tusk"²⁵ Ganesha thinks that his other tusk, which is missing, is seen in the form of moon on the head of his father Shiva The verse in a portion which is now lost, may have had words invoking the blessings of Shiva Ganesha says to Parvati, "Mother, give me the piece of my tusk which appears on the head of father"²⁶ This is a unique inscription for the opening invocation is to Vasudeva There is just one other reference to Shiva as Srikantha,²⁷ but without any attempt to reverse him It is significant that though the invocation is for Vishnu, yet Ganesha has been mentioned The inscription is undated but has been said to belong to the last quarter of the twelfth century AD²⁸

- 26 The Mallar Stone Inscription of Jayalladeva II of (K) year 919 A D 1167-68, also like the previous, one belongs to the Ratanpur Branch of the Kalacuris²⁹ The initial verses invoke the blessings of Shiva and Ganapati. The verse concerning Ganesha is descriptive of his trunk which is "large and extremely terrific"³⁰ The object is to record the construction of a temple of Shiva under the name of Kedara by a brahmana. Again in the Karanbal Stone Inscription of Jayasimha of the same dynasty, which is undated and incomplete, Ganesha's tusk has been referred to and he has been called Gajanana³¹ and is directly connected with Shiva. "May that Gajanana protect you" (he) who possesses in the guise of his (curved) tusk one half of the moon, which is other than that on the crown of the coiled matted hair of Dhurjati (i.e. Shiva)³² In the Kharod Stone Inscription Ratnadeva III of Ratanpur of year 933 (AD 1181-82) Ganapati is mentioned several times and for the first time we find reference to a temple built to accommodate him. A shining temple is referred to along with that of Hara and Heramba³³ Again later in the inscription we hear about the construction of "Tunta Ganapati who grants all the desired objects and destroys obstacles". In the Koni Stone Inscription of Prithvideva II, year 900 (AD 1148)³⁴ we come across yet another myth connected with Ganesha according to which he is a god having two mothers. The myth also bears reference to his characteristic of threatening obstacles and to his dance³⁵ Ganesha is supposed to have been brought up by the goddesses Durga and Chamunda. In the Ratanpur Stone Inscription of year 1207 corresponding to AD 1167-68³⁶ we hear of a leader of the Ganas (i.e. Ganapati). There is also a reference to "his violent dance of his trunk" which draws resonance with Shiva's violent Tandava dance³⁷

III

- 31 Chronologically speaking the earliest mention of Karttikeya in our period is in two inscriptions belonging to the Nalas. First, the Rithapur Plates of Bhavattavarman which have been assigned to the latter half of the fifth or first half of the sixth century AD³⁸ In the opening verses there is an obeisance to Maheshvara and Mahasena (Karttikeya). Next, we have the Kesaribeda plates of Arthapati-Bhattaraka. These have also been placed in the fifth or sixth century AD, on the basis of palaeographic evidence³⁹ The king is said to have obtained royal fortune through the grace of Maheshvara and Mahasena (Skanda Karttikeya). This may also be taken to mean that the king dedicated his kingdom and wealth to the gods Shiva and Skanda.
- 32 The epithet for Karttikeya - Mahasena which is found in two inscriptions out of a total of four Nala Inscriptions is significant. Karttikeya is clearly mentioned alongwith Shiva as in an inseparable sort of bond but there is no elaborating on the relationship or dynamics between the two. These are the only inscriptions that we have found so far pertaining to this period that begin with an obeisance to Karttikeya. In the other inscriptions that we will be discussing in this paper the reference to Karttikeya is almost always in a brief descriptive manner used normally as in a comparison. But in the Nala epigraphs he is

called *Mahasenapati* that is the lord of the divine army. He is believed to have inherited Indra's role as the divine general and is also provided with an apparently invincible demon-foe Taraka. This epithet is therefore congruent with the episode of Karttikeya battling against Taraka. The *Mahabharata* gives an elaborate account of the birth of Karttikeya and explains how the reason for his birth is to slay Taraka,⁴⁰ and that Taraka could not be slain except by the son born of Rudra's seed falling in fire and then conceived by Ganga. Next we come across references to Karttikeya in the inscriptions belonging to the Panduvamshins of Mekala. In the Mallar Plates of Surabala Udirnavaira of year 8 which corresponds to the early seventh or eighth century AD, we are informed how some person named Indra compared his birth from his mother Indrabhattarka with that of god Karttikeya from Parvati. This is repeated in the other inscriptions also. In the Bamhani plates of Udirnavaira year 2 (early seventh century AD), the king has Indra for his second name and his birth from Indrabhattaraka is compared to that of Karttikeya from the daughter of the lord of mountains i.e. Parvati. Now we find this a leitmotif in most of the inscriptions i.e. a close association between Parvati and Skanda. In the Bardula plates of Siva Gupta of year 9 corresponding to about the middle of eighth century AD, Karttikeya has been referred to as 'the wearer of the skin (i.e. God Siva) who is born of the lunar family' "

- 3 4 Inscriptions of the Panduvamshins of South Kosala also contain odd references to Karttikeya. In the Sirpur Lakshmana Temple Stone Inscription of the Time of Shivagupta Balarjuna, There is a reference to Parvati and Karttikeya together, "even as the daughter of the mountain, Parvati was of the peacock rider (god Karttikeya)" The date corresponds to eighth century AD.
- 3 5 The Next inscriptional reference to Karttikeya pertains to the time of the later Kalachuris of Tripuri. In the Chandrehe Stone Inscription of Parbodhashiva of (Kal) year 724 which approximates to AD 973,⁴¹ there is a trifle long comparison between Karttikeya who is referred to as Kumara and a Shaiva ascetic - he was "like Kumara (i.e. Karttikeya) whose one hand was skilled in making offerings at the proper time to the high flames of fire (as Kumara's hand in feeding his mighty peacock), who (like Kumara) always avoided the company of women, who showed the effect of his power on mighty kings (as Kumara exhibited that of his dart on the Krauncha mountain), who was devoted to (Shiva), the enemy of the mind-born (as Kumara also was dear to him) and who performed (all) his duties towards the gods (as Kumara accomplished the work of the god, viz., the destruction of the demon Taraka) "⁴² There is a play on several words in this verse, owing to which the adjectival expressions yield two meanings, one connected with the sage and the other with Karttikeya.
- 3 6 In the Gurgi stone Inscription of Kokalladeva II Karttikeya is referred to as six faced. There is a reference to sage Yuvarajadeva of the Mattamayura clan of Shaiva ascetics, getting a shrine and temple built in which along with the images of Uma, Shiva united with Uma and the six faced (Karttikeya) there are also those of Ganapati and Sarasvati at the gate ⁴³ The date of this inscription

corresponds to 972-3AD. The *Mahabharata* mentions Rohitaka as the habitat of Karttikeya and states that the place is inhabited by the Mattamayuraka tribe. We have historical record of a Shaiva clan called the Mattamayuras, whose seat was in Central India. They appear in history from the seventh century onwards.⁴⁴ This is a tribe of warrior folk. Thus the relationship between the Warrior-god and the peacock which must have been the totem or mark of the tribe is established, the Epic makes the peacock Skanda's insignia. It seems plausible to say that Karttikeya may have been the tutelary god of a warlike tribe whose tribal badge was the peacock. Originally therefore he must have enjoyed independent cultic ritual. Thus we can clearly see the attempt being made to merge the worship of Skanda with that of Shiva in Madhya Pradesh and separate shrines are therefore seldom found dedicated to this deity.⁴⁵

- 3.7 References to Karttikeya are to be found also in the inscriptions belonging to the Kalachuris of Ratanpura. The Akaltara Stone Inscription of Ratnadeva II has been approximately assigned to AD 1142-43.⁴⁶ The inscription opens with an obeisance to Shiva. But the object of the inscription is to record the construction of a temple of Revanta who is the son of Saptasva of the Sun. We find in the middle of the inscription a reference to Kumara (Karttikeya), "he is possessed of great powers (as removing the impediments of learned persons (as Karttikeya is in destroying the enemies of gods), and appears splendid with his mighty and spreading fire-like prowess (as Karttikeya looks beautiful with the proud stepping of his peacock)".⁴⁷ In an incomplete and fragmentary inscription of Prithvideva II of the same dynasty, there is a reference to Karttikeya as Guha in connection with the way Parvati treated Guha and Yasoda treated Krishna.⁴⁸ It is significant that Karttikeya is hardly ever mentioned as Shiva's direct issue. There seems to be a reluctance to identify him as Shiva's son. There must have been a resistance to the fusion of the Shiva and Karttikeya cults. Though it has been suggested that Shiva's blue neck may also indicate an amalgamation with the cult of Karttikeya whose mount was the blue-neck peacock.⁴⁹ The association of Parvati and Karttikeya may be sequential, because all over the world there was the cult of holy family composed of 'mother and son' at first but later (when the men's contribution in the procreative process was recognised) of father, mother and son.
- 3.8 In the Ratanpura Stone Inscription of Prithvideva II of (Vik) or year 1207 (AD 1150)⁵⁰ we find in the earlier verses references to Rudra, Gauri and Ganapati. Reference to Ganapati, however, is not really in connection with Shiva but almost in the fashion of an independent deity. This is the first inscription where we find the entire family mentioned. Karttikeya is referred to as "that son of the daughter of the mountain," and as an enemy of Taraka.⁵¹ In this reference Karttikeya seems more of a son to Parvati than Shiva. The object of this inscription is definitely Shaivic in nature, that is to record the erection of a temple of Shiva under the name of Bilvapani which is described later.
- 3.9 In the Koni Stone Inscription of Prithvideva II of year 900 that corresponds to AD 1148⁵² Karttikeya is referred to by yet another epithet that is Skanda. There is a comparison drawn once again between "Hari as from the Nanda

so Skanda from the moon-crested (Shiva)⁵³ The inscription starts with reference to Shiva busy in his Tandava dance We also find a reference to the bull and Ganesha having two mothers For the first time we find a reference where Karttikeya is associated directly as coming from Shiva In the Jabalpur Stone Inscription of Jayasimha of year 926 (AD 1174-75) Karttikeya is again mentioned in a comparative way" who resembled Parvati was adorned by a son even as the three worlds were by Skanda "⁵⁴

- 3 10 An attempt has been made here to draw attention to certain cults that may have been existing in Madhya Pradesh prior to c AD 550-1300 but now under the umbrella of Shivaism they drew their legitimacy by being associated with Shiva These are extremely important for understanding the nature of Shivaism which had incorporated several new features peculiar to this region Ganesha, though had gained a detailed mythology and family still remained non-sectarian in his appeal

NOTES AND REFERENCES:

- 1 Sukumari Bhattacharji, *The Indian Theogony*, 1970, p 164
- 2 CII, IV pt I, No 65, p 541 The conversions of dates from one era to another worked out by V V Mirashi are only approximate In many cases, particularly those from alleged (Vikrama) era reckonings, they have not been worked out with the generally accepted date of the beginning of this era, viz 57 B C We have preferred to rectify these conversions suggested by Mirashi
- 3 *Ibid*, p 543 v 1
- 4 *Ibid*
- 5 *Ibid*, p 541
- 6 *Ibid*, p 543 l,2
- 7 CII IV pt 1, p 196
- 8 *Ibid*, p 195
- 9 CII, VII, No 50, p 171
- 10 *Ibid*, No 24, p 175
- 11 *EI*, 1888-92, p 236, V 4
- 12 CII, VII, No 45, p 153
- 13 *Ibid*, p 156 vv 3 and 4
- 14 *Ibid*, p 156, v 1
- 15 *CASIR*, XXI, p 52, *ASI, AR*, 1935-36, p 91
- 16 *JASB*, VIII, 1839, pp 159 *CASIR*, xxi, p 66
- 17 *EI*, I, p 138 v, 1-6
- 18 CII, IV, p 371
- 19 *Ibid*
- 20 CII, IV, pt I, no 49, p 252, v 1
- 21 *Ibid*, p 232, v 12
- 22 *Ibid*, p 227

- 23 *Ibid*, No 60, p 314
- 24 *Ibid*, No 60, p 318, V 5
- 25 *CII*, IV pt II, p 657, v 7
- 26 *Ibid*
- 27 *Ibid*
- 28 *Ibid*, p 654
- 29 *Ibid*, No 97, p 512
- 30 *Ibid*, No 97, p 512, v 2
- 31 *Ibid*, No 3, p 641, v 5
- 32 *CII*, IV, pt II, No 3, p 641, v 5
- 33 *Ibid*, No 100, p 543, v 34
- 34 *Ibid*, p 464
- 35 *Ibid*, p 470, V H
- 36 *Ibid*, pt II No 93, p 484
- 37 D D Kosambi talks about the necessity of dance in most primitive fertility rites and Shiva's or Ganesha's should not be merely elevated to the highest abstract principle by thinking of Shiva's dance as the activating essence of the whole universe of matter movement, thought and action but that a dance by the tribal medicineman or witchdoctor is essential Kosambi feels that one should not just rise above their primitive circumscribed ideology and blindly utilise their imagery But one should seek an explanation Cf D D Kosambi, *Myth and Reality*, 1962, pp 3-5
- 38 *EI*, XIX, 1927-28, p 102
- 39 *EI*, XXVIII, 1949-50, p 12
- 40 Cf Sukumari Bhattacharji, *op cit*, p 180
- 41 *CII*, IV, pt 1, No 44
- 42 *Ibid*, p 203, v 10
- 43 *CII*, IV, pt II, No 46, p 232 v 12
- 44 Cf V V Mirashi, 'The Shaiva Acharyas of the Mattamayura Clan', *IHQ*, 24, No 1, 1950, pp 1-16
- 45 J N Banerjee, *The Development of Hindu Iconography*, Calcutta
- 46 *CII*, IV, pt II, p 431
- 47 *Ibid*, p 435, v 15
- 48 *CII*, IV, pt II, No 85, p 442 v 16
- 49 Sukumari Bhattacharji, *op cit*, p 139
- 50 *CII*, IV, pt II, p 485
- 51 *Ibid*, p 490 v 20,29
- 52 *Ibid*, p 464
- 53 *Ibid*, p 471, v 12
- 54 *CII*, IV pt 1, No 84, v 31

RITUAL GROWTH IN THE LATER AND POST-VEDIC TIMES - AN OVERVIEW

V. NATH*

I

- 1 1 Growth in ceremonialism during the later and post-Vedic periods is a long acknowledged fact. Nevertheless, the extant corpus of secondary works¹, while delving deep into the most obscure, variegated and finer aspects of the subject still leave scope for a more generalized assessment of the factors which inflated the size and added to the complexity of religious ceremonialism during this period.

- 1 2 In the present monograph we primarily aim to focus upon the overall pattern which emerges from the previous studies as well as dispel certain lingering misconceptions such as (i) excessive ritual growth reflects a certain decadence in Brahmanical religiosity and (ii) brahmanical ritualism *per se* was the prime target of attack of the proponents of non-conformist ideology. We would instead like to posit that (a) proliferation of Brahmanical rituals was an attempt to recognise and give sanction to certain socio-economic changes which were transforming Vedic society, and (b) the period saw the emergence of several strands of ritual behaviour as a result of the growth of non-Brahmanical sects. Though not necessarily opposed to Brahmanism, these were, nevertheless, fighting for space and support in a transitional society.

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- 1 3 Here we must clarify that at times, specially in the context of, non-conformist religious systems we have adopted a fairly broad definition of ritual to mean any formalized action which is performed in a religious context

II

- 2 1 The period under study reveals two distinctive sets of rituals which developed at this time, namely sacrificial rituals which became the focus of the *Yajurveda*, the *Brahmanas* and the *Shrauta-Sutras* and are found to be deeply embedded in pastoral tradition. They were meant to safeguard the interests of the collectivity, be it the tribal group or a nascent state. Gradually however, the role of the priests in the performance of these sacrifices (*Yajna/Sattra*) became dominant and the rituals themselves acquired the aspect of a *potlatch* and became a serious drain on the resources of the group.
- 2 2 The other set of domestic rituals, which were more in the nature of fertility, expiatory and initiatory rites formed the subject-matter of the *Atharva-veda* and the *Grihya-Sutra* texts. These were meant to safeguard and promote the interests of the individual and the family.² Though initially meant to be performed by the *Yajamana* himself, yet later to ensure their efficacy the service of qualified ministrant priests began to be requisitioned.
- 2 3 Most rituals moreover, evince a steady growth from relative simplicity to growing complexity.³ For example the ritual procedure pertaining to *dana* is found to be minimal in the *Rigveda*, the focus of the poets being entirely on singing the praises (*danastuti*) of their erstwhile divine and human patrons in order to incite other donors to be equally munificent. It is in the subsequent period of the *Sutras* that we come across detailed procedural rules about how *dana* should be made, so as to yield maximum merit to the donor.⁴

III

- 3 1 Amongst the more commonly manifest sources from which such complexity may be said to arise are - (i) language in the form of accompanying *mantras*⁵ which transform simple rites into potent magical formulae, and (ii) material ingredients which are required for ritual performance.⁶ But both these factors *per se*, will not be conducive to ritual proliferation. It is only when they stand in relation to processes of cultural development and change that they tend to affect ritual growth e.g. the art of writing is a development closely allied to urbanization⁷ which marks an important stage in cultural development. Nature of material objects used in religious ceremonialism similarly reflect developments in the field of craft and technology⁸ as well as changing geographical and ecological conditions.
- 3 2 Both these conditions, namely beginning of urbanization and technological changes characterize a transitional social-order, such as the one we come across during the later Vedic times. Ritual complexity arising from language and use of material ingredients therefore underlines the purposive aspect of

rituals and how they serve as an adaptive mechanism and are an effective means of adjustment to the changing mode and relations of production

- 3 3 A third more apparent source of ritual-growth is the commonly held belief that ritual dramatic performance will somehow bring about the desired end⁹ and even the slightest error can adversely affect the participants. From such a fear would seem to stem procedural details such as the direction facing which the performer must sit,¹⁰ the kind of clothes he or she must wear,¹¹ the right or the left hand which has to be used¹² and even the order¹³ and the proper place and time¹⁴ when the rite has to be performed. All these in their turn further add to the complexity of religious ceremonialism

IV

- 4 1 But ritual growth at a particular stage of cultural development cannot be accounted for in such a facile manner, for it fails to provide from a historical point of view, an adequate rationale for such a seminal development. For probing the factors which triggered off ritual growth at this point of time, we need to make use of insights furnished by other disciplines, especially sociological studies
- 4 2 Thus we find that central to the development of attaching sanctity to particular objects, places, time and even parts of the human body - is the concept of the sacred,¹⁵ which is entirely a human-construct, for there is nothing which can be regarded as innately sacred or profane. Through the concept of the sacred man seeks to superimpose meaning on objects and experiences. According to the eminent sociologist Veena Das, in India the binary division between sacred and profane is more in terms of life and death rather than good or bad and symbols of laterality are used to express this sacred/profane dichotomy.¹⁶ Thus for the performance of rituals associated with life-processes such as marriage and child-birth the right side of the body is used, whereas the left side dominates in rituals performed for the propitiation of ancestors or for the performance of funeral rites
- 4 3 Ritual symbolism may, therefore, as seems to be true in the case of the Vedic society, serve to project definite cultural values and a new world view

V

- 5 1 Ritual-growth in the later Vedic period would seem to be chiefly instrumental in the restructuring of Rigvedic tribal order on *varna* lines and in augmenting its patrilineal base and character. It also helped in propelling forward the forces of state-information and in bringing about cross-cultural interaction
- 5 2 Our study shows that elaborate procedural rules determining the number, role and ritual status of participants in a rite had become more conspicuous by later Vedic times and proved seminal in ordering and redefining social role or status. The transposition of a pastoral social order by a dominant agrarian system

combined with the emergence of the institution of landed property necessitated the strengthening of the patrilineal base and character of Vedic kinship structure which could be achieved mainly through ritual prescriptions. For example the degree of prominence given to women in general and the wife in particular¹⁷ in religious ceremonies became an index of their position in post-Vedic society. Withdrawing from them the right to recite Vedic *mantra*¹⁸ was tantamount to their being marginalized in the family.¹⁹ The *Shatapatha Brahmana* expressly states that whereas in former times it was the wife of the sacrificer who acted as the *havishkrit*, later the task could be performed by one of the officiating priests.²⁰ Similarly by restricting the performance of *upanayana* ceremony only to men of the three upper *varnas*, women were not only debarred from seeking higher education but their ritual status was also considerably impaired. Significantly, references to both *pumsavana* (performed mainly to ensure the birth of a male child)²¹ and *upanayana* rites occur only from later Vedic period onwards. The denial of all initiatory or puberty rites to women was not only a subtle way of rejecting mother-right but as N N Bhattacharya points out, it was also a feature of Brahmanical society which distinguished it from all the others.²²

- 5.3 The role of rituals in the entrenchment of property rights is equally significant. It is no coincidence that *shraddha* ritual (*pinda-pitr yajna*) gained prominence from the post-Vedic period when major development in the field of landed property is evident. As one scholar contends, the very conception of *preta* and of an *ativahnika* body as found in the *Grhyasutras* and in later post-Vedic works was foreign to the Vedic Aryans.²⁴ A major purpose of the *Shraddha* ritual seems to be to formally acknowledge and strengthen the right of lineal male descendants to inherit family property.²⁵ One of the concluding rites of funerary ceremonial was to proclaim the new head of the family. The ritual survives today in the form of the *pagari-rasam*.

VI

- 6.1 But even more than the need to revamp the patrilineal character of the Vedic family, rituals in the transitional phase of the later and post-Vedic period provided the infrastructure for developing *varna* ideology. *Varna* differentiation based on 'Arya-sudra' dichotomy²⁶ could be reinforced largely through the assertion of the purity pollution syndrome, which itself was conceivable only in terms of ritual purity.
- 6.2 The concept itself may have been drawn from primitive and tribal taboos relating to food, physical contact etc. between persons belonging to widely different cultural groups. It is, thus significant that by the post-Vedic period, more than the considerations of learning and birth, it was ritual performance which became the determinant of an individual's *Varna* status. That the social order which emerged at this time was not so much power-based as ritual-status based²⁷ is evident from the injunction that it is through the performance of sacraments, especially the *upanayana samskara* that a person is entitled to be called twice-born.²⁸

- 6 3 Our study shows that *varna* differentiation could be reinforced mainly by emphasizing different sets of rituals for different strata of society. The sizes of the funeral pyre, particular seasons during which sacraments for members of different *varna* could be performed,²⁹ even the age of the person³⁰ and the length of time for which these had to be performed were now duly prescribed. It proved to be an effective method of not only differentiating and keeping apart the *varna* groupings but also conferring upon them a separate identity. If brahmanas henceforth could assert themselves and claim a privileged position in the *varna* hierarchy, it was primarily by virtue of their position as ritual specialists, just as strict ritual adherence on their part served as an effective insulatory mechanism which enabled them to preserve a certain basic *varna* homogeneity,³¹ despite internal fragmentation and regional variations.

VII

- 7 1 Role of rituals in the entrenchment of political power and authority is a much acknowledged fact,³² and the processes of state-formation at work during the period under study proved highly conducive to ritual growth. At a time when aspirants to royal power were keen to shed their tribal moorings and strengthen their territorial base, performance of *soma* sacrifices involving ostentatious display of wealth proved effective in the assertion of power. This would explain why the simple *soma* rites which find mention in the *Rigveda* became transformed into elaborate and complex sacrificial ceremonial as is evident in the case of *Rajasuya/Vajapeya* and the *Ashvamedha*. At the *Ashvamedha* sacrifice, whereas the *Rigveda*²³ indicates only two victims (a horse and a he-goat), the *Shatapatha Brahmana* requires the immolation of not less than 349 victims bound to twenty-one stakes.³⁴ According to the evidence furnished by the *Brahmana* texts, the *Rajasuya* confers upon the sacrificer royal dignity and *Vajapeya* paramount sovereignty.
- 7 2 In the context of a surplus economy rituals besides validating the king's right to appropriate surplus from the producers in the form of taxes, also served as an easy mode of diverting some of this surplus towards ritual specialists in the shape of *dana* and *dakshina*. The development served to accentuate the organiser/producer divide within the *varna* framework.

VIII

- 8 1 But the actual need for rituals arose from the conditions created by agricultural expansion in the middle and lower Ganga valley. It brought Vedic cultural forces into sharp confrontation with their indigenous counterpart. Such conflict could be resolved mainly through ritual absorption and adaptation. Rituals were used to forge alliances between Vedic ruling chiefs and their non-Vedic counterparts living on the periphery of Vedic Kingdoms.³⁵ We learn how elaborate rituals were prescribed for the admission of the *vratya* chief of Magadha to Vedic society.³⁶
- 8 2 The *Vratyastoma* rites which form the central theme of Book XV of the *Atharvaveda* were essentially initiatory rites through which admission of the

non-Aryan *vratyas*' into the Brahmanical fold was accomplished³⁷ Other rituals are similarly known to focus on non-Vedic tribal groups and were accessory to their being assimilated into the Brahmanical social order We learn how the chief of the Nishadas called Sthapati was given an important place in the Vedic rituals meant for higher orders During the *Ashvamedha* sacrifice the person leading the horse had to spend three nights among the Nishadas³⁸

- 8 3 That the induction of some of the non-Vedic ritual beliefs and practices formed the basis of cultural syncretism is sufficiently illustrated by the *Atharvaveda*³⁹ which deals primarily with fertility and domestic rites Although the growth of fertility rites and the importance gained by the mother-goddess cults could also be partly ascribed to the heightened importance of agrarian economy⁴⁰ but it can hardly be gainsaid that many of the magic and domestic rites which found their way into *Atharvaveda* had their antecedents also in non-Vedic sources⁴¹ For instance, the belief that sin like disease is capable of being transmitted from one to another or is like a pollution which can be removed by physical means⁴² bears strong affinity to indigenous cultic belief-system, just as ascetic rites according to some scholars had their genesis in sources other than the Vedic⁴³

IX

- 9 1 But a point which needs to be duly emphasized is that not only many non-Vedic ritual beliefs and practices found their way into the Brahmanical belief system via perhaps the *Atharvaveda*, but even the tribal expendants of those rituals appear to have been coopted as priests into the Brahmanical fold For instance we come across the legend regarding certain Kaivarta families being raised to Brahmana status by Parshurama to act as the priests of the Kaivartas⁴⁴ The Nishada *gotra* mentioned in the *Ashtadhyayi* by Pāṇini suggests similar absorption of some Nishada priests into brahmana ranks⁴⁵ Such priests who had thus been elevated to the status of brahmanas, might have found representation amongst the Atharvana priests The latter are particularly denigrated as *grama-yajin* or *puga-yajin* in the non-Atharvanic tradition⁴⁶

X

- 10 1 Our study thus shows that ritual growth during the period under consideration was no aberrant phenomenon It was a natural development occasioned by forces of social change Moreover, Brahmanical ritual *per se* was certainly not the target of attack of the non-conformist religious thinkers It was only a particular type of ritual, namely *yajna* ceremonialism which was strongly decried, for it was proving to be not only a serious drain on valuable resources and an impediment to agricultural growth, but also the chief source of the hegemonic powers and ritual status of the brahmanas in the *Varna* hierarchy

- 10.2 The non-Brahmanical religious sects through the adoption of a new set of ritual beliefs including the monastic mode of living were, in fact, seeking to dismantle the existing Brahmanical world-view which tended to protect and safeguard the interests of the surplus extracting dominant section of society. For instance the Buddhist practice of seeking alms indiscriminately from all households⁴⁷ was a ritual negation of the Brahmanical rules of commensality which formed one of the bases of *varna* differentiation. The emergent sects aimed at imposing a new value-system which besides giving expression to commerce-oriented urban values was geared toward promoting agrarian development.
- 10.3 The conflict between the Brahmanical and the non-conformist systems, therefore, was more in the nature of one world-view pitted against another, rather than an all out war against ritualism - which itself never remained static, but underwent constant change in consonance with the changing material milieu as we have tried to prove in the case of *dana* ritualism.⁴⁸

XI

- 11 Ritual growth during the period under study therefore, far from being the deliberate handiwork of a small group of crafty ideologues or displaying decadence in Brahmanical religiosity, brings out instead the transitional character of contemporary society.

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WOMEN AND SEXUALITY IN THE MAHABHARATA

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I

- 1 1 J H Gagnar and William Simon have argued¹ that sexuality is subject to socio-cultural moulding to a degree surpassed by few other forms of human behaviour. Michel Foucault² too rejects sex as an autonomous realm, a natural force. Rather, sexuality was seen as a historical apparatus. In other words this approach recognizes the social and historical sources of sexual definitions.³
- 1 2 That in ancient societies promiscuity prevailed once is a fact in spite of Darwin's and Westermarck's contentions to the contrary.⁴ In the *Rigveda* we get Yama-Yami *Samvada* where Yami in passionate words entreats Yama to draw to her and to beget on her a son.⁵ In ancient Egypt Pharaohs united with their sisters who carried the right to throne. This ancient tradition is thus described by Pandu, "O thou of handsome face and sweet smiles (Kunti) women formerly were not immured within houses and dependent on husbands and other relatives. They used to go about freely enjoying themselves as best as they liked. O thou of excellent qualities, they did not then adhere to their husbands faithfully, and yet they were not regarded sinful, for that was the sanctioned usage of the time. The practice, sanctioned by precedent is applauded by great *rishis*. The practice is yet regarded with respect among the northern Kurus. Indeed, that usage so lenient to women hath the sanction of

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antiquity "⁶ Surya says the same thing to Kuntī while trying to convince her about the righteousness of a virgin's right to cohabit with a person of her choice. An unmarried girl is called *kanya* from the root *kan*⁷ — to desire, as everybody desired her and she herself was free to choose anyone. Thus, she was always independent. He then tells Kuntī that in cohabiting with him she was not transgressing any *dharma*. "What transgression is there, if people behave according to their desire? All the females are free and so are the males. This is the normal course of the world, all others are unnatural barriers "⁸

- 1 3 Apart from Uttarakuru, in the *Sabha Parva*⁹ we get reference to Mahishmati and Utsava-sanketa,¹⁰ where women were completely independent. In fact, the term *Utsava-sanketa* is explained by Nilakantha, a commentator of the *Mahabharata*, as a republic inhabited by the seven tribes of the utsava-sanketas who had no fixed laws of marriage and indulged in promiscuous intercourse.¹¹ Were these tribes of Utsava-sanketa matrilineal? It is likely to be so because in the *Karna Parva*¹² there is a reference to Balhika women who are *bandhakis* (harlots) and were sister's son (*bhagineya*) and not son inherit property. Association of sexually liberated women with matrilineal set-up is significant.¹³ Equally significant is the fact that Karna, a representative of an exacting patriarchal moral code, condemns regions such as Madra, Balhika and Arhatta,¹⁴ for they are populated by such free women.¹⁵ In the Epic we get a specific term *svairini*¹⁶ for sexually independent women. Evidently then there were cultures and there was a time when women's sexuality was not controlled. Panini writing in circa fifth-fourth centuries B.C. refers to *kumarabandhaki* and *kumaragarbhini* and as against these he praises *pumsa saha yasyah asamprayogah sa kumari* (i.e., one who has not known a man). Thus, Rajvade says that at one time promiscuous relations were socially acceptable and only later they became unacceptable.¹⁷
- 1 4 Thus, at some point of time women's freedom was rejected and this is reflected in the statement of Dirghatama¹⁸ and law of Shvetaketu¹⁹ which enjoined upon women to be faithful to their husbands otherwise they would be considered sinners as well as regarded as fallen since *pativrata* becomes an ideal of patriarchy, promiscuity prevailing in Madra and Balhika is explained as resulting from the curse of such as *sati*.²⁰ The punitive aspect of male domination occurs in response to women's behaviour that threatens the group. The major focus for threat is in the area of sexual behaviour, in which the question of control is most sharply posed with its heaviest psychological concomitants.²¹ Why should women's sexuality be such an extreme focus for the exertion of male control? Why should reaction against women's sexual transgression be so severe? Shvetaketu says,²² "if a woman is unfaithful to her husband it will be a sin equivalent to killing of a foetus" (*bhrunahatya*). There are two components to the control of women's sexuality — one practical and the other symbolic. First, in patrilocality the tenuous bond between wife and husband will be undermined by liaisons with other men.²³ However, the more significant dimension of the severity of measures for sexual control over women stems from the symbolic importance of sex in the competitive social

environment situation in which agnatic groups exist. The ability of a household's men to control its women is one of the many indicators of its weakness and reveal men's vulnerability to other challenges in the public arena

- 1 5 There was yet another aspect of the control over female sexuality. Since patrilocal/patriarchal society was not only about domination of men over all women but also about domination of some men over others, one way in which this domination was ensured was by denying access to women or withholding women from junior men by their superiors.²⁵ This practice would have been threatened by women's free sexual choice. In such (patriarchal) societies male competition for resources and labour came to be expressed in control over female sexuality and reproduction. The epic thus, underlines importance of father's consent in union—Yayati tells Devayani that he would accept her in marriage only if her father gives her away.²⁶ A goddess can be married only by *varadanat pituh*.²⁷ Satyawati tells Parashara "O holy one know that I am a maiden under the control of my father."²⁸ And Kunti for the same reason is hesitant to give herself to Surya.²⁹ Tapati tells Samvarana "O king, I am not the mistress of my own self! Know that I am a maiden under the control of my father! If thou really entertain an affection for me, demand me of my father."³⁰
- 1 6 It would be relevant here to discuss the *raison d'être* of some misogynist statements in the *Mahabharata* that deal with women's faithlessness. Sexual peccadilloes of women and their lack of faith form the very core of Panchachuda-Narada *Samvada* in the *Anushasana Parva*. One verse reads "If women get a chance to meet other men they will not care for even their rich, handsome and loving husbands."³¹ Comparing the insatiable nature of women with fire, Panchachuda says "just as fire is never satisfied by wood or an ocean is never filled up by rivers, or death is never satiated in its hunger, so are women never satiated even when they come in contact with very many men."³² She further says that women by themselves do not care for norms, only absence of other men (i.e., opportunity) fear of relations and the fact that husband is near (guarding) can make women conform to norms.³³ A lady tells Ashtavakra that women always desirous of sexual intercourse do not care for even the prestige of family, "putting aside their family honour and respect towards their father, mother, brother, son, husband or brother-in-law, they indulge in sexual pleasure with anybody like a big river rushing to meet the sea destroys its own banks."³⁴ Bhishma, in spite of having remained celibate throughout his life, provides this remarkable insight, into women's sexuality to Yudhishtira in the *Anushasana Parva*. "No man is dear to them (women) only that man who gives them pleasure at the time of sexual intercourse is dear to them for that time (during the act)."³⁵
- 1 7 How do we explain such statements? The *Mahabharata* provides us with extensive data on the age of promiscuity,³⁶ an age where notion of chastity and faithfulness were non-existent. Institutions of *samanas* are mentioned in the *Rigveda* where men and women met freely.³⁷ The text also refers to *jara*

(paramour) very frequently about which Sarkar observes, "It is presumed by a domestic ritual formula in the *Rigveda* that every married woman must have a *jara*"³⁸ With the creation of patriarchy the notion of chastity came into being but only for women. However, men had not forgotten that earlier period, it was the memory of that age together with the fear that women may not actually be taking kindly to the new restrictions placed on them, which resulted in vituperative attack on deviant (sexually adventurous) women. Besides, men were always tempted to blame seductress women for their own lack of self-restraint.³⁹

- 1 8 In the *Mahabharata* element of *kama* in marriage is well recognized. Bhima in the *Shanti Parva* considers *kama* as the most important of all objects in human life.⁴⁰ Given this background people could not have thought of marriage only on utilitarian ground for begetting progeny. Importance of love and erotic sentiment in the union of man and woman is not only recognized but also encouraged.⁴¹ Gandharva form of marriage was a natural outcome of love and was recognized even by a sage like Kanva as the ideal natural marriage of the desirous parties.⁴² Savitri and Damayanti both had love marriage of their own choice. Even didactic portions of the *Mahabharata*, in spite of their more orthodox ethos, give due weightage to love in the union of man and woman.⁴³
- 1 9 The *Mahabharata* furnishes us with examples of Ulupi⁴⁴ and Sharmishtha⁴⁵ who boldly demand and obtain satisfaction of their desires. Even age did not mar women's capacity to desire. At one place Ashtavakra⁴⁶ is told that women have great sexual energy and even old women crave for sexual satisfaction. The Epic also furnishes us with some interesting evidences of the nature of female sexuality. In the *Anushasana Parva* Yudhishtira asks Bhishma which of the two, man or woman, has the more glorious feeling from the touch when a man and woman unite. Bhishma then narrates the remarkable story of king Bhangasvana⁴⁷ who requests Indra to let him remain a woman (although he was previously a man) because woman cherishes a more tender love not so indeed the man, she gets more satisfaction in the union. In the same *Parva* we get the tale of Vipula who found a man and a woman in a copulating state quarrelling with each other that one was moving faster than the other.⁴⁸ Evidently then women's desires were acknowledged and due importance was given to her sexuality in man-woman union. The *Mahabharata* states at one place that while woman must be subservient to the man, but in intercourse with her, man must obey her desires.⁴⁹
- 1 10 There is only a solitary reference to relations between individuals of the same sex. In the *Anushasana Parva* Panchachuda tells Narada that when women find no males at hand, they satisfy each other's desires.⁵⁰ Vatsyayana attests to the prevalence of lesbian practices in ancient Indian society — he describes solitary women who would dress up their female friends as males and passionately embrace them.⁵¹ Michel Foucault points out that in ancient Greece homosexual relations — relations with boys were exalted, and in Rome such relations were accepted at least between men.⁵² It is apparent then that lesbianism in ancient western culture was not quite prevalent. How do we

explain its presence in ancient Indian society? We know that ancient Graeco-Roman world was monogamous. In India, on the other hand, polygamy, particularly among the rich, was ubiquitous. Women of a polygamous rigidly patriarchal household were often condemned to a solitary loveless life. This may partly explain the prevalence of lesbian practices as pointed by Panchachuda

- 111 Significance of sexual abstention is underlined time and again in the *Mahabharata*, but in all these rules Hopkins points out "woman as a woman is not regarded"⁵³ The *Shanti Parva* states "A *grihastha* should love his wife alone and keep his senses (*indriya*) under control" It is said at one place "there are four chief vices — gambling, intoxication, women hunting, he that does not foolishly rejoice in these are free (from error)"⁵⁵ Mastery of senses is *dama* and it is a vice that is always defined in the context of men. Women are not a participant in inculcation of this virtue⁵⁶ What Michel Foucault says⁵⁷ for ancient Greece can also be said in interpretation of the above rules of the Epic. What was affirmed through this conception of 'mastery' (over one's self) as ensuring freedom, was the virile character of this mastery. Just as in the household it was man, who ruled, it was only right that he alone should exercise self-restraint. Self-mastery was a way of being a man with respect to oneself. This does not mean that women were not expected to be moderate. But moderation in this case was imposed on them by their condition of dependence, in relation to their families, their husbands. For a woman to establish self-mastery over her self (*indriyas*), she had to establish a relationship of superiority and domination over herself that was virile by definition. Thus, in the *Shalya Parva* when the daughter of Shandilya is able to achieve this self-mastery, it is emphasized that she achieved something that was impossible for a woman⁵⁸

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SOCIO-ECONOMIC FORCES AS DEPICTED IN THE HARIVAMSHA PURANA

DEVENDRA KUMAR*

I

- 1 1 *Harivamsha Purana* (hereafter simply *Purana*) is one of the most important Jaina texts of early medieval period. Acarya Jinasena, the author of this *Purana*, has mentioned the period of its composition in *sloka* 52 of *sarga* 66, that it was accomplished in Shaka year 705 = A.D. 783¹
- 1 2 The *Purana* is basically a religious text, delineating the life story of Lord Krishna, Neminatha, Pandavas and Kauravas. Keeping aside the Puranic aspect here the principal thrust is on the historical survey of the early medieval past of our country as reflected in this popular text. The panoramic view of the historical setting in which Jinasena might have written his work would present a useful perspective to our analysis.
- 1 3 The early medieval period in Indian history speaks of a new economic and social order touching all aspects of human activity. The new thinking arising in the wake of this change cut-across the prevailing four-fold *varna* system based on the old traditional belief of (i) natural aptitudes and inherent attributes of man, (ii) notion of purity of blood, (iii) the rigid matrimonial laws prohibiting social intercourse outside the original tribal communities, and (iv) divisions of labour governed by hereditary influences. The author of this *Purana* has plainly stated that a person's worth and status in life was determined by virtues and not by birth.² According to him every person, by

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virtue of his noble actions was entitled to be admitted to the Jain religion and also to attain a higher rank in the *varna* order. References to Mlechchha kings³ representing the depressed classes and brahmanas⁴ doing agriculture which was a job of Vaisyas are available in the *Purana*.

- 1 4 In ancient times the marriage system had a divine sanction. The object of marriage was solely the procreation of children for the continuation of the family tradition. In matrimonial matters age factor was considered very important. The *Purana* tells us about the marriage of Rishabhadeva with Nanda and Sunanda at the age of maturity.⁵ Generally, the standard age for marriage was twelve years for the female and sixteen years for the male. Alberuni has stated that Hindus disliked the idea of marrying their daughters beyond the age of twelve years.⁶ Eight forms of marriage were in practice in the Indian society — *Brahma*, *Daiva*, *Arsha*, *Prajapatya*, *Asura*, *Gandharva*, *Rakshasa* and *Paishacha*. The study of the *Purana* reveals a number of cases where marriages were performed on the *Rakshasa*, *Gandharva*⁷ and *Prajapatya*⁸ pattern. There are numerous examples of *swayamvara* system⁹ and arranged marriages¹⁰ between two exceptionally smart and talented spouses. Cases of *adla-badla*¹¹ known as marriage in exchange are also found in the *Purana*. Whereas the cases of polygamy¹² are numerous, that of polyandry are very rare. The *Purana* also supports the dowry system¹³ and the practice of *Sati*.¹⁴ Altekar has remarked that the impact of *Sati* during the period A.D. 700-1100 was writ large in the Northern zone of India and was quite common in Kashmir.¹⁵

II

- 2 1 The economic scenario of early medieval times as presented by the author of the *Purana* appears to be very bright. Agriculture was the fundamental source of livelihood of the people, or rather the mainstay of the rural economy of India. There was enough production of grains (*dhanya-godhana-sanchaya*)¹⁶ from the agricultural land (*kheta*)¹⁷ which was very productive and fertile. The author tells us of the paddy fields with green and growing plants¹⁸ and the annual harvests of *shali* and *vrihi*.¹⁹ He has also mentioned the grassy pastoral grounds for the animal herds,²⁰ such as those of cows and buffaloes producing plenty of milk.²¹ Apart from the rain waters there is mention of ponds,²² tanks²³ and rivers²⁴ utilized for the purposes of irrigation. Not only the rich granaries, there are numerous references to forests, gardens and parks containing a large variety of trees.²⁵ There was abundant animal wealth in the country and cattle-breeding was a useful source of livelihood for the rural folks.
- 2 2 There are useful indicators of artisanal and craftsmen's activities. The textile industry as mentioned in the *Purana* was very flourishing and people were very trained in spinning and weaving²⁶, painting and doing embroidery²⁷ on various types of garments. We also find numerous references to iron works, metal works, leather works, wood work, cane and leaf work in the *Purana*. Referring to the iron works the author tells us about the use of iron for making crown, *kada*, *katisutra*, needles, boxes and sticks, weights and measuring scales. A

number of war weapons such as arrows, bows, swords, daggers, spears, axes, shields, coat of mail etc were also produced from iron. We also find the mention of ploughshare (*hala*)²⁸ and other agricultural implements in the *Purana*.

- 23 In the *Purana* we are introduced to several business magnets and important trade centres like Champapuri²⁹ and Ujjaini³⁰ where transactions relating to the sale and purchase of cotton, silken clothes and jewellery were struck on a large scale. In fact, there was no dearth of natural wealth and resources in the country, and almost all items of consumption like wheat, rice, ghee, milk, vegetables and clothes were available in the market. Nevertheless, due to the apparent lack of money in this period, the retail transactions were generally held through barter.³¹ A few references in the *Purana* show the use of *Dinaras*. But these stray references can not discount our presumption about the limited use of cash in early medieval economy.³²

III

- 31 The *Purana* stands as an evidence to the fact that the country in the early medieval times was divided into multitudes of small principalities ruled over by a number of feudatory kings. Paucity of coinage in the country also led to the widely prevailing practice of land grants made by the kings in favour of feudal lords subordinate to them in lieu of their services rendered to the king. The *Harivamsha Purana* acquaints us with a cook named Amrita Rasayana who possessed extra-ordinary skill in cooking meat. Pleased with his cooking, King Chitrarath awarded him ten villages in grant.

mamsapriyasya tasyasitsudomrita rasayanah
ragya cha mamsa pakagyo dasa grameshvarah kritah³³

The grants so received by the feudal lords did not confer upon them sovereign power. They were bound to pay annual tax to the king. *Samaraichchhakaha*³⁴ reveals that the feudal lords were even allowed to maintain their army and fortress for protection purposes. Such lords generally sought the prior approval from their kings before making any land grant. The names of Buddhavarsha, Sankargana and Gangadeva who sought approval from Rashtrakuta kings Govinda III and Dhruva and Paramara king Jaivarman, respectively, may be cited in this regard.

- 32 According to R S Sharma land grants and sub-infeudation led to unequal distribution of land and power on a large scale and created new social groups and ranks which did not quite fit in with the then four-fold *varna* order.³⁵ The creation of the groups of scribes and writers, mainly belonging to *Kayasthas* was the result of the practice of land grants made by princes to the priests, temples and officials.
- 33 *Mayamata*, an early medieval text, lays down that the king of the whole earth should have an eleven-storeyed house, the ordinary king (*nripa*) a seven-storeyed house, the Vaisyas and military captains a four storeyed house, the

sudra a house ranging from one to three storeys and a *samantapramukha*, etc a five storeyed house Here along with members of four *varnas* different categories of princes and *samantas* are introduced into the housing scheme more clearly than in the *Bṛhatsamhita*³⁶ During the medieval period artisans and merchants were given feudal titles indicating military and administrative ranks The Deopara inscription of Vijayasena informs us that Shulapani, head of the artisans of Varendra, held the title *ranaka*, which must have added to his social status Certain titles such as those of *thakura*, *raut*, *nayaka*, etc were confined not only to the Kshatriyas or Rajaputs but were conferred also on the *kayasthas* and members of other castes who were granted land and who served in the army

- 3 4 In time of war and enemy-attacks these *samantas* or feudatory kings used to render military service to their kings³⁷ The *Harivamsha Purana* evidently shows that in the famous war of Kurukshetra between Jarasandha and Lord Krishna, several feudatory kings and *samantas* participated in the war from both the sides³⁸
- 3 5 The *Kuvalayamala* shows that the feudatory kings (*samanta*, *mahasamanta*) were generally connected with the military administration of the king, and were provided with chariots³⁹
- 3 6 In the event of central authority getting weaker the *samantas* assumed sovereign titles of *maharajadhiraja parameshvara*. *Aparajitaprachchha* shows that the king holding the title of *maharajadhiraja parameshvara* had four mandalesha, 12 *mandalikas*, 16 *mahasamantas*, 32 *samantas*, 108 *laghu samantas*, etc⁴⁰

IV

- 4 1 Summarily, it may be suggested that the *Harivamsha Purana* written towards the end of the eighth century and possibly in western India, was an epitome of major driving forces shaping historical processes of change in the post-Gupta centuries The paradigm of the feudal model which was first suggested largely on the basis of epigraphic material was later sought to be polished by literary and archaeological material⁴¹ The Jaina text under study seems to be largely familiar with the essential components of this socio-economic and political order It may even be described as the product of the feudal age

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- 1 *HP*, 66 52
2 *Ibid*, 43 100-121
3 *Ibid*, 11 33
4 *Ibid*, 43 116
5 *Ibid*, 9 18
6 Sachau, *Alberuni's India*, II, p 131

- 7 *HP*, 42, 25-96
- 8 *Ibid*, 47, 17-20
- 9 *Ibid*, 31-53-55
- 10 *Ibid*, 45 118
- 11 *Ibid*, 33 10-29
- 12 *Ibid*, 12 32, 24 9, 55 43
- 13 *Ibid*, 44 32
- 14 *Ibid*, 62 61
- 15 A S Altekar, *The Position of Women in Hindu Civilization*, p 126-27
- 16 *HP*, 2 2
- 17 *Ibid*, 2 3
- 18 *Ibid*, 16 26
- 19 *Ibid*, 19 18
- 20 *Ibid*, 14 23
- 21 *Ibid*, 19 20
- 22 *Ibid*, 5 381-82
- 23 *Ibid*, 5 372
- 24 *Ibid*, 5 121-25
- 25 *Ibid*, 14 21
- 26 *Ibid*, 21 76
- 27 *Ibid*, 14 4
- 28 *Ibid*, 61 81
- 29 *Ibid*, 22 44
- 30 *Ibid*, 21 101
- 31 *Ibid*, 62 8-9
- 32 *Ibid*, 21 61, 70 For the details of the relative decline of metallic money in early medieval north and western India, cf B D Chattopadhyaya, 'Markets and Merchants in Early Medieval Rajasthan', *Social Science Probings*, II, pt 4, December, 1985, pp 413-40, K M Shrimali 'Cash Nexus on Western Coast c AD 850-1250 A Study of the Shilaharas', in Amal Kumar Jha(ed), *Coinage, Trade and Economy*, 3rd International Colloquium at Indian Institute of Research in Numismatic Studies, Nasik, January 8-11, 1991, pp 178-193
- 33 *HP*, 33 151
- 34 *Samaraichchhakaha* II, p 147-48
- 35 R S Sharma, *Social Changes in Early Medieval India*, p 11
- 36 *Ibid*, p 12
- 37 A S Altekar, *Rashtrakutas and their Times*, p 265
- 38 *HP*, 50 64-65
- 39 *Kuvalayamala*, 18 23-24
- 40 Jhinku Yadava, *Samaraichchhakaha eka Sanskritika Adhyayana* p 56
- 41 Cf two major works on this issue B N S Yadava, *Society and Culture in Northern India in the Twelfth Century*, Allahabad, 1973 and R S Sharma, *Urban Decay in India (c 300 - c 1000)*, Delhi, 1987

LAND GRANTS IN INSCRIPTIONS OF THE EARLY DECCAN

ANIL CHAUHAN* AND MD.M. RAHEMAN**

I

- 1 1 The grants made by kings in the Deccan usually consisted of a village or a plot of land. An examination of these grants, however, reveals that the rights and privileges of the donee of a village or an inhabited area were quite different from that of the donee of small plot of cultivable land. The Satavahana monarchs sometimes granted land together with certain *pariharas* which included *a-praveshya* (i.e. freedom from the entry of royal agents), *anavamarsya* (i.e. freedom from troubles associated with the visit of royal agents), *a-lavana-khataka* (i.e. freedom from the land being dug out or the trees being pierced for salt) and *a-rashtrasamvinayika* (i.e. freedom from the administrative control to which the district was subject). Occasionally the expression *sarvajata-bhoga-nirasta* was used to mean the renunciation of all kinds of royal right.¹ In later period the *pariharas* enjoyed by the donee were recorded more clearly. As an example, we may cite here the evidence of the Tirodi plates² of Pravarasena II in which the following *pariharas* are mentioned: "no payment of taxes, no interference by soldiers and umbrella-bearers, no obligation regarding the supply of cows and bullocks in succession, no state royalties on flowers and milking, no pasturage by state cattle, no obligation regarding the supply of hide and charcoal, no digging out of salt and other moist substances and exemption from forced labour." The grantees are further allowed to enjoy in the same record hidden treasures and deposits, and fixed

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and unfixed taxes on tenants. It is significant that these charters concerning the grant of villages, while referring to the transfer of such comprehensive rights over the whole village, do not say that the donees had any right to appropriate the village land. Evidently the donees were not authorised to interfere in the enjoyment of the peasant-free-holders of their respective land-holdings. Bose³ concludes that the assignment is only of revenue and of ownership and usufruct when villages are disposed of along with tillers and their holdings. This statement is also corroborated by the inclusion in many records of a clause enjoining upon the holders of the gift land to pay the donees whatever dues they could legally claim as rent or taxes (*pratyaya*), produce of the fields (*meyā*), etc. The Vilavatti inscription⁴ specifically mentions that whatever taxes were payable to the king by the dwellers of Vilavatti, since made a *brahmadeya*, should be surrendered to the donee.

- 12 The case, however, was quite different when a small plot of cultivable land was donated. It appears from a Nasik cave inscription⁵ that Gautamiputra Satakarni made a gift of some land to certain monks in the sense that the plot was to be appropriated by the grantees. In the same sense Rishabhadatta offered a field to the ascetics.⁶ The Shaka chief desired that from it food will be produced for all the monks, without distinction, dwelling in my cave'. The Uralam plates⁷ of Hastivarman warn every villager not to obstruct Jayasarmā in the preservation of his holding consisting of two and a half *halas* of land, which he received from the king as gift. It is unnecessary to multiply illustrations to show that in the case of a small field the grantees were given proprietary right over the gift land. We may assume that in the case of the grant of a village also the donee enjoyed the same right over the state land lying within its boundary.

II

- 21 It was the usual custom to request the future rulers to protect the grant. Brihaspati, as quoted by Apararka,⁸ says that an edict recording a gift of land should state that heaven would be the reward for the respector of the grant. But the would-be confiscator of the gift-land is condemned in the severest possible tone in the inscriptions and law-books alike.⁹ Hail', an inscription goes on, "May he incur the guilt of the five great sins¹⁰ and be buried in the seventh hell, who injures the gift"¹¹. The Hirahadagalli plates¹² say, "Now, if anybody, knowing this, proud of being a favourite of the king, should cause or cause to be caused even a little obstacle to the donees, him, forsooth, we shall restrain by punishment. And further I pray to both the future great warriors of our Pallava race who may rule within a period exceeding one hundred thousand years, as well as kings differing from us in descent, saying unto them 'To him among you blessings, who in his time makes the people act according to the rule. But he who acts contrary to it shall be the lowest of men loaded with guilt of the five mortal sins'¹³. The manner in which a resumption of grant is condemned almost invariably in all land-grants raises the suspicion that there was always a fear of the land-grants being revoked.¹⁴

- 2 2 The inscriptions are almost unanimous in suggesting that the king was not expected normally to confiscate land once granted, though in certain cases he was not bound to honour the grant. Thus Svamidasa warns a brahmana donee that he would be allowed to enjoy the grant 'So long as he does not transgress the conditions of his *brahmadeya* grant'¹⁵ The Ilichpur grant¹⁶ of Pravarasena II is more explicit on the point "And the conditions (of) this (charter) must be observed both by the Brahmanas and by the (future) rulers (of the country) That is as follows 'The king shall allow (the village to be held) by the (Brahmanas) as long as the moon and sun endure, if they do not commit treason against (his) government which consists of seven essential parts'¹⁷ of (successive) kings that they are not guilty of offences of slaying brahmanas, committing theft, adultery, or acts prejudicial to the king (or) engaged in frays with other villages (But) if the king takes the land from those who act otherwise, (he will) not (be guilty of) theft' " The assumption may not be unwarranted that though not specifically mentioned the imposition of these conditions is implied in the case of every land grant. It appears that the donees also ceased their right over the donated land if they abandoned the same. The Malavalli inscription¹⁸ informs us that a king of the Kadamba family renewed the gift of the villages of Somapatti, Konginagara, Mariyasa, Karpennala, Kunda-Tapuka, Velaki, Vegura, Kona-Tapuka, Ekkatthahara and Sahala to Sri Nagatta. The record goes on to say that the necessity of granting the villages for the second time was due to the fact that the ownership of the estate was abandoned. Sometimes the kings are seen abrogating their former grants and making new grants instead, no doubt, for the convenience of the donees. A record¹⁹ of Vasishthiputra Pulumayi registers the royal order in respect of the grant of a village called Samalipada *in exchange for* the village of Sudasana for the maintenance of the Buddhist monks residing in a Nasik cave. In another inscription²⁰ Gautamiputra Satakarni is stated to have given to the ascetics one hundred *nivartanas* of royal land on the limit of the town of Govardhana in exchange for a field in the village of Kakhadi previously granted to them as the field was not tilled nor the village was inhabited.

III

- 3 1 The majority of land grants discovered from the Deccan refer to the donations made by kings or members of the royal family but records of endowments offered by members of public are also not absent. Reference may, in this connection, be made to the endowment of certain fields by Vedasiri, daughter-in-law of a householder and banker²¹. Similarly Isipala²² a merchant of Kalyana and Mugudasa²³ made gift of two plots of land in Saphau and Kanhahini respectively. It is of some importance to note here that while the princely grants hardly fail to record that the gift-land was rent-free no such immunities find mention in the public endowment. We may assume that the creation of rent-free holding was not within the jurisdiction of ordinary subjects. This point may be illustrated with a reference to the epigraphs. The Sirsi grant²⁴ records that a land measuring four *nivartanas*, which was the holding of the king's favourite physician (*priyavaidya*) Nilakantha, was donated by Ravivarma to

the temple of Mahadeva. It seems that the land was actually given by Nilkantha and at his request it was made rent-free by the king, otherwise we are to believe that the land in question was confiscated from the holding of a man who was not only occupying a high-post (*desamatya*), but was also the king's favourite physician. The Mallar plates²⁵, however, are clearer on the point. They register the gift of the village of Mokkeppika by one Vatsa to two brahmanas named Maheshvarasvamin and Rudrasvamin. The record further informs us that the gift was ratified (*anumodita*) and the holding was created rent-free by the king Jayaraja. The householders of the gift village were asked to pay the usual dues to the donees and the future kings were requested to protect the grant. This record thus clearly emphasises the need of royal sanction prior to the creation of any rent-free holding. It is, therefore, understandable why Haridatta Sreshthin requested Kadamba Krishnavarman II to donate the village Kalanallura to a Brahmana without giving it himself²⁶. A grant of the similar nature is to be found in the Siroda plates²⁷ from the wording of which it appears as if the king proclaims his sanction of a gift made by one Prabhunaga Bhogikamatya, for the acquisition of his own spiritual salvation (*punya*). Another grant²⁸, likewise, records that king Bhulunda made a *brahmadeya* gift at the request of one Amshadhanandi. It is further said that the land consisted of a farm held by one Khuddataka.

- 3.2 The land, made a rent-free holding at the request of an officer or person occupying important position, was no doubt in many cases lying within his fief or estate²⁹. In the case of donated land forming part of fiefs, which royal officers of ancient India enjoyed temporarily³⁰, the fief holders lost the rent of the land in question so long they remained as landlords. But the king's loss of revenue was greater as the land generally remained rent-free even when the fief reverted to him or was subsequently allotted to some other officer. It, therefore, seems that the occupants of *jagirs* had to compensate the king's loss at least partially for the creation of the revenue-free holdings within their fiefs. Though the records referred to above instead of speaking that the rent-free holding, created by the king in favour of the brahmanas or religious institutions after receiving compensation merely state that the particular holding was created at the request of a certain officer or some other person, it is probable that most of them were really based on monetary transaction.

IV

- 4.1 The object of the land-grants and the creation of rent-free holdings, according to the epigraphs, was to gain religious merit and increase glory and success of the donor. This declared motive, however, was not always the main inspiration to make endowments of land. The *Arthashastra*³¹ states that when a king wants to construct villages either on new sites or on old ruins he should grant *brahmadeya* lands free from taxes to pious brahmanas. The object was definitely that with the nucleus of the brahmana settlement would gradually emerge a new village, which would yield revenue in due course. Probably this motive played an important role behind the creation of so many rent-free

holdings not only in the Deccan but also elsewhere. In our period, as today, vast areas remained to be reclaimed and this meant a great loss of revenue. The cost of reclamation of such areas was by no means negligible. In order to avoid such expenditure, ancient rulers granted unreclaimed land to enterprising brahmanas, who would induce others to settle in the neighbourhood. In course of time centering round this area emerged a regularly settled village from which the state collected revenue. Thus by creating revenue-free holdings the kings really increased their own income.

- 4.2 The Sahyadri-khanda section of the *Skanda Purana* containing a legend about the establishment of a brahmana settlement gives some interesting data on the use of peaceful priests for the purpose of reclamation³². The legend reads that Mayuravaraman imported a number of brahmanas from Ahichchhatra to settle in his dominions in Goa. The thirty-two villages in which the brahmana colonists were settled consisted of a dense, trackless, hilly jungle infested by snakes and tigers and fit only for hardy pioneers. The terrific west-coast monsoon favours a rapid growth of forest, which no brahmana settler could possibly have cleared without sufficient labour supply. In order to solve the problem workers recruited from the aboriginal Gavadas with a few Kunabi and other low-caste peasants were placed at the disposal of brahmana donees. An agreement was reached that the brahmanas to whom the land was given and the actual workers on the land would share the profit among them. Thus was created a new settlement, where there was once a wild tract, as a result of a wise-policy pursued by the reigning king. Though the legend is late its antiquity is suggested by the fact that the tradition, which is still upheld by the brahmanas, refers the settlement to the mythical Parashurama, who created the land (Konkan) from the ocean after having annihilated the kshatriyas no less than twenty-one times.
- 4.3 It is interesting to note that some medieval grants do not conceal the fact that land was donated with the specific purpose of reclamation. Thus an inscription³³ from Kolar declares, "We grant to you the tract of land bounded as follows, in which you may cut down the jungle and form fields. And the rice lands under and in the area of the tank which you construct, dividing them into four parts in consideration of your having expended much money of your own and constructed the tank, three parts we grant." The same motive of reclamation was without doubt the guiding factor when a Vakataka ruler donated a village to 800 brahmanas³⁴ and when a Pallava prince offered four pieces of *aranya* (forest) land according to *purvabhogamaryada* to a brahmana³⁵. The Bandora plates record the grant of some forest land and also four batches of workers (*preshyakula*) for its reclamation. The creation of a new settlement with the help of brahmana donees is hinted at in the Podagadh inscription³⁶. The record contains that the Nala king Skandavarman repopulated the deserted town Pushkari and founded an *agrahara*, i.e. a brahmana settlement in the locality. It may be presumed that these brahmana settlers in their own interest encouraged new migrants to the said town thereby serving the end of the state.

NOTES AND REFERENCES

- 1 *EI*, XXXIII, pp 53f
- 2 *Ibid*, XXII, pp 174 ff
- 3 A N Bose, *Social and Rural Economy of Northern India*, Calcutta, p 20
- 4 *EI*, XXIV, pp 296ff
- 5 *Ibid*, VIII, pp 72 ff
- 6 *Ibid*, pp 78ff
- 7 *EI*, XVII, pp 330ff, cf Corresponding section in the Achyutapuram plates, *EI*, III, p 129
- 8 P 579
- 9 See Kane, *History of Dharmashastra*, II, Appendix, pp 1271ff
- 10 For the details of the five great sins see *Manusmṛiti* (XI 35) and the *Mahabharata* Anushasanaparva, 130-38 Brahmya-hatya surapanam steyam gurv-angana-gamah/mahanti patakanyahuh samsargaschapi taih saha \$// Kulluka interprets steya as Brahmana-suvarnaharana, and guru as pita
- 11 *IA*, X, pp 991
- 12 *EI*, I, p 2
- 13 Sircar, *Indian Epigraphy*, pp 176ff
- 14 Kane (op cit, p 863) has cited a number of instances from the inscriptions and the *Rajatarangini* (vv 166-170) showing that inspite of severe imprecations, land donated by former kings was sometimes confiscated by their succesors Paratakam Sadiyan boasts that he performed many gifts of *devadana* (land) and restored many *brahmadeya* grants (*SII*, III, p 461)
- 15 *CII*, III, NO 5 *EI*, XV, pp 286ff
- 16 *Ibid*, pp 236ff *IA*, XII, pp 239ff
- 17 The seven essential parts (*saptanga*) are sovereign (*svamin*), ally (*suhṛit*), treasure (*kosha*), territory (*rashtra*), fortress (*durga*) and army (*bala*), see Kamandaka, I 16, IV, I, *Vishnu* III, 33, Cf also *CII*, III, p 242n
- 18 *EC*, VIII, Sk 264
- 19 *Luder's List*, No 1124
- 20 *EI*, VIII, pp 73ff
- 21 *Luder's List*, No 1073
- 22 *Ibid*, No 1000
- 23 *Ibid*, No 1130
- 24 *EI*, XVI, pp 264ff
- 25 *Ibid*, XXXIV, pp 28ff
- 26 *Ibid*, VI, p 16
- 27 *Ibid*, XXIV, pp 144ff
- 28 *Ibid*, Vol XV, pp 290ff
- 29 Sircar, 'Creation of Rent-free Holdings,' *EI*, XXXIII, pp 50ff, Idem, *Indian Epigraphy*, pp 114ff

FEUDAL ELEMENTS IN THE EIGHTH CENTURY RAJASTHAN (A STUDY BASED ON PRAKRIT SOURCES)

SHANTA R. SHARMA*

I

- 1 1 The present paper seeks to analyse the practices that led to the emergence of feudal ties, the composition of the class of feudatories, their obligations, nature of feudal bonds between lord and vassals as well as co-vassals, while taking note of the use of new literary terms with feudal connotations and considering the impact of these feudal developments in the social sphere on the basis of the evidence derived from these sources. The paper is largely based on the *Samaraichchhakaha* and *Kuvalayamala*. The former was written by the Jaina acharya Haribhadra Suri who flourished in Rajasthan during the eighth century. The *Kuvalayamala* was written at Jalor by Uddyotana Suri, a pupil of Haribhadra in A.D. 778.

II

- 2 1 The manifold references to *samantas* in these works which were designed for edification of the general populace indicate clearly that the lord-vassal complex was firmly established and the *samantas* had emerged as an influential section of society. *Samanta-nivaha-nata-charana*,¹ *samanta-pranata-charana*² and *aneka-samanta-pranipatita-charana-yugala*³ are one at whose feet bowed

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numerous *samantas*, are the normal epithets they apply to a prosperous ruler, which clearly indicates the importance attached to the class of vassals. Various grades of vassals appear to have existed. Thus, our works mention not only *samantas* but *mahasamantas*,⁴ and *pradhana-samantas*,⁵ who were obviously feudatories of a higher rank than the *samantas*. The *Kuvalayamala* refers to feudatory rulers called *narendras*, who recognised king Dridhavaraman as their *svami* (lord).⁶ Attending the court of the same ruler, we read in another context, were *mahanarendras* whose comparison with Karna, the legendary hero of the *Mahabharata*, who received the kingdom of Anga from Duryodhana, strongly suggests that they too were subordinate rulers.

- 2.2 Attendance of *samantas* at the king's court was a regular feature.⁸ Mention is made of their participation in the various social and religious activities of the ruler. They accompanied him when he went to pay his respects to Jaina saints,⁹ when he went on a riding excursion through the city,¹⁰ and when he went for initiation into the Jaina order of monks.¹¹ In the time of war, they are said to have accompanied the overlord in his military expedition against his enemy.¹²
- 2.3 As regards the position of the *samantas* vis-a-vis the king, Uddyotana's simile between bending low of trees full of fruits and the bowing of *samantas*,¹³ clearly underlines their subordinate status. Haribhadra refers to them as defendants of the king, albeit the foremost among them.¹⁴ That they were under obligation to render homage, court attendance and military service to the overlord may be inferred from the account already given above. But it may also be remarked that notwithstanding the position of subordination held by them, the very nature of the services they were made to render to the sovereign appears to have helped them to gain a position of importance in the administration, especially so when the centre was weak. Being present right at the court, they were able to influence court decisions and play a vital role in matters such as succession. As the military successes of the sovereign depended on them to a large extent, their pride and power increased considerably. Sufficient evidence of this increasing power is to be found in our works. The *Samaraichchhakaha* gives the *samantamandala* (the body of *samantas*) the credit for putting prince Jaya on the throne after the death of his father.¹⁵ In the same work, we read of the powerful *samanta* Durmati, who was proud of his military strength and rose in rebellion against his overlord.¹⁶ It is significant that Haribhadra describes a prosperous kingdom as one in which the *samantamandala* is devoted to the ruler¹⁷ and that such a kingdom is further described as free from all sources of nuisance.¹⁸ Obviously the *samantas* could prove to be a source of vexation if disaffected. How necessary their cooperation was considered to be can be seen also from the fact that disregard of the *samantas* is enumerated amongst the signs that forbade the loss of one's kingdom in the *Samaraichchhakaha*.¹⁹
- 2.4 As long as the *samantas* fulfilled their obligations towards him, the king treated them with regard and took every step to ensure their continuing goodwill and

cooperation. The *Kuvalayamala* speaks of gifts of chariots being made to the *mahasamantas* on the occasion of the birth of princes *Kuvalayachandra*²⁰ In the *Samaraichchhakaha*, when the marriage of a prince is fixed, the *samantas* along with the towns people are instantly informed of the happy event, on the advice of the ministers²¹ Later, mention is made of the *samantas* being honoured when the *panigrahana* ceremony is performed²² We read of the king honouring the *samantas* also when he goes for initiation, putting his successor on the throne²³ They were assigned an important role in the *rajyabhisheka* and *yauvarajyabhisheka*, the coronation ceremonies of the ruler and heir-apparent. Led by the king, they would pour scented water from golden pitchers on the heir-apparent, shouting 'Victory to the Yuvaraja', as part of the coronation ceremony of the heir-apparent²⁴ A similar besprinkling ceremony by the *samantas*, we learn from the *Samaraichchhakaha*, marked the coronation ceremony of a new ruler, with the erstwhile monarch expressly calling upon the assembled *samantas* to recognise his successor as the king thenceforth²⁵ By intimately associating them with the coronation ceremonies the king must have sought to gain their cooperation and thereby secure a peaceful succession. Even *samantas* who chose to rebel against the overlord, if repentant when vanquished, were graciously forgiven and shown great respect²⁶ The ties between the overlord and *samantas* were at times further strengthened by matrimonial alliances. Thus we read of the marriage of the prince being arranged with the daughter of his maternal uncle²⁷

III

- 3.1 Through their close association and mutual dependence there grew a special bond between the king and *samantas* leading them to regard each other as *sambhandins* or kinsmen, even though unrelated by ties of kinship or marriage. We find that when the frontier chief Vighraha rebels, the prince marches against him but restrains his followers from taking stringent measures, saying "This Vighraha is an insignificant chief. But he has been paying tribute to my father and therefore is our kinsman. Therefore no precipitate military action is to be taken against him"²⁸ And when the defeated Vighraha offers to serve the prince, we see the latter addressing him thus "Do not say so. As the *bhritya* (liegeman) of my father, you are my elder brother. So if you like, go and see my father"²⁹ How strong the bond created by allegiance was, can be seen further from the fact that the overlord appears to have felt it obligatory to render help to the vassal when he was in trouble, even if the cause of the latter was not quite justifiable. Thus in the *Samaraichchhakaha* when the sabara chief who had accepted the overlordship of prince Kumarasena was attacked by soldiers who came to punish him for his previous misdeeds, the prince helped his vassal saying, 'He has become my liegeman. Hence, even though he has been doing reprehensible things, we cannot be indifferent when he engages in fight'³⁰
- 3.2 This feeling of kinship appears to have permeated also the relationship between vassals owing allegiance to the same overlord. A sabara chief who

just a moment ago had been plundering the caravan of the vaishya Sanudeva, after having been defeated by the prince who accompanied the caravan and accepted the latter's overlordship, addresses the same vaishya thus, "O noble one, we did not know that this greatman accompanied you. We have been vanquished by him and recognise him as our overlord. Hence you are our kinsman '*sambhandhin*' and we cannot loot your property"³¹ Sanudeva too at once recognised the new relationship saying, "With the *aryaputra* (the prince) as my *swami* (lord) and you as my kinsman, what is there that I do not have"³² That a vaishya could acknowledge an aboriginal sabara chief, whose social status was far inferior to his, as a kinsman without hesitation just because they both had a common overlord shows that bonds of feudal affiliation were so strong that they set the ground for a new set of social relationships which had no place for caste prejudices³³

- 3.3 On the basis of the evidence of sources under discussion the growth of feudal relationships during our period may be traced to the practice of converting vanquished princes into tributary vassals and the practice of assigning land grants in lieu of military service. Thus the *Kuvalayamala* speaks of *Karpala-sikha-nirjita-samantas* or *samantas* vanquished by the might of the sword³⁴ The practice of granting land in return of military service may be inferred from the story of Kshetrabhatta in the *Kuvalayamala*³⁵ Kshetrabhatta was an old *thakkura* who having fallen on evil days began the '*avalaga*' of the ruler of Ujjayini. In return for his services the king bestowed on him the prosperous village of Kupavinda where he resided. As time passed, the old *thakkura* with his limbs bearing the marks of wounds inflicted by the swords of opposing warriors in hundreds of battles, and his age telling on his body, lost the strength to render active service. He therefore put his son, Virabhatta in the king's service, and himself remained at home. In due course of time Shaktibhatta, the son of Virabhatta, continued the service, attending the king's court, where a special seat was reserved for him. It would appear from the above account that the *avalaga* or *alaga* rendered by the *thakkura* was some kind of personal and military service which was rewarded by a grant of land. It may be taken to be hereditary since the son and grandson of the *thakkura* are said to have continued the service after him. The use of *alaga* in the sense of military service can be seen in yet another context in the *Kuvalayamala* where we read of two *vanikputras* who tried to gain a livelihood through *alaga*, but being captured in war because of their bad luck³⁶ A Jaina saint who appeared in the vicinity later, advised them to render *alaga* to *sarvagya* i.e. the Jina and battle with Indriya (sense-organs) foes³⁷ In the *Samaraichchhakaha*, where the rebel named Vighraha on being vanquished by the prince offers to render *alaga* to him,³⁸ we may discern the sense of feudal service again. As these are the earliest instances of the use of the word *alaga* in Rajasthan, which occurs in the present sense of personal and military feudal service in various later Rajasthani texts and Rajasthani folk songs,³⁹ they represent an important stage in the development of feudal relations. In the *Samaraichchhakaha* too we come across *thakkuras*, who engage in battle with a shabara chief and capture him at the order of their ruler⁴⁰ It also speaks

of *gramas* (villages), *akaras* (mines) and *mandabas* (towns) being distributed amongst the *Rajputras* who successfully secured the territory belonging to the rebel ruler Vigraha ⁴¹ It may be noted that the earliest epigraphic evidence of the word '*avalagna*' is available in the Dudhapani inscription, Bihar,⁴² assignable to the eighth century, the same as the prakrit works under reference The instance of the two *vanikputras*, who took up *alaga* when they failed to earn a living by other means of livelihood, mentioned in the *Kuvalayamala*, as referred to above,⁴³ further indicates that sometimes people entered into feudal ties due to personal compulsions, in this case, economic, rendering service in exchange for subsistence That a practice approaching commendation of some sort existed at the time is also suggested by the Dudhapani inscription which records that the people of three villages made the merchant Udayamana their chief (*raja*) with the king's consent, as he had at their request, rendered *avalaga* to the king on their behalf ⁴⁴

- 3 4 The mention of an *agrahara* of *brahmanas* in the *Kuvalayamala* indicates that gifts of land were made to brahmanas It further records the belief of an ideological thinking to the effect that gifts of oxen, land and plough to the brahmanas were meritorious ⁴⁵ This development was conducive to the rise of brahmana feudatories Thus diverse classes such as brahmanas, kshatriyas, vaishyas and tribals were drawn into the vortex of feudal relations so that a privileged class drawn from various sections of society, came into being

NOTES AND REFERENCES:

- 1 *Kuva*, p 9
- 2 *Kuva*, p 73
- 3 *Sama*, pp 11 & 16
- 4 *Kuva*, pp 18, 24, 200, *Sama* pp 63, 400, 789
- 5 *Sama*, pp 397, 692, 769, 803
- 6 *Kuva*, p 209
- 7 *Kuva*, p 16
- 8 *Kuva*, pp 9, 27, 188, 200, *Sama* pp 243, 799
- 9 *Sama*, p 789
- 10 *Kuva*, p 24 p73
- 11 *Kuva*, pp 209, 211, *Sama* pp 685, 692, 76
- 12 *Sama*, p 573
- 13 *Kuva*, p 51
- 14 *Sama* p 243
- 15 *Sama* p 396
- 16 *Sama* p 121
- 17 *Sama* p 116, 689
- 18 *Sama* p 689
- 19 *Sama* p 569

- 20 *Kuva* p 18
- 21 *Sama* p 518
- 22, *Sama* p 520
- 23 *Sama* p 596, 768
- 24 *Kuva* p 200
- 25 *Sama* p 397
- 26 *Sama* p 124
- 27 *Sama* p 63f
- 28 *Sama* p 635 and Cf D Sharma, *Rajasthan Through the Ages*, p 340
- 29 *Sama* p 639, also D Sharma, *Ibid*
- 30 *Sama* p 547
- 31 *Sama* p 539
- 32 *Sama* p 540
- 33 For further details cf R S Sharma, *Social Changes in Early Medieval India* (C A D 500-1200), Delhi, 1969, pp 11-14 and *Indian Feudalism*, 2nd ed Delhi, pp 79-80
- 34 *Kuva*, p 9
- 35 *Kuva* p 50, Cf also B N S Yadava, *Society and culture in Northern India in the Twelfth Century*, Allahabad, 1973, Chap 3
- 36 *Kuva* p 191
- 37 *Kuva* p 193
- 38 *Sama* p 639
- 39 *Bharateshvara-Rahubali-rasa* (twelfth century) *Kanhadadeprabandha* (14th century) cf D Sharma, *Rajasthan Through the Ages*, p 341
- 40 *Sama* p 548
- 41 *Sama* p 635
- 42 *El*, II, p 345f
- 43 *Kuva* p 191
- 44 *El*, II, p 345f
- 45 *Kuva* p 258
- 46 *Kuva* p 205

DYNAMICS OF HYDRAULIC ACTIVITY IN MAURYAN AND POST-MAURYAN TIMES

V.K. JAIN*

I

- 1 1 Artificial irrigation forms an important factor in the growth of agrarian economy. In ancient Indian literature, the land which is "not dependent on the god of rain" (*adevamatrika*) and has plenty of natural resources of water is highly praised.¹ But when this is lacking, irrigation through lakes, dams, ponds, wells, etc becomes inevitable. The issue of construction, organisation and management of hydraulic machinery in Oriental Countries, including India, has led to a debate which hinges on the controversy of "Oriental Despotism" or "hydraulic despotism" as envisaged by Wittfogel.² Though Irfan Habib³, R S Sharma⁴ and R Thapar⁵ have questioned the validity of this hypothesis⁶ in the case of India, no one so far has paid attention to the role of state in hydraulic activity in the specific context of ancient India.

II

- 2 1 The essence of Wittfogel's arguments focuses on the nature of the tasks in large scale irrigation including canal construction. He points out that, for proper irrigation, a large quantity of water could be channeled and kept in bounds only by the use of mass labour, and this mass labour must be coordinated, disciplined and led "only by a controlling authority. He posits that in a "hydraulic state" one finds such "authoritarian patterns" as "agro-managerial despotism" and a monopoly bureaucracy.⁸ In other words, he is proposing a

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model of a state-sponsored and state-controlled hydraulic activity in which there is no scope for an individual for private enterprise. An analysis of the existing epigraphic and literary data, however, suggests that this hypothesis is both logically and factually incorrect⁹ because in ancient India, irrigation was principally conducted by such minor works as wells, tanks, ponds, etc which did not require either the mobilisation of labour on a large scale nor a super-powerful bureaucracy to organise and manage them. These works were owned and maintained by local people, individually or collectively. The state enterprise in irrigation was only marginal, and was largely confined to the settlement of disputes which might arise among neighbours on the distribution of water or the construction of a tank.

- 2.2 The importance of irrigation activity in relation to the position and function of the state has been referred to by many scholars even before Wittfogel. Adam Smith, for example, had remarked that the state in India and Egypt took special care to provide irrigation facilities since it derived its revenue mostly from agricultural produce.¹⁰ Engels wrote in a similar vein in a letter to Marx in June 1853 that irrigation was one of the chief activity in which Oriental governments were involved.¹¹ But in the *Anti-Duhring*, which he wrote nearly twenty-five years later, Engels laid greater emphasis on irrigation as the chief "social function" of the state and characterised the Asian despot as "the total entrepreneur" in irrigation enterprise.¹² Such an analysis of Engels' is important for two reasons. Firstly, this is a crucial point on which Marx and Engels were not in complete agreement because the former regarded, particularly in his later writings, irrigation only as "one of the material bases of despotic power".¹³ Secondly, it provided an inspiration for the concept of "hydraulic civilisations" as postulated by Wittfogel.¹⁴
- 2.3 Wittfogel used irrigation as a master key to explain the process of historical developments in Asian Countries including India. He argued that there were two types of irrigation societies (a) hydro-agricultural, having small scale irrigation works such as wells, tanks, rivers, etc which did not require a centralised apparatus and (b) hydraulic agricultural, having large scale state directed irrigation farming. According to him, it was the latter which led to "hydraulic despotism".¹⁵ He believed that the appropriate milieu for its emergence was in the arid and semi-arid regions, and he considered "northern plains of India" as the actual place for it.¹⁶
- 2.4 The Mauryan empire has been singled out by Wittfogel as having maintained a "grandiose hydraulic economy"¹⁷ but the facts as revealed in literature and epigraphs speak otherwise. To date, except the lake Sudarshan there is no large-scale irrigation work which may justify state enterprise in irrigation.¹⁸ But even this one casts some doubt.¹⁹ If the recent identification of the dam on the Sudarshana lake is accepted²⁰, and the size of the dam calculated as given in the inscription, the area impounded and the area irrigated remains "not too large". Besides, the dam on the Sudarshana lake was, as per the inscription initially built by the local governor (*rashtriya*) Pushyagupta with the conduits added to it by the governor (*adhishtha*) Tushaspa.²¹ Even later, the names of

the *amatya* Suvishakha and the governor Chakrapalita stand out prominently in the inscriptions as the authorities who repaired and restored it during the time of Rudradaman (c AD 150) and Skanda Gupta (c AD 460) respectively²² It may indicate that irrigation was primarily the responsibility of the local governors rather than the centre The reference to the "enormous money" spent by Rudradaman on the restoration of the dam and by Kharavela on extending the "channel" to his capital, however, indicates the kings did render necessary help, whenever required Anyhow, the absence of such large scale works as indicated by the Girnar (Junagadh) and Hathigumpha inscriptions elsewhere may suggest that there were not many extensive areas which were brought under agriculture with state help

III

- 3 1 The *Arthashastra* which is believed to project a picture of a highly centralised state²³ frequently refers to small scale irrigation works which were owned and organised privately According to it, the chief means of irrigation were river (*nadi*), lake (*sara*), tank (*tadaka*), well (*kupa*), spring (*utsa*) and reservoir (*adhara*)²⁴ Kautilya generally uses the term *setu* or *setubandha* (i.e reservoir built by putting up dams on streams) in the general sense of an irrigation work²⁵, and refers to two types of *setus* - (i) *sahodaka* wells and tanks which could be fed by such natural sources as springs, and (ii) *aharayodaka* tanks and embankments where water was stored He naturally preferred the former, thus indicated his favour for small scale irrigation works²⁶
- 3 2 Kautilya while referring to *udakabhaga* (water-cess) enumerates different types of irrigated land, viz, irrigated by manual labour, by carrying water on shoulder, by water lifts and by raising water from lakes, rivers, etc, but makes no mention of canals Strabo's reference, presumably on Megasthenes' authority, to officers who inspected the canals "from which water is distributed into conduits"²⁷ stands alone, and as rightly suggested, is probably based on a confusion between canals and dammedup streams According to some scholars, a clear reference to canals for irrigation in the *Arthashastra* is found in a *sutra* which points out that water was set in motion by digging (*khatapravrittim*) from a river-dam (*nadinibhandhayatana*) or a tank²⁸ But, in our opinion, the reference seems to suit more to a channel from a tank or a dam rather than a canal as such

IV

- 4 1 In the post-Mauryan period, both tanks and wells continued to be used for irrigation²⁹ While an inscription from Nasik gives Ushavadata, son-in-law of king Nahpana, the credit of building many-tanks and reservoirs³⁰, another from Mathura (c AD 50) tells us of a brahman who constructed a tank³¹ Though the number of wells in this period³² seemed to have increased, there is, no archaeological evidence of any canal dug out in the Kushan period³² According to R S Sharma, the traces of two old canals, one at Kumrahar having a length

of about 450 feet³³ and another at Besonagar with a limb of 185 feet³⁴ may have been of Mauryan origin³⁵ But we still hold that these 'canals' were too small sized to be used for large-scale irrigation³⁶

- 4 2 There is also nothing to show that a large bureaucracy developed in either Mauryan or post-Mauryan times in response to the needs of irrigation. As it is pointed out, Kautilya mentions about thirty departmental heads and eighteen high officers who were connected with the economic and administrative activity of the state but makes no provision for a separate superintendent exclusively for irrigation³⁷. He, however, does refer to some officers who were connected with the water resources. For example, one of the duties of the *nagara* (City-superintendent) was to have constant inspection of places of water-supply (*udakasthana*), roads and water courses³⁸. Again, *sitadhyaksha* (superintendent of crown lands) was supposed to have, among other things, the knowledge of "water divining"³⁹. *Samaharta* was expected to record the number of water-works (*setubandha*) and the sheds for drinking water in the area in his charge⁴⁰. Similarly, *Vinitadhyaksha* (head of the pastures) was supposed to establish wells, water-works and springs in waterless regimes⁴¹. But the activity of these officers seemed to have remained confined only to the *sita* or crown land. On free land Kautilya gives enough indication of the existence of small irrigation works constructed through private enterprise and maintained individually or through pooling of resources of local people.
- 4 3 The private ownership of irrigation works is evident from the fact that Kautilya considers tanks and reservoirs as immovable property of an individual,⁴² and points out that an owner may lose the ownership of his tank or irrigation work (*setu bandha*) if he does not use it for five years, except in cases of distress⁴³. Manu too includes tanks in the list of such articles as house, fields, etc. which could not be seized by others⁴⁴ and thus suggests that they were owned and constructed by individuals for the purpose of irrigation.
- 4 4 Kautilya also permitted a person to sell or mortgage his irrigation work,⁴⁵ and underlining the procedure for it suggests that the owner should proclaim his intention to sell at the boundary (of the object put on sale) in the presence of the village elders, who are neighbours" declaring the price acceptable to him, and when, not objected to by anyone after three proclamations, "the purchaser should be entitled to purchase it"⁴⁶. He further adds, if the price is increased because of competition (*spardhya*), increased price along with tax should go to the treasury⁴⁷. It indicates that the state was more interested in the collection of tax on the sale and purchase than in the construction and maintenance of the irrigation works⁴⁸.
- 4 5 The communal activity in building irrigation-works is also noted by Kautilya. With regard to the settlement of the countryside, he suggests that all local people should cooperate in building dams etc., and those who walk out of the joint venture (*sambhuyasetubandhat*) should be asked to share the expenses but should be given "no portion" of the benefits derived⁴⁹. It indicates that only those who cooperated in building a dam or a tank were entitled to claim the benefit of water from it.

- 4 6 The private enterprise in irrigation during the Mauryan period was in fact encouraged by holding out the promise of not only economic benefits but also of judicial protection. Thus, Kautilya points out that all those who build new tanks and dams (*tatakasetubandhaname navapravartane*) should be given the benefit of exemption from taxes for five years, those who repair the ruined and abandoned ones should get the benefit of four years and so on⁵⁰. He also permitted an individual to sell the water from his waterworks to others, and thus says that an owner may "give his water in return for share of produce in the fields" irrigated by his tanks and other water-works, or to others "as it may be advantageous (to him)"⁵¹. He also recommends judicial protection to those who lease out water and adds that those who use tanks, dams, etc on hire, as a pledge, for a share or with authorization for use "shall keep them in good repair", otherwise they may be fined "double of the loss" suffered by the owner⁵².

V

- 5 1 A serious flaw in Wittfogel's hypothesis lies in its effort to minimise the impact of technology on the irrigation activity. Kautilya mentions four different methods of "setting water into motion" for the land to be irrigated⁵³. As the water-cess (*Udakabhaga*) charged by the state varied in each case, it can be believed that the methods were graded by him on the basis of their efficiency. These four methods in the ascending order of their efficiency were (i) "hand moved" (*hasta pravartim*), (ii) "shoulder-moved" (*skandher-pravartim*), (iii) "lifted" from tanks, rivers, etc (*udghatam*), and (iv) machine-moved (*strotayantra pravartim*). "Hand-moved" obviously meant irrigation through manual labour, may be by carrying water in pitchers from hand to hand as suggested in the *Gathasaptashati*, supposedly the work of Hala, a Satavahana king⁵⁴. "Shoulder-moved" probably meant the use of animal power, i.e., yoking bullocks for drawing water with the help of a long rope. *Udghatam* might have referred to the method of lifting water from tanks, wells, etc with the help of *dhenkli*, i.e. a contrivance with a long bamboo balanced on a lever, with a heavy load on one end and bucket on the other.
- 5 2 The *strotayantra* must have been a kind of hydraulic machine with a wheel and buckets. Though the origin and introduction of Persian wheel, a wheel with chain and pots is a matter of considerable debate,⁵⁵ the term *rahata* which is commonly used for a Persian wheel in India is mentioned in the *Gathasaptashati*⁵⁶. Since, this is perhaps the earliest reference to the term "*rahata*" in a text of the early centuries of the Christian era, it would be better to quote the verse in full, "some bad men become very much (puffed up) with their faces raised up, if they possess (small wealth), and they bend low for a long time when in indigent condition just as small pitchers (attached) to a water raising machine (a *rahattaghadiya* = *Sktrahatta-ghatikah*) have their mouths raised when filled up with water, and they remain lowered when empty." In the absence of concrete evidence it is difficult to say whether it was a *noria* or a Persian wheel, but the reference in the above passage to "tending

low for a long time" indicates that this *rahata* was probably being used to draw water from deep wells. In this context, it may be mentioned that symbols on the reverse of some early Andhra coins from Kolhapur have been taken to represent the water-wheels used for irrigation. A nasik inscription of the same period refers to a guild of *odayantrikas* which Senart translates as "workers fabricating hydraulic engines"⁵⁷ The exact nature of these machines may not be known but the fact that considerable progress was made in the technology of lift irrigation during the Mauryan and the post-Mauryan period cannot be denied. And this progress was achieved not by the state bureaucrats but by the independent guilds of tank-builders⁵⁸ and machine makers.

VI

- 6.1 In short, a survey of sources pertaining to Mauryan and post-Mauryan times reveals that India did not possess "hydraulic agriculture" on any scale necessitating despotic organisation and is better suited to Wittfogel's concept of "hydro agriculture" based as it was on minor projects. The solitary reference to the dam at Junagadh and to a canal in Kalinga are indicative of more stress on tanks and wells, which, on account of the technological progress attained in the lift-irrigation must have been quite effective. However, an important feature of this period was the permission given to owners to rent or lease out the water from their tanks ponds etc to the needy in return for a stipulated produce. Since only such peasants who had enough resources to mobilise men and money could own irrigation-works, their control over water resources must have led to some sort of "exploitative relationship" between the rich and poor peasants in the villages.

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- 4 *Aspects of Political Ideas and Institutions in Ancient India*, 3rd Rev. edn, New Delhi, 1991, pp 78-9, Idem, *Perspectives in Social and Economic History of Early India*, (thereafter *PSEH*) Delhi, 1983, pp 158-69
- 5 *Past and Present*, Delhi, 1975, pp 59-61, Idem, *The Mauryas Revisited*, Cal, 1987, pp 3, 10-11
- 6 For a critique of Wittfogel's thesis see, Brendan O'Leary, *The Asiatic Mode of Production*, 1989, Ch. 6, Hindess and Hirst, *Pre-Capitalist Mode of Production*, London, 1975, pp 207-20
- 7 Wittfogel, *op cit*, p 18
- 8 *Ibid*, pp 239, 49-50, 45-46
- 9 The hydraulic hypothesis was first advanced by J H Steward ("Cultural Causality and Law", *American Anthropologist*, L1, 1949, pp 1-17) but he later revised it to suggest that irrigation was only one of the causative agents of development of state in ancient times, see William P Mitchell, "The Hydraulic Hypotheses: A Reappraisal", *CA* XIV, Dec 1973, p 532, fn 2

For objections to irrigation as a mono causal explanation for the rise of centralised state in the non-Indian context, see *ibid*, pp 532-34. For the rejection of Wittfogel's model in the case of Sri Lanka see, Leach *PP*, xv, 1959, pp 2-28, Gunawardana, "Total Power or Shared Power", *IHR*, VII, 1980-81. The Dutch scholar J.C. Van Leur, *Indonesian Trade and Society*, The Hague, 1975, pp 103-4, 257-58) however, using the Weberian term of "patrimonial bureaucracy", emphasizes the role of state in irrigation in south-east Asia.

- 10 E. Cannan, ed, *Wealth of Nations*, London, 1930, pp 179-81
- 11 Engels to Marx, 6 June, 1853
- 12 cf, Engels, *Anti-Duhring*, New York, 1969, pp 198-99
- 13 R.A.L.H. Gunawardana, "The Analysis of Pre-Colonial Social Formations in Asia in the Writings of Karl Marx", *IHR*, II, no 2, 1976, p 384
- 14 Wittfogel, however, claims that he derived his theory from Marx's views on the AMP, see Wittfogel, *op cit*, pp 370-412, also Irfan Habib, *op cit*, p 379, Gunawardana *IHR*, II, 1976, p 388
- 15 Wittfogel, *op cit*, p 170
- 16 *Ibid*, Wittfogel betrays a lack of elementary knowledge on Indian geography by putting the whole northern plains in the arid and semi-arid region, see, Irfan Habib *op cit*, p 380
- 17 *Ibid*
- 18 *EI*, VIII, pp 36 ff
- 19 R. Thapar, *The Mauryas Revisited*, p 10
- 20 R. N. Mehta, "Sudarsana Lake", *JOI*, XVIII, 1968, pp 20-28
- 21 *EI*, VIII, no 6
- 22 *Ibid*, CII, III, no 14
- 23 There is a considerable rethinking among scholars regarding the nature of state during the Mauryan times. R. Thapar divides the Mauryan empire into nucleus, core and peripheral regions having varying degree of relationship with one other (*op cit*, p 4), and points out that Kautilya presents a picture of a smaller state rather than a large imperial state (*op cit*, p 8) and that his views on agriculture suggest the cultivation of *sita* lands rather than all the land. According to her, the Maurya empire was shattered because its nucleus, i.e. the Magadha region was more interested in exploiting other areas rather than creating a new resource base there. ("(*op cit*, p 21) Brendan O'Leary (*op cit*, p. 280) also doubts whether the Mauryan empire was genuinely centralised and points out the iron-clad stability or durability associated with hydraulic despotism is not visible here. In his opinion, the Mauryan empire may best be considered as a proto-type of "segmentary political system" as associated with the Vijayanagar empire.
- 24 KA, 2.24.18, 2.34.8, 3.8.2, 3.9.3, 3.9.33, etc
- 25 KA, 2.1.20, 2.6.5, 2.35.3, 3.9.28, also R.P. Kangle, *Kautilya Arthashastra*, II, p 57 fn 20
- 26 KA, 2.1.20, 7.12.4-5
- 27 Strabo, xv 1.50, R.C. Majumdar (ed), *Classical Accounts of India* (trs), Calcutta, 1960, p 268
- 28 KA, 3.9.35. See also Kangle, *op cit*, II, p 256, fn 35, Sibesh Bhattacharya, "Land Soil, Rainfall, Irrigation *Arthashastra* of Kautilya", *IESHR*, 1978, p 217
- 29 *PSEH*, p 159 f
- 30 *SI*, I, p 161, 1.2
- 31 *Ibid*, p 119, 11.1-8
- 32 *PSEH*, 159, 165

- 33 *Indian Archeology - A Review*, 1954-55, p 19
- 34 *ASR*, 1914 -15, 69, plate XLIX
- 35 *PSEH*, p 166
- 36 Patanjali's references also suggest the use of Channel's (*kulya*) rather than canals for irrigation Kielhorn, I 82, III 39 In the dictionaries, the terms *kulya*, *khata* etc are used both as canals and channels, of course without making any organisational difference between the two This has created the confusion
- 37 *PSEH*, p 167
- 38 *KA*, 2 36 43
- 39 *KA*, 2 24 1, 2 24 11, 2 24 19
- 40 *KA*, 2 35-3
- 41 *KA*, 2 34 8
- 42 *Ibid*, 3 8 2
- 43 *Ibid*, 3 9 32
- 44 *Manu*, VIII 264
- 45 *KA*, 3 9 34
- 46 *Ibid*, 3 9 3-4
- 47 *Ibid*, 3 9 5
- 48 *Manu* (xi 62) however, declares that any one who sells his tank earns a sin According to Kautilya charitable water works (*dharmasetu*) could not be sold and purchased and if these are ruined they should better be repaired by persons of pious disposition (*KA*, 3 10 2-3)
- 49 *KA*, 2 1 22
- 50 *Ibid*, 3 9 33
- 51 *Ibid*, 3 9 35
- 52 *Ibid*, 3 9 36-37
- 53 *Ibid*, 2 24 18
- 54 II 29 (ed with intro and tr by R G Basak, Calcutta, 1971) It refers to the carrying of water in pitchers in order to extinguish a fire in the village
- 55 Cf V K Jain, *Trade and Traders in Western India*, Delhi 1990, p 29, Irfan Habib, Presidential Address, *PIHC*, 1969 pp 149-55, B D Chattopadhyaya, "Irrigation in Early Medieval Rajasthan", *JESHO*, XVI, pp 303-4, fn 6, L Gopal, *Aspects of Agriculture in Ancient India*, Varanasi, 1980
- 56 V 90
- 57 *EI*, VIII, no 15, p 88, 1 10, p 89 The *Cullavagga* (V 162) also refers to the use of water machines for lifting water
- 58 Brihaspati refers to a guild of tank-builders

SOME ASPECTS OF ECONOMIC LIFE IN MATHURA (FIRST & SECOND CENTURIES AD)

DINESH CHANDRA VARSHNEY*

I

- 1 1 Mathura became an important city during the Mauryan period. During the time of the Kushanas, it emerged as an important regional centre of trade and commerce and Mathura art whose speciality added further glory to its popularity. The place is known by different names in early Indian sources, for example, Madhura, Madhara, Madhuravan, Madhupuri and Methora. The considerable settlement in Mathura from the Mauryan period onwards is not doubtful.¹ The sites are commonly located at the junction of different habitats, the integration of whose resources resulted in a viable economy. Trade and location of Mathura were the most important factors which influenced the pattern of settlements. The population of the area in and around Mathura probably increased during the Kushana period. The levels belonging to the Kushana time at Sonkh "show more or less densely built up area".²
- 1 2 Mathura was linked through land routes with the North-West, Western India, the Deccan, the Doab and areas further East. The position of the Yamuna tract of Mathura was fully exploited.
- 1 3 No doubt, the trade routes connecting Mathura with other parts of the country developed systematically in the wake of trade and commerce, conquest, ethnic migrations, cultural interactions and its linkage with inter-regional trade routes.

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The developing institutional structures of the urban economy characterised by local professional, industrial, and mercantile guilds and financial and organizational instruments of long distance trade such as *shreshthin* (the business magnate-cum-banker) and *Sarthavaha* (the caravan leader) as well as the expansion of international commerce and innovations in shipping imparted special significance to the long distance trade, contributed a great deal to Mathura's transformation from a regional metropolis into a sub-continental pivot of trade and communication system during the time of the Kushanas³

- 1 4 Mathura was linked with Central Asia by Shaka and Yueh-chih migrations to India. It was the principal junction of Uttarapatha for those coming from Takshashila, Pushkalavati, Purushapura, Kapisha, and Bactria to the Tarim basin where they joined both branches of the 'Silk Route'

II

- 2 1 An important factor which added to the economic importance of Mathura was the close relationship between the Kushanas and the Roman emperors. Not surprisingly, Chinese silk, ivory, precious stones, spices, cotton textiles were carried on the routes controlled by the Kushans. Trade in silk, when temporarily distributed on the Central Asian route, was diverted to the eastern part of the Roman empire via Broach through Uttarapatha which touched Mathura and from where goods went to the Western coast via Vidisha and Ujjain. We hear of horse dealers from Taxila passing through Mathura.⁴ 'Mathura was certainly situated at the centre of four cross-roads, and the merchants undoubtedly played a significant role in the economic life of the city. The epigraphic, literary and archaeological sources tell us about the significant professions and crafts such as those of metal workers, goldsmith, blacksmith, jeweller, etc.⁵ We have mention of such terms as *vanik*, *shreshthin*, *sarthavaha*, *vyavaharin*, etc.⁶ in the inscriptions. We know of the setting up of monasteries by the merchants, and guilds. The merchants were the rich class of the society. The balance of trade was in India's favour in Kushana period which led to large scale import of gold and to an extensive issue of gold coinage by Wema Kadphises and his successors Kanishka, Huvishka and Vasudeva. The principal articles of trade were precious stones, cotton and silk cloth, timber, aromatics, herbs, cereals, sugar and spices among the exports, and gold, silver, copper, tin, glass and wine among the imports. This can be inferred from the fact that the Indian ivory articles of the Kushana period have been found in Pompeii and Roman glass-ware has been found in the Kushana phase at Begram.⁷
- 2 2 The sculpture of Mathura shows many types of jewellery such as earrings, bracelet, double bracelet, necklace, double necklace, breast jewel, different types of bangles, armlets, wristlets, crown, amulets string and ear-pendants.⁸ A gold leaf has been discovered at Sonkh. The extensive use of jewellery emphasises the importance of goldsmith who served the needs of the upper crust of society.⁹ Mathura was producing fine textiles. "It was famous for its *shataka*, a special kind of cloth."¹⁰ Before the discovery of the monsoon the

quality of the exported cotton clothes was limited, but after its discovery the demands for cotton goods grew tremendously. Indian muslin was famous in Rome. When the Roman navigators began to make regular use of the monsoon in the Indian waters they could sail to India through more direct routes and could visit Indian ports with greater frequency in comparatively less time. This meant phenomenal increase in the volume of trade.¹¹

- 2.3 The mention of different kinds of trees and of Mathura being surrounded by forests may indicate that timber must have been an object of trade. Weapon making was a local industry. The *Periplus* mentions export of Indian iron and steel from Ariaca (around the Gulf of Cambay) to African ports. It is also known from foreign sources that iron manufactured in India in the early Christian centuries had foreign markets.¹² Black-smiths and traders in iron objects were an important group, and their activities may have something to do with the steel goods that were sent to Rome where there was a complaint on waste of gold in purchasing the Indian cutlery. There also seems to have been some trade in brass goods at Mathura. A piece each of brass rod and brass hook has been found, and we also get a reference to brass scissors meant for cutting arecanuts. But still even in the houses of upper class people pottery was not replaced by brass or bronze utensils for eating and cooking purposes.¹³
- 2.4 All this shows the importance of the metal worker in Mathura. The iron industry not only helped the manufacture of weapons but also of agricultural tools and implements of craftsmen. Thus Mathura had an important group of artisans and traders dealing in iron goods.¹⁴

III

- 3.1 It appears from the sculptures of Mathura that Indian birds were exported to Rome, and Mathura may also have participated in this trade. India exported to Rome at least three kinds of parrots, elephants, rhinoceros, Cheetah, tiger, guinea-fowl, etc.¹⁵ Animal skin therefore, must definitely have been an item of trade. Herbs also must have been used for trade.
- 3.2 The sculptures of Mathura show different types of dress like tunics, trousers, scarfs, shawls, draperies, turban, head dresses, *dhotis* and sarees. The representations of *dhotis* and sarees suggest that the needs of the common people in the city of Mathura was not ignored.¹⁶ Similarly the existence of the guild of flour-makers suggests that wheat, barley or millet flour was sold to the urban population.¹⁷ Textile manufacture was also an important handicraft during the period of study. According to the *Milindapanha* five processes of cloth manufacture were undertaken by Gotami, aunt of Buddha.¹⁸ The material used in cloth manufacture were mainly cotton, wool, flax and silk. Cotton was more commonly used. A Jaina text, *Acharanga Sutra* of the first century A.D. mentions various types of cotton, blue cotton, common cotton and Bengal cotton.¹⁹ The cotton cloth was manufactured in almost all parts of northern and western India. The presence of cotton dealers and representatives of numerous types of cloths coupled with the reference to the Mathura *Shataka*

in Patanjali shows that it was an important centre of cloth manufacture with a considerable population of weavers. Silk weaving may have also been practiced in Mathura²⁰. The different sculptures of Mathura, noted by Vogel, Agrawal and K D Bajpai, show that the seven types of new dresses were introduced by Indo-Scythians. Tunics, trousers, cloak or mantle, coloured coats, overcoat, embroidered coat, skirts, petticoat, conical hat, long sleeved tunics, long trousers etc., show that the textile manufacture was supplemented by tailoring and the craft received special impetus because of Indo-Scythians, dresses²¹. Apparently all this provided sufficient work for tailors (*pravarika*) who are mentioned several times as donors in Mathura inscriptions²². Dyeing was also a subsidiary occupation which was known in north-western India ever since the time of the Buddha. We hear of a donation made by the wife of a dyer (*rayagini*)²³. Thus our sources give ample evidence of the prosperity of Mathura during the period under study.

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- 8 See N P Joshi, *Mathura Sculptures*, Smith, *The Jain and Other Antiquities of Mathura*, Vogel, *La Sculpture de Mathura* and V S Agrawala, *Indian Art*
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- 15 Moti Chandra, *Trade and Trade Routes in Ancient India*, Delhi, 1977 p 124
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NAME ANALYSIS OF CRAFTSMEN IN INSCRIPTIONS (SOUTH INDIA 7TH TO 12TH CENTURIES)

VIJAYA RAMASWAMY*

I

- 1 1 There is a general misconception fostered by Western scholarship that the signing of one's name to craft item or painting is a recent phenomenon and that craftsmen in early times were always anonymous. However, the overwhelming inscriptional evidence from South India effectively disproves this myth. Inscriptions from all parts of South India beginning from the Badami caves dating back to the 7th century to numerous modern inscriptions record the names of artisans and craftsmen. This paper specifically takes up only those inscriptions between the 7th and 12th centuries which record the names of craftsmen (sometimes without giving any other kind of information) and seeks to analyse the date critically.

II

- 2 1 First, the craftsman has to be recognised in his role as 'engraver'. Inscriptions were the best means of recording any act or transaction and all inscriptions had to be engraved. Thus lengthy inscriptions pertaining to temple charties or land transactions would conclude with the name of the engraver. Since the temples served as some sort of a record office in those days, many of these

engravers seem to have been smiths attached to that particular temple. To take up some examples, an inscription of the time of Vikrama Chola dated 1123 A.D. from Tiruvarur in Thanjavur district says that the inscription which concerns a land grant to the temple by the king was engraved by "that greatest of masons, our temple *achari*"¹ Another inscription dated 1268 A.D. from Kanchipuram Ulagalanda Perumal temple, refers to the arrangement of Vedic teaching in the temple and concludes with the statement that it was engraved by the temple '*por koyil*' craftsman.² Similar information is available from the Pandyan and Vijayanagar inscriptions. In the instances where the phrase '*our achari*' or the '*por koyil achari*' does not occur one can presume that the services of any general artisan, not attached to the temple, was enlisted.

- 2.2 Which of the group of five craftsmen did the engravers represent? It is a peculiarity of South India that the craftsmen were collectively represented as the group of five - Panchalar or Kammalar consisting of the goldsmith, blacksmith, brass smith, carpenter and mason. The engraver was sometimes the master craftsman or head goldsmith himself. In the inscription from Tiruvarur and Kanchipuram cited above, the engraver was a *kal tachchan* or mason. An Eastern Ganga Inscription dated in the 9th century from Srikakulam describes the engraver *akkasalin*, i.e. goldsmith Damachandra.³ In another inscription from Nellore district (Petturu) the engraver was a *badagi* i.e. carpenter by profession.⁴ And now one comes to the term '*perum tattan*' found in an 10th century inscription from Kumbakonam. It describes the engraver as Pulaiya, the *perundattan* (the conjugation of the words *perum* and *tattan*) of Teeyamkudi.⁵ The terms *perum tachchan* and *perum kollan* also appear in many inscriptions from Tamil Nadu and in some cases clearly refer to subordinate carpenters or goldsmiths working under the 'master-craftsman'. Thus one can say with absolute certainty that the term '*perum*' when attached to a craftsman defined his status as a master-craftsman with power to supervise and control the craftsmen working under him. One can assume that the Kumbakonam inscription must have registered an act of considerable importance (it deals with food offerings and endowments to the temple) since it was personally engraved by the head goldsmith or *perum tattan*.
- 2.3 The majority of inscriptions, however, merely give the name of the engraver such as Revachari, Samundachari etc. or if the record is from Andhra or Karnataka, the names are like Dasadamoja, Malloja etc. An alternate nomenclature to *achari* is '*Bhatta*'. An inscription from Badami states that Sri Chandra Kirtiya Bhatta made the sculpture of Durgadevi.⁶ The nomenclatures '*acharya*' or '*achari*' and '*bhatta*' or '*bhattar*' are very interesting because although all craftsmen in South India are Shudras, they were using a name given to the highest even among the Brahmins. In fact '*Bhattacharya*' is even today a very common Bengali Brahmin surname. Does this indicate the influence of Sanskritisation and Brahmanisation from a very early period in South India? The inscriptional evidence definitely points that way. It is worth observing here that a third term '*karmiyar*' is again used in inscriptions ambiguously for both Brahmanical priests and for craftsmen. A final comment on this section would be that even now the South Indian Visvakarma kula, the

name by which the Kammalar prefer to be known these days, use the Dravidian versions of these nomenclatures Pathar for Bhattar and Asari for Achari

III

- 3 1 The names of the craftsmen themselves vary between Tamil names and Sanskritised names. While Tamil names end with the nomenclature '*devan*' for example Muvendavelar devan, Achchappan devan etc, all Sanskritised names invariably carry the suffix '*Achari*' such as Baladeva Achari, Somaachari, Revachari etc. However, in the face of as yet inadequate evidence about these names and the fixing of their geographical locations against a historical setting, mere categorisation of these names don't provide us much information.
- 3 2 Another aspect of the names given in the inscriptions is the panegyricallusions attached to them. To give some examples, an inscription from Badami states that the sculptor Vidyadharan was adept at accomplishing whatever he resolved upon meaning that he was able to do full justification to his creative genius.⁷ Another record from Palnad (Pondugala, Guntur district), calls the architect of the Jalapesa shrine, Maindarama, as '*kalgabharana acharya*' meaning one who is expert at embellishing on stone.⁸ Another inscription, dated 10th century, refers to the sculptor as '*Bahugunateja*' and a gem among the Visvakarma kula.⁹
- 3 3 While some inscriptions refer only to the craftsman who is actively involved in a particular craft work, there are many which refer to two or three generations of craftsmen, either both father and son or also the grandfather. For example in the Pallava inscription from Tiruvorriyur dated in the 9th century, it refers to the engraver Parameshvaran as the son of Samundaacharya.¹⁰ On the other hand a Chalukyan inscription of Somesvara III from Dharwar refers to Aloja the engraver as the son of Mudda Bammoja and the grandson of Jatoja.¹¹ This not only shows that the crafts were hereditary but also the continuance of generations of craftsmen at a particular place.

IV

- 4 1 Finally, the names listed in almost all inscriptions seem to be only of craftsmen. So one can logically assume that women were marginalised in the whole craft process. There are however two notable exceptions both from Dharwar pertaining to the 11th and 12th century A.D. respectively. One from Gadag inscribed under the image of Uma Mahesvara says that the sculpture was made by Revakabbarasi, the wife of Vavanarasa.¹² The other from Kalkeri says that the image of Suryadeva was made by Saraswati Gandidas Malloja.¹³ In the first case the female sculptor is essentially defined in terms of her marital relationship while in the second only the name of the father is given which was usual practice in all such inscriptions. The mention of just two women out of nearly eighty inscriptions analysed in this paper shows that the

exception proves the rule. However, it does seem odd that women might have sometimes taken to crafts out of economic necessity. For instance even now among the Gudigara goldsmiths of Karnataka the widows are permitted to take to their husband's profession.

V

- 5.1 One final conclusion in the context of craftsmen engraving inscriptions and putting their names to them, is the proof of their literacy in a society that was largely illiterate. In the context of the township Virayachilai, R. Tirumalai comments that despite their ritual status or overall economic prosperity, most castes and communities were illiterate.¹⁴ This was true of the Arasamakkaḷa (people belonging to the chieftain's family), the Maramudalis or even a Shivabrahmana temple priest, or the Koyilvasal Pichchamudaliyar, the head of the Shaiva sect looking after the temple affairs. None of them could even sign their names and the temple accountant not only had to transcribe their documents but had also to attest them on their behalf. Thus with the exception of the brahmana community, the majority of Vaishyas and Sat-shudras were also ignorant of the three R's. The lowly shudras and the groups below them were of course automatically excluded from access to any kind of knowledge. However, it is remarkable to note that the Kammala Rathakaras were, by and large, literate.
- 5.2 The literacy of the Kammala craftsmen is evidenced not only by the fact that it was they who engraved the inscriptions but also by the insertion of panegrical references to themselves in these records. However the most remarkable information in this regard comes from three Pandya copper plates belonging to the reign of Parantaka Viranarayana, son of Srivallabha.¹⁵ Dated 946 A.D., the first record says that the engraver was Nirupasekhara Perumkollan Nakkan and that the Tamil *prashasti* in the record was composed (and sung?) by his father who came from a family which had served as sculptors under the Pandyan kings for generations. Then follows the peculiar phrase that this sculptor had carved in the 'Himalayan peaks'(?). The second inscription consists of two verses both in Tamil. The verses are said to be composed by 'Tamilabharanan' Sri Vallabha Pandimaraya Perumkollan. It is to be noted that the name 'Tamilabharanan' is in fact a title conferred on this 'great blacksmith'. The record further specifies that he was not a native of the Tamil country but belonged to Guntur. Finally, the record makes the highly eulogical statement that he came from a family of blacksmiths who had made the axe of Parashurama and were descended from Manu! The third and last inscription says that to the sculptor Marttandan who not only engraved the following *prashasti* but also composed it, the Mahasabhaiyar that is the Brahmadeya assembly heads, granted a land of 3 *pulan* (?) and some other privileges. To conclude, these three inscriptions of the tenth century bear witness to a remarkable attribute of the Kammala shudras - their ability not merely to read and write inscriptions but even to compose royal *prashastis*! However, the most elaborate *prashasti* on craftsmen by the craftsmen with

details of their names and lineage, comes from Chingleput dated A D 1018 of the period of Rajendra Chola ¹⁶ The Sanskrit panegyric says

"Four sculptors, born at Kanchipura, ornaments of the race of Hovya, wrote this *prashasti*. The high minded Aravamurta, who though born of Krishna, was 'akrishna' i.e. of unsullied character his two younger brothers Ranga and Damodhara and his son, the famous Purushottama who was a bee at the pair of the lotus feet of Purushottama (Vishnu in the second context) By these four persons who are well versed in the various forms of mechanical art, who had their birth in the great city of Kanchipura, who were wise and born in the Ovi family, this edict was clearly engraved "

This panegyric written by the craftsmen on themselves shows their skill at poetic composition especially in the use of *sleshaalankara* or the art of punning, a special feature of sanskrit compositions in the early medieval period

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- 3 *ARE*, copper plate, 3 of 1956-57
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- 6 *ARE*, 223 of 1927-28 (*Bombay-Karnatak Inscriptions*)
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- 8 *ARE*, 35 and 36 of 1929-30
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THE DYNASTY OF GEHLOT IN MEWAR: CRITICAL REAPPRAISAL

SUMMARY

C.G. GOSWAMI*

I

- 1 1 The Gehlot (Guhilot) dynasty was founded by Guha, who made Mewar his new capital and became its first ruler. A long line of rulers claimed descent from him, and maharana Bhoopal Singh (1930-1955) was the last noteworthy ruler of the Gehlot dynasty.
- 1 2 The dynasty is credited with the founding of new cities and capital cities like Nagda, Ayad, Chittorgarh and Udaipur. Shaivism became the family faith of the Gehlots since the time of Bappa Rawal who built the Eklinga Ji temple.
- 1 3 The study suggests the presence of Kshatriyas in the region from very early times. The claim for founding Nagda is attributed to Nagaditya Kumbhakaran, a scion of the family is believed to be the founder of the Nepal Kingdom and Sajjan Singh, another member of the dynasty, set his foot in the South.

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THE SAPTANGA THEORY AND THE STATE IN THE SANGAM AGE

SUMMARY

V. BALAMBAL*

I

- 1.1 *Arthashastra* is an important political treatise and it considers the seven components of the state (*Saptanga* theory) to be significant. The earliest Tamil Society was the Sangam society and the administration of the Tamil state is well described in Sangam literature. In this paper an attempt has been made to make a comparative study of the *Saptanga* theory as stated in the *Arthashastra* (*Svami, amatya, janapada, durga, kosha, danda* and *mitra*) and its relevance to administration in the Sangam age. Tiruvalluvar's *Tirukkural* has been taken into consideration for this comparative study as we find almost all the seven elements in the *Kural* too - the King (*Arasan*), army (*Padai*), people (*Kudi*), ally (*Natpu*), food (*Kuzh*), minister (*Amaichu*) and fort (*Aran*). Wherever, there were differences in treatment, they are highlighted.

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THE KALACHURIS OF KALANJARA

SUMMARY

S.K. SULLEREY*

I

- 1 1 The famous hill fort of Kalanjara in Banda District of Uttar Pradesh is intimately related with the Kalachuris and it played a vital role in shaping their history in central India. The Kalachuris of Karnataka mention with pride in their epigraphs the title 'Kalanjara Puravara-dhisvara' the lord of Kalanjara, the best of cities. Till now scholars have recognised only six branches of Kalachuris, viz the Kalachuris of Mahismati, Kalachuris of Tripuri, Kalachuris of Ratanpur, Kalachuris of Raipur, Kalachuris of Sarayupara and Kalachuris of Kalyana. An attempt has been made in the present paper to recognise a separate branch of Kalachuris having their headquarter at Kalanjara. On the basis of various indirect evidences it may be concluded that a separate branch of the Kalachuris ruled at Kalanjara, which later on migrated to Tripuri and to Karnataka on account of the expansion of Pratihara power in Kalanjara *mandala*.

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HISTORICAL ROOTS OF NATIONALITY- A CASE STUDY OF KERALA

SUMMARY

M.G.S. NARAYANAN*

I

- 1 1 This is intended to be a seminal essay in interpreting early Kerala history, with the help of recently researched materials, in terms of the national question which has become increasingly important since independence. The broad outlines and rich contents of regional history, as they stand revealed, signify that the development of the area covered by the present day Kerala state exhibited special and sometimes unique traits within the framework of pan-Indian national culture. The regional version of the classical-feudal Hindu society unfolded a sub-national culture with the potential for evolving into a full-fledged national culture.
- 1 2 Features of geography, political history, demography and linguistic evolution played a prominent role in moulding the personality of Kerala, during the formative stage.
- 1 3 The present study is a preliminary attempt to identify and sketch the chief elements of this sub-national culture as they manifested themselves in early historical times.

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MANDAD: AN ANCIENT INTERNATIONAL PORT

SUMMARY

SHARAD HEBALKAR*

I

- 1 1 Mandad is in Mangav tahasil of Raigad district (Maharashtra) and is situated on 18°-35' North latitude and 73°-50' East longitude. It stands on river Mandad which joins the Rajapuri creek about 12 kms above Mandad. The river meets the tide here and the sailing ships of a hundred tons can ply on the creek. This creek of Mandad is the north-east arm of the large Rajapuri creek and has an excellent strategical position.
- 1 2 Mandad had a large monastic settlement in the Satavahana period. Mandad was connected with Tagar (Ter) via Shirawal through the pass of Bhor. The Mandad-Tala-Indapur-Mahad route went to meet the highway on the plateau through Kumbha ghat. The series of rock cut caves-Mandad (Kuda)-Karli-Bhaje-Shelarwadi-Bedsa give the trace of the ancient trade route. There was an early habitation at Mandad.
- 1 3 The port of Mandad seems to be frequented by the caravan-leaders and traders. *Sarthavaha* Nag is mentioned as *Grihapati* also which suggests that Swamiputra Nag was probably the inhabitant of the port-town and a ship-owner. Vehamita and Achaldasa Asalamita are the other *sarthavahas* mentioned in the inscriptions. Among the other donors are an iron monger

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from Karahakata (Karhad), a banker, a gardener, a physician, a writer, a royal minister, a house holder and *sreshthi* Vasulanaka

- 1 4 Mandad seems to have lost its importance in the early medieval period. The local variation of the name of Mandad is Mandar which was mentioned by Ptolemy as Mandagara and by the *Periplus* as Mandagora.

WORSHIP OF BALABHADRA IN THE GANGA PERIOD A.D.1118-1435

SUMMARY

KAILASH CHANDRA DASH*

I

- 1 1 The present paper aims to study the beginning of the worship of Balabhadra as an important member of the Jagannatha trinity in the Purusottama *kshetra* during the Ganga period (A D 1118-1435) It aims to review three important points in this respect (i) the worship of Balabhadra during the period of the Ganga king Chodaganga, (ii) the independent worship of Balabhadra in the Purusottama *Kshetra* during the Ganga period and (iii) the worship of Balabhadra during the period of the Ganga king Anangabhima III

These views have been rejected in the light of the new inscriptions in the Narasimha shrine within the compound of the present Jagannatha temple, copper plate grants of the Ganga kings and on the basis of a reinterpretation of the old epigraphical records This paper tries to link Balabhadra worship in Purusottama *kshetra* with the phase of Shaiva-Vaishnava conflict in the early medieval period in Orissa It has political implication as well The worship of Balabhadra as an important part of the Jagannatha trinity in Purusottama *kshetra* helped in unifying the local forces (religious) which was necessary for the legitimation of Ganga authority in Orissa

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THE SYRIAC LANGUAGE IN KERALA

SUMMARY

FR. K.O. JOSEPH*

I

- 1 1 The Syriac - (the Aramaic) language belonged to the family of ancient Semitic languages of West Asia. Its popularity can be assessed from the fact that the Chaldian and the Persian empires had adopted it as their official language. It was the mother tongue of Jesus Christ and his disciples. The *Bible* was partially written in it and it was the language used for propagation of the Gospels.
- 1 2 According to the Kerala traditions, the Syriac language had reached Kerala with St. Thomas, the apostle, in A.D. 52. Its real spread in Kerala began about three centuries later with the Syrian colonisation of A.D. 345 under the guidance of Bishop of Edessa. Thomas Kana, the leader of the Knanites, played an important role in development of Syrian language in Kerala. With them seem to have reached Syriac liturgy and rituals.
- 1 3 Many Indian students visited the great college at Antioch for Syriac studies. Connections between the Malabar and the Middle-East churches paved the way for further arrival of prelates to Kerala who used Syriac as the liturgical language. Many churches were established in Kerala after the arrival of Mar Sabor and Mor Prodh at Kollam around A.D. 825, who ordained many people and conducted prayers and mass in Syriac.

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- 1 4 The Syriac language continued to be taught in Kerala churches for centuries by the Malpan priests. The language enjoys a well-deserved place in the academic and religious life of the Syrian Christians of Kerala.

THE YOGINI AND ALLIED CULTS (C.8TH-12TH CENTURIES A.D.)

SUMMARY

SANGITA CHOUDHURI*

I

- 1 1 Remains of nine Yogini temples, which flourished during the 8th to the 12th century period, have been found in Uttar Pradesh, Madhya Pradesh, Orissa and Tamilnadu. Their distribution pattern clearly reveals that the followers of the Yogini cult made vigorous attempts to popularise it in all parts of India.
- 1 2 The Yogini cult had seven or eight mothers. Their number was multiplied to obtain the number sixty-four or more. The sixty-four kalas are considered to be the sub-shaktis of the Devi. The Puranas and inscriptions make mention of another aspect of Shakti as Katyayani. Although Katyayani cult seems to have close association with the Yogini cult, its origin appears as mysterious as that of the latter.
- 1 3 Apart from their tantric aspect, the Yogini temples have their artistic significance. From the structural point of view, they represent a special class in Indian architecture. The Yogini temples are mostly concentrated in central and eastern India. The circular temples of sixty-four Yoginis find no mention in shilpa-shastras. Regional peculiarities make one group of temples stylistically different from the others. But, in the absence of textual evidence

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it is difficult to conclude that the circular temple happens to be a departure from the tradition of other Brahmanical shrines. However, from the point of view of sculptures, the Yogini temples maintain the tradition of depiction of sixty-four Yoginis according to their description found in the texts.

A CASE STUDY OF SOCIO - RELIGIOUS AND CULTURAL EXCHANGES IN INDIAN SOCIETY

SUMMARY

TRIPTY BRAHMA & SUNIL KUMAR BANERJEE*

I

- 1 1 An anthropological-cum-archaeological study of traditional human perspective of India has been attempted in the present paper
- 1 2 Gradual interlacing of non-Aryan and Aryan elements seems to be responsible for the composite character of the Indian society. Social tradition, religious beliefs and practices of the non-Aryans influenced the Aryan way of life. The non-Aryan society, too, felt the impact of the Aryan patriarchal social structure as well as that of many religious practices

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CYBELE-ASYNCRETISTIC DEVELOPMENT IN GREEK A'I' KHANOU

SUMMARY

SUCHANDRA DUTTA MAJUMDAR*

I

- 1 1 This paper attempts at discerning different syncretistic traits in the iconography of Cybele in the Greek city of A'i'khanoum which was outside mainland Greece. No work on this aspect of Cybele has been done though she is known from several ancient texts and modern articles. Archaeological materials from excavations at A'i'khanoum, particularly a plaque depicting the figure of Cybele forms an important part of the source. A comparative study of religious development and syncretism as known from oriental and occidental iconography has been made. Cybele ultimately was identified as Nana and Durga (Mahisamardini) and contributed to the development of an Indian goddess. Such development conceptually and iconographically betrays close contacts between the yavanas and Indians.

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TALI SYSTEM IN THE SANGAM AGE

SUMMARY

K.V. RAMAKRISHNA RAO*

About the prevalence of the practice of *Tali* system in the Sangam period, two divergent views have been expressed so far. One accepts it and the other refutes it on the basis of Aryan-Dravidian linguistic and racial theories. A critical study based on *Tolkappiyam*, *Tirukkural* and Sangam literature is made to analyse the issue. First *Kalaviyal* and *Karpiyal* are discussed, which led to the introduction of *Karanams* (sacraments) in the ancient Tamil society. Next, the key word '*izhai*' and its other forms are examined in their respective contexts. It is shown that '*izhai*' and its other forms represented *Tali* (marriage badge) during the marriage ceremony, then known as *kadi*, *vadhuval*, *manrai* and *varai* with *karanams*. It was considered by Tamil women not only an auspicious ornament, but also an integral part of married life. That is why, *Tali* was removed, when Tamil women lost their husbands. Archaeological finds prove the usage of '*izhai*' - like ornaments made of various materials, such as gold.

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A NOTE ON THE CHRONOLOGY OF THE LATER PALAS

SUMMARY

SATYA SAURABH JANA*

I

- 1 1 'Gaudachudamani' Madanapala was the last known powerful king of the Later Pala dynasty of Ancient Bengal. He was also the last Pala ruler who had control over North Bengal. He ruled for at least 18 years. The Balgudar image inscription is dated in the year 1083 of the Shaka era and in year 18, of the reign of Madanapala, corresponded to 1161 A.D. Therefore the first regnal year of Madanapala corresponded to (1161-18=) 1143 A.D.
- 1 2 In October 1990, two copper plate inscriptions were unearthed from a mound at Sibbari of Mouza Rajibpur (J.L. No 84), P.S. Gangarampur, lying within the jurisdiction of the district of West Dinajpur in West Bengal. It was first noticed by A.K. Goswami in the Monthly Bulletin of the Asiatic Society (XX 6, June, 1991). These land grants were issued during the reign of Madanapala and dated in Samvat 2 (30th day of Kartika) and samvat 32 (18th day of Vaisakha) respectively.
- 1 3 If the reading of the dates of the inscriptions concerned are accepted then they can be taken as bearing fruitful evidence with regard to the chronology of the Later Pala rulers. Both the inscriptions contain 'Dharmachakra-mudra', the royal emblem of the imperial Palas.

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- 1 4 We have noted above that the last known date of Madanapala was 1161 A D. From the second inscription (dated in the year 32) it appears that he ruled for at least 32 years i.e. upto 1175 A D (1143 A D + 32). The chronology of the Later Pala rulers so far known to us seems to be as follows. Madanapala ruled from 1143 to 1161 A D and Govindapala from 1161 to 1165 A D. It was believed that Madanapala was succeeded by Govindapala. From the newly discovered Rajibpur inscription dated in the year 32 it appears that Madanapala ruled at least upto 1175 A D having political hold over North Bengal and North Bihar. Thus Govindapala did not actually succeed Madanapala. On the otherhand they ruled simultaneously at least for a few years. Madanapala ruling in North Bengal and North Bihar and Govindapala in South Bihar.
- 1 5 It was believed that the 'Gaudendra' mentioned in the Deopada *prashasti* of Vijayasena was no other than Madanapala. The general view was that it was by defeating Madanapala that Sena King captured North Bengal. The Manahali grant dated in year 8 of Madanapala proves that the Pala King held sway over North Bengal at least upto (1143 A D + 8) 1151 A D. As the rest of the inscriptions of Madanapala had come to light from North Bihar, it was held that the Pala King being ousted from North Bengal, continued to rule in North Bihar. From the Rajibpur inscription dated in the year 32 it appears that Madanapala ruled in North Bengal long after the 8th year of his reign. The success of Vijayasena was not perhaps decisive in character. It is possible that the struggle went on.
- 1 6 It may be mentioned that Lakshmanasena (1179-1206 A D) has been described as 'The lord of the Gaudas' in his inscriptions. It was formerly held that the 'Gaudeshvara' in relation to Lakshmanasena does not indicate any new conquest of this part. Probably it refers to the conquest of Vijayasena in which he was accompanied by his grandson Lakshmanasena. In the light of the Rajibpur inscription of Madanapala it may be argued that the final conquest of North Bengal was made by Lakshmanasena, which is evidenced by his Tarpandighi grant. It is also possible that Vijayasena succeeded in capturing only the southern part of North Bengal while Madanapala continued to rule in the northern part of North Bengal.

THE POLITICS OF MARRIAGE : THE RASHTRAKUTAS AND THE LOCAL CHIEFS

SUMMARY

ELIZABETH V.S.*

I

- 1 1 The Rashtrakutas of Malkhed (A.D. 757-973) tried to exercise their authority over areas beyond their traditional 'homeland'. Matrimonial alliances were forged with the local chiefs like the Gangas as the Chedis in order to achieve this. The matrimonial alliances were forged only with such local chiefs as came to their aid or whose aid was required in their struggle for power.
- 1 2 The local chiefs, too, found it necessary to align themselves with one or the other big rulers in order to survive in the existing structure. They entered into matrimonial alliances in order to offer their homage to their overlord. Personal attendance in his court and paying tributes were other methods employed by the local chiefs to acknowledge the overlord's suzerainty. Circulation of women among this new aristocracy, created in place of the old tribal kinship order, was only a method by which the local chiefs could win over their overlords to protect their own interests.

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- 1.3 Thus, we find that the Gangas, the Kalachuris and the Vengi Chalukyas entered into matrimonial alliances with the Rashtrakutas and at other times the Rastrakutas sought such an alliance with them
- 1 4 The Rashtrakutas cultivated a complex network of matrimonial alliances with the local chiefs who expressed their allegiance. This was one of the ways through which the ties of obedience and protection were ensured. These matrimonial alliances created a particular political culture, which ostensibly resembling the tribal situation of kinship loyalties, represented clearly a higher stage in socio-political evolution.

CONTRIBUTION OF GUILDS TOWARDS THE GROWTH OF BANKING IN ANCIENT INDIA

SUMMARY

GEETA DUTT*

I

- 1.1 The guilds generally known as *shreni*, played an important role in the development of ancient Indian economy. The term *shreni* is defined as a corporation of the people of the same or different castes following the same trade or industry. The Jatakas refer to eighteen kinds of guilds. It suggests that the guild organisation was already in flourishing state during the time of Gautama Buddha and Mahavira. In fact, the guild organisation had become so important that they had a right to be consulted by the kings on special occasions. Many passages in Kautilya's *Arthashastra* refer to the wealth and importance of the guilds. Separate quarters were allotted to them in the towns and cities. The main objective of the guilds organisation was to create favourable atmosphere for the growth of their industry and to look after the interest of their members. However, there are references to prove that the guilds, sometimes, maintained regular armies, indulged in benevolent activities and received permanent deposits with the undertaking to spend the annual interest for specific charities. Most of the historians have expressed the

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opinion that the guilds in ancient India performed the duties of the modern banks R C Majumdar and many others are of the view that the guilds, besides receiving the deposits of public money and paying regular interest on them pursued the business of lending out money But in the light of the available data their conclusion is only partly true, for there is no conclusive evidence to prove that the guilds engaged themselves in money lending Majumdar quotes the solitary passage in the *Arthashastra* to prove his point but the question actually alludes to the business of taking deposit and not of money lending This is also to be noted that the relevant passage does not make any reference to the guilds

- 1 2 The Dharmashastras as well as the epigraphic records do not refer to guilds as money lenders, mostly known as kusidin vardhushika have not been referred to as the members of the industrial guilds anywhere The business of money lending was actually decried in the Dharmashastras as such the guilds having high reputation of honesty and integrity avoided the pursuit of the profession However, there are sufficient data to prove that the guilds accepted public deposits, but here too they did not pay regular interest to the depositor Actually the guilds served as trustees and deposited the amount of interest for some benevolent activities as desired by the depositor The epigraphic records bear it out that the deposits were usually made for some religious or philanthropic purpose As the guilds did not pay regular interest to the depositor it would be wrong to conclude that the guilds performed the function of the modern banks in the full sense of the term
- 1 3 Thus, it can be said that there was no provision for lending out money Likewise, the guilds though depositing money did not pay any interest to the depositor Actually they played the role of trustees and accepted only those deposits which had some religious or benevolent purpose

LIGHT ON SOCIAL SET-UP AND SOCIAL LIFE FROM THE EARLY JAINA INSCRIPTIONS FROM RAJASTHAN (UPTO 1200 A.D.)

SUMMARY

KRISHNA GOPAL SHARMA*

I

- 1 1 The early Jaina inscriptions from Rajasthan (upto 1200 A D) shed some light on the contemporary social set-up and social life which go to enhance and strengthen our existing knowledge on the subject. It is interesting to observe that in the Bijolia Jaina inscription of Chahamana Someshvara, dated V E 1226, the term *vipra* has been used in connection with a ruling prince 'decidedly of the kshatriya stock'. Our inscriptions mention kayasthas as a separate caste, though they are seen associated with their hereditary profession. Two families of the kayasthas emerge prominently, the family of the Naigamas and the Valabha family. One kayastha is shown as holding the coveted position of a *Sandhivigrahika*. A Shrimala family is mentioned in the Jalor inscription dated V E 1239. A story of the origin of *Pragvata-vamsa* is narrated in the Bijolia inscription mentioned above. A Nagara Jaina family and a Valla family are mentioned in the Arthuna inscription. The Pala Jaina temple

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inscription, dated V E 1250 refers to the Mehras, the modern Meras, who are represented in the inscription as one of the elements in the local assembly. It appears they exercised considerable influence.

- 1.2 An example of *anuloma* marriage is furnished by the Ghatiyala Jaina inscription, dated V E 918. An instance of polygamy is seen in the Bijolia Jaina inscription. The same inscription contains two examples of bigamy. Another example of bigamy is seen in the Arthuna inscription. The women from royal families are presented as making grants jointly, in some cases even independently, in our inscriptions. In one case, we find a queen associated with the administration of a *bhukti*.
- 1.3 There are references to the following festivals in our inscriptions: (i) *Shivaratri* (referred to as *Maghe Tryamva (ba) ka-Sampraptau*), (ii) *ratha-yatra*, (iii) *samvatsari*, and (iv) *kalyanika*.

A STUDY OF TRIBAL PEOPLE IN ARYAN LITERATURE

SUMMARY

BISWARUP DAS¹

I

- 1 1 The Aryans were nomads like the tribals before they composed their holy scriptures, and lived in the midst of hostile natural forces. Their apprehension about *davagni* was akin to the tribals' fear of forest fire. The Aryans were non-vegetarians like the tribals and their cuisine consisted of head and blood of the slaughtered animal in the *medhayajna* performed by them. They also took *soma* and composed hymns addressed to it. On the other hand, the prevalence of this practice among the tribals was looked down upon by the Aryans.
- 1 2 The Aryans called themselves as Sura (derived from the word *svara* meaning *svarga*), fit to reside in the heaven and the tribes as Asura, fit to dwell in the hell. The distinction between Sura and Asura disappeared in the *Ramayana* and *Mahabharata* where both of them were mentioned as brothers. They were sons of Kashyapa. Asuras and Suras were sons of his wives Diti and Aditi respectively. So they were known as Daitya and Aditya respectively. Since the tribals were settled in India earlier than the Aryans, the former were considered as elder brother and the latter as younger brother. Though were

known by the general term Asura they were divided into several sects, like Daitya, Danava, Rakshasa, Pishacha etc

- 1 3 The *Brahmanda Purana* and *Agni Purana* contain several episodes about the supernatural powers of Asuras. They could effectively control their enemies and build forts and cities. They were great builders and skilful warriors. The *Vajasareyi Samhita* and *Taitirya Brahmana* refer to Kiratas as superior to Asuras. The *Atharvaveda* too speaks of their superior traits. The *Mahabharata* mentions their efficiency in archery and diplomacy. They maintained cordial relationship with Aryans and were depicted as degraded Kshatriyas in the *Kiratarjuniyam*.
- 1 4 The *Rigveda* describes about Dasyus, who were hostile to Aryans. Indra waged a war against them and vanquished them. Dasas, a section of Dasyus, acknowledged Aryan supremacy and were spared by Indra. Indra also fought another war against Panis, because they stole the cattle of Aryans, and crushingly defeated them.

**AN EVALUATION OF NORTHERN
BUDDHISM IN BENGAL WITH
SPECIAL REFERENCE TO
THE CONTEMPORARY BENGALI TEXTS**

SUMMARY

NIKHILESWAR SENGUPTA*

I

- 1 1 Since the third decade of the nineteenth century the existence of Northern Buddhism had generally been unearthed by two Western scholars - Alexander Csoma de Koros (1784-1842) and Brian Houghton Hodgson (1800-1894) Csoma and Hodgson opened the lid of hidden treasure of Northern Buddhism and it was established that the Buddhist religious books were written not only in Pali but also in Sanskrit. Those books were well preserved in Nepal and Tibet.
- 1 2 Going through the Mss. collected by Hodgson, Haraprasad Shastri became convinced that further search in Nepal and Tibet would lead to exploration of the material essential for a complete history of the Northern Buddhism. In the year 1907, Haraprasad Shastri went to Nepal to collect manuscripts and he discovered *Charyacharyavinishchaya* or *Charyagiti* from the Darbar Library of Nepal. Before the discovery of the *Charyacharyavinishchaya*, Haraprasad and

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Bendall found two manuscripts - *Subhashita Samagraha* and *Dohakosha - panjika* - from Nepal Haraprasad got another two manuscripts of Dohakosa from Nepal - one was written by Sararuhavajra and annotated by Advayavajra and the other was written by Krishnacharya These manuscripts reveal the ancient Buddhist society of Bengal

- 13 The Mahayana sect flourished in Bengal Haraprasad clearly traced the evolution of Mahayana Buddhism and described how later yanas and the entire religious practice of this region became esoteric He proved conclusively with the help of the materials he discovered that the high humanistic values of Mahayana Buddhism gradually degenerated These forms of Buddhism saturated the society before the advent of the Muslims Influence of firmly rooted Buddhism loomed large and ultimately many of the members of Buddhist pantheon and Buddhistic rituals had been absorbed in Hinduism This aspect of social and religious transformation was exhaustively analyzed by Haraprasad in his invaluable papers on Northern Buddhism More than 150 *padakartas* or poets contributed to the literature From their writings we come to know about the society of Bengal

**BUDDHISM IN ANDHRA AT THE TIME OF
THE RISE OF MAHAYANA -
ITS INFLUENCE ON SRILANKA**

SUMMARY

B. SREE PADMA*

I

- 1 1 Existence of Buddhist remains in different parts of Andhra supports the view that Buddhism had exercised considerable influence in the life of the people of ancient Andhra. Traditionally it is believed that it had reached the region in the time of the Buddha and that as a result of the missionary activities of Ashoka it spread to every nook and corner of Andhra.
- 1 2 Buddhist literature speaks of the contribution of Andhra in the growth of different concepts of Buddhism. It also indicates that not only great Buddhist teachers were born there but also that the ideology which the Andhra teachers had developed came to acquire its regional name Andhaka. Among the various sects of Buddhism which found their acceptability in Andhra, the Mahasanghika sect was the most popular. The ideology of that sect was responsible for the rise of the concept of mahayana.
- 1 3 Inscriptions found at famous Buddhist sites in Andhra and Sri Lanka chronicles like *Dipavamsa* and *Mahavamsa* are valuable for reconstruction.

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of cultural history, especially the impact of popular Mahasanghika trends on Sri Lankan Buddhism

- 1 4 Our study shows that though Sri Lankan Buddhists were staunch followers of the Theravadin sect of orthodox Buddhism, they had to adjust according to the popular Mahasanghika trends coming from Andhra. We have also discussed the conditions and pressures which forced the Sri Lankan clergy and ruling class to adopt the Andhra traditions

THE ORIGIN AND DEVELOPMENT OF RAMA CULT

SUMMARY

SAMARENDRA NARAYAN ARYA*

I

- 1 1 During the early Christian centuries the Rama story had become very popular in India and was even travelling to Central Asia, South - east Asia and China. But there are not much indications to show that the formal worship of Rama had taken shape during this early period. During the later centuries, however, Rama was acclaimed as an incarnation of Vishnu and with this the cult of Rama began to take shape. The process reached its culmination during the 13th century A D.
- 1 2 The divinization of Rama was a slow process and had three important aspects. First, the identification of Rama with certain places by associating them with the name of the epic hero. Soon these became celebrated as places of pilgrimage. This seems to have started very early as can be seen from an inscription of the second century A D. The Nasik cave inscription of the time of Nahapana, dated in A D 119-24 enumerates five *tirthas* or places of pilgrimage. These are Prabhasa, Surparaka, Govardhan, Suvarnamukh and Ramatirtha. The third canto of the *Mahabharata* refers to a Ramatirtha situated on the banks of Gomati, sanctified by Rama, Dasarathi. Bathing at the sacred *tirtha* and making gift of gold was considered meritorious. Another place

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associated with the Rama legend was Ramagiri modern Ramateka, in Nagpur district. It goes back to the fourth century A.D. This is clear from the Riddhapur plates of Prabhavatigupta which refers to the foot-prints of the Lord of Ramagiri. She had made a grant here on the twelfth *tithi* of the bright fortnight of Karttika. Further, the Poona plates of Prabhavatigupta, dated in the early 5th century A.D., issued from the then capital Nandivardhan, also repeat the same event. The *Meghadutam* of Kalidasa also states that Ramagiri was made holy by the touch of Rama's feet. The Ramateka stone inscription of the time of Ramachandra a king in the genealogical list of the later Yadavas of Devagiri, dated in the last quarter of the 13th century A.D., again eulogises the foot-prints of Rama on the hills of Sindurgiri, adjacent to Ramagiri. By this time the place was claiming ascendancy over many celebrated *tirthas* of the Hindus. To quote the above inscriptions, Sindurgiri, is holier than Kashi, Ujjayini, Mathura and Dwaraka.

- 1.3 Another aspect of the elevation of Rama to the status of a cult-god is his proclamation as an incarnation of Vishnu. Rama as the incarnation of Vishnu became popular from the Gupta times onwards. The great poet Kalidasa in his *Raghuvamsam* says that Rama is the other name of Hari (Vishnu). But the clear inscriptional reference to Rama as an incarnation of Vishnu does not appear before 1182 A.D. The Raypur Copper plate inscription of Ahavamalla 1182 A.D. states that by the good fortune of the people Narayana had descended on the earth in the form of Rama.
- 1.4 The third and the most important aspect of the evolution of Rama as a cult-god relates to the making of his image, the manner of worship and the raising of temples. The making of Rama-idol is noticed as early as the 6th-7th centuries A.D. Varahamihira who flourished about this time makes a reference in this regard. Quoting the *Vrihatsamhita* Alberuni states that if one is to make an image of Rama, one should give the height of 120 digits. Probably the formal worship of Rama had become prevalent by this time. Bhavabhuti, in the third canto of his work *Uttararamacaritam* states that Rama should be worshipped with flowers and fruits. The term *arghya* in the passage may simply denote reverential offerings which may or may not form part of formal worship. But the issue seems to be clinched by an inscription of the Kadamba king Jayakesin II, dated in 1125 A.D. The inscription mentions the dominion of Chattayadeva as an *agrahara* for the establishment of the worship of Rama. It appears that the cult of Rama was striking deeper roots by this time. This is further evident from the Ramateka inscription of the time of Ramachandra dated in A.D. 1275-1300. This record is interesting in several respects. It eulogises an image of Rama on the Sindurgiri hill. We have noticed above that this hill and its neighbourhood were sanctified by the foot-prints of Rama as early as the 4th-5th centuries A.D. Probably the hillock was further hallowed by the establishment of an idol of Rama. The inscription states that by merely sighting this image, human beings get rid of the fear of death. The inscription further records that this image was an object of perpetual devotion of men and god. The terms *murti* and *puja* appearing in this record are of considerable significance.

- 1 5 The Rajim stone inscription of Prithvideva II, dated in 1145 A D , clearly states about the construction of a Rama-temple at a village named Rajim, 29 miles south-east of Raipur, in the Mahasamund tahsil of the Raipur District of M P To quote the verses 22 and 23 of the inscription, Jagapal caused the beautiful temple of Rama to be constructed Further he granted a village named Salmaliya to provide for *naivedya* or offerings of food to the enshrined deity
- 1 6 We may now turn to chapter 4 of the *Skanda Purana*, which R C Hazra places between A D 800-1300 The relevant passage refers to two expressions Kesavamandir and Ramabhavan to denote the same religious structure The temple was rich in gold and was frequented by greedy thieves The whole passage shows that the formal worship of Rama in temples had become customary already before the 13th century A D Thus, although the cult of Rama did not become as popular as the cults of Krishna, Shiva, Vishnu or Durga, the process of cult-evolution was underway and became firmly established by the 13th century A D

SASYAKRIDA

SUMMARY

P. ARUNDHATI*

I

- 1 1 Someshvara in his *Manasollasa* describes a pastime called *Sasyakrīda*. As the name suggests, this is a *kṛīda* enjoyed by the king in beautiful green fields full of crop (paddy), in *hemanta* season. The field of paddy where the king plays the *kṛīda* are maintained with fresh grass, and tender seedlings which look like parrot feather besides a variety of fruit bearing and flowering trees, without any sticky mud and bad odour. The whole environ looks green even without the arrival of the spring season. Further, the area is protected by faithful servants of the king. Before the king reaches the *sasyakṛīda kṣetra* (farm), the cooks who reached the place early, prepare and keep ready various items of food like *dadyodana* (curd rice) mixed with ginger, *yela*, *manchi*, *amla*, wheat gruel, *polika*, *puri*, *pupala* (sweet puri), *payasam* made of sugar, honey, vegetables, wine, buttermilk, curds, *rahizom*, roots, fruits, salt, *rajika* and eatable made of the meat of sheep and pig. The king arrives at the place of entertainment in a pleasant mood accompanied by brahmanas, queens, lovers, friends, dancers and bodyguards. He is welcomed by erecting a gateway made of freshly plucked green plants amidst sweet sounds of the *veena* and melodious songs. When everybody is settled, the king offers tasty food prepared from *Kalaya*, *simbika*, wheat *spika*, *nishpava* grains *Karkatika* fruits and other items to the brahmana and takes his food alongwith sons and relatives. The king

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offers food on all sides for the deity presiding over the field. The tender gram plants mixed with hing, plain salt, *jeera*, pepper powder and blended by adding a little oil and powder of *sringavera* is packed in various beautiful packets made of leaves of *yavanala* and heated.

- 1 2 The gram plants which are full of fruits and fried on the flames, gram cooked in salt water, corn fried on fire are also enjoyed by the king in the company of all. Thereafter, *madira* is offered to the king as *anupana*. The butter milk, *brihati*, *karpas*, *varṭika*, *valam*, the tender leaves of *thikshnaka*, *mandika*, *kushambha*, the pieces of *koutaki* fruits mixed with mustard and salt and fired meat of pig are also savoured by the king, freely. The king rests in the farm (green lawn) for some time and then leaves for his place in the company of queens.
- 1 3 The above account recalls certain Vedic practices connected with agriculture. In the vedic times at the time of first motion of the plough (*ayojara*) *Langala yajna* was performed in the field itself. *Sita yajna* was offered to the goddess of furrow. *Stalipaka* was offered to *Ksetrapati*, the deity of the field before partaking the stored grain. The *Agrayanishti* was performed in each season. The *ishti* offered on full moon day of *Margashira* in autumn was called *Navasasyeshti* by *Manu*. In the rites of *Chaturmasya ishti*, the wood of the tree, which blossoms in that particular season is used for fire, while the plant that sprouts at that time was used for *bravis*. Similarly in the course of *Sakamedna*, performed in autumn, offerings were made to *Sunasiṃ* which ended with festivity, and offering of food of the season to the *brahmanas*.
- 1 4 In course of time the vedic rites of agriculture developed as social activities and festivals. Therefore, the *Vishnu Purana* calls the folk festivals *yajnas*. The preparation of food in the field itself, offering of food to the *brahmanas* and others, eating of food by the king in the company of sons and grandsons in the field, the use of freshly plucked green plants for welcoming the king and the use of green leaf packs for cooking the gram described in the *Manasollasa* may be some of the relics of vedic agricultural rites. Thus, it appears that the agricultural rite and festivity *Sasyeshti* of the vedic period developed in the Deccan as *Sasyakṛida*.

HISTORICAL EVIDENCE OF NAGAS IN RAJASTHAN

SUMMARY

AWANTIKA PRASAD MARMAT*

- 1 1 There had been in ancient and medieval periods a lot of Naga element in Rajasthan which can still be traced in the names of the urban and rural settlements, castes, royal dynasties, folk-traditions, mountains etc. The study of the social and tribal history of Rajasthan reveals that many of the castes and tribes of this state had direct relationship with the Nagas. The ancient communities such as the Taksakas and the Karkotakas, the Matsyas and the Medas had such relationships. Some tribes, of later origin, including the Minas, the Mevas and the Meras also appear to have had symbiotic relationship with the Nagas. The names and gotras of the members of these castes and communities are derived from their Naga counterparts.
- 1 2 Similar is the case of some towns of Rajasthan. The modern town of Bairat was the capital of the Matsya kingdom ruled by the king Virata. Both the names Virata and Matsya had Naga affinity. The present town Uniara was known as Karkota-nagara, Malava-nagara and Nagara. According to the Puranic text, the Karkotas were a branch of the Nagas. Nagor, situated in the Marawar region and known as Ahichhatrapura or Ahipura in the ancient period, appears by name as definitely being a Naga settlement. Toda-Raisena (ancient Taksakagarh) and Nagada (ancient Nagahrda) also indicate in the same direction. Chatsu alias Tamavati, Pumphavati and Champavati is, by

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name, expressly related to the Nagas Pushkara, the sacred place of pilgrimage and Runa-Bhura, the famous fort of Ranasthambhapura are associated with the Naga tradition. The territory of Ahara in Mewara and the Bhogi-shaila, the hilly tract near Jodhapur also bear Naga names. Shergarh, near Kota, was directly under the Naga suzerainty during the 7-8th centuries A.D.

THE MARITAL SYSTEM IN THE DAYS OF THE VEDAS

SUMMARY

CHIRA KISOR BHADURI*

I

- 1 1 The existence of the institution of marriage is witnessed in different hymns of the *Rigveda* and *Atharvaveda*. The Vedas, however, are not very elaborate about the different aspects of marriage. Law books of later origin provide details of it. Among other things the *Manusmṛiti* and other law books mention eight different forms of marriages with the necessary details.
- 1 2 It is not clear whether all the eight types of marriages were practised in the Vedic period or not. We learn from the *Rigveda* that vimaha married Purumitra's daughter after snatching her away forcibly from her parents. This form has been deemed as *Rakshasa* form by the scholars. The two important aspects of marriage, i.e. *panigrahana* and *saptapadi* was known in the days of the Vedas, as can be seen from the marriage hymn of the *Rigveda*. The marriage hymn contemplates the marriage of *dvijas* of the same *varna*. We learn from the dialogue hymn that marriage between brothers and sisters were strictly discarded in the Vedic period. This hymn (X 10), suggests the existence of *Gandharva* form of marriage in primitive shape. The *Rigveda* also

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bears evidence for the existence of contractual form of marriage. The hymn X-95 suggests that king Pururavas married Urvashi on certain terms. But Urvashi deserted him after many years on the plea of his breaking these terms. Scholars have interpreted this as the contractual form.

- 1.3 The marriage hymn and certain other passages of the *Rigveda* suggest the prevalence of marriage of maidens of mature age. On the other hand there are certain passages indicating the marriage of tender aged dames. There is no unambiguous evidence on the issue of child marriage. Further, certain passages of the *Rigveda* suggest that women even remained spinsters all through their lives. The marriage hymn hints at the existence of the system of dowry in those days. References to polygamous and monogamous wedlocks have been found in the *Rigveda*. But it is silent about polyandry. It is pointed out that the *Rigveda* advocates in favour of the prevalence of *Brahma*, *Daiva*, *Asura* and *Gandharva* forms of marriage.

Address of the Sectional President

INDIANS IN CENTRAL ASIA 16TH AND 17TH CENTURIES

SURENDRA GOPAL*

Mr President, Distinguished Guests, Fellow Delegates, Ladies and Gentlemen

- 0 1 First, I wish to express my sincere gratitude to my colleagues who have extended to me this great honour I only hope I will prove, in some measure, worthy of the confidence reposed in me
- 1 1 My first venture in the field of historical researches was in the realm of Indian maritime trade in the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries Trade, as we all know, involves transfer of goods and/or men from one part of the world to another Thanks to researchers, both Indian and non-Indian, especially in the post-independence period, we have a fairly comprehensive idea of the flow of goods and men, indigenous and foreign and the various regions in our country as well as abroad which participated in this exchange Absence of statistical data prevents us from determining the volume and value of goods exchanged Besides, we have only the haziest of ideas of the activities of our countrymen who had reached these lands after sailing across high seas, or crossing snowy mountains and inhospitable deserts and steppes My humble submission is that our efforts should now be directed towards delineating the activities of our countrymen abroad This is a formidable task the area of their operations was vast It roughly ranges from the east coast of Africa to the Indonesian archipelago¹ It also includes in the heart of the Asian mainland, the fertile crescent, the Iranian cities, the Caucasus region, the Russian and the Central Asian steppes, Tibet, etc

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- 1 2 Let me illustrate this point When Vasco da Gama reached the shores of East Africa in 1498 he found Indians there In the ports on the Red Sea and in the interior of the Arabian peninsula also the Indian presence was noteworthy In Persia, Olearius estimated the number of Indians to be 12,000² Among them were several non-Muslims, known as Multanis,³ who applied yellow colour on their forehead and cremated their dead In the Southeast Asia, the Europeans found resident Indians If we focus our researches on the activities of our countrymen abroad during the Mughal period we will be adding to the knowledge of the history of our people
- 1 3 This is a difficult work, data are scanty and scattered Our Persian chronicles, the most important source of Mughal history, are hardly of any help Our countrymen who journeyed abroad have left practically no accounts of these visits We are basically dependent for our study on the writings of non-Indians But even they are not prolific, they noted the presence of Indians only in passing Part of the reason for their brevity could be that in the Islamic countries, the identity of Indian Muslims was submerged either in the local Muslim population or in the Muslim traders of the other countries
- 1 4 In view of the nature of the subject, a researcher in this field has to equip himself with the knowledge of a number of Asian, African and European languages I am sure our young colleagues will rise up to the occasion, respond to the challenge, and shed light on this aspect of the history of our country for which, we shall remain always beholden to them
- 1 5 I may now be permitted to present to you an outline of my findings regarding the activities of Indians in middle Central Asia in the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries By middle Central Asia, I mean the region described in contemporary literature as *Mawara annahar* or Transoxiana, roughly lying east of the Caspian Sea, north of the Amu or Oxus river (including the region of Balkh), west of Badakhshan and south of the Syr Darya or the Jaxartes river But before I do that, I place on record my grateful thanks to Prof Ashin Das Gupta who suggested this theme several years ago and to my teachers and colleagues in the erstwhile Soviet Union, K A Antonova, K S Koblov and Timur Beiseimbaev whose help has enabled me to study the subject
- 1 6 Our contacts with Central Asia go to antiquity and there has been exchange of population at different levels traders, scholars, religious preachers, job-seekers, etc , have been crossing the boundaries of the two areas inspite of changes in the political boundaries and political climate The travel was certainly facilitated by large number of available entry points from Kashmir in the north to Sindh in the south on our north-western boundary Abul Fazl speaks of seven routes frequented between Afghanistan and Transoxiana⁴ Akbar had made the journey to Kabul, an important departure point for Indians intending to go to Central Asia, easier by making the road across in the Khyber pass fit for vehicular traffic⁵
- 1 7 Mir Izzatollah in the beginning of the nineteenth century spoke of twenty-two routes and a couple of decades late Mohanlal quoted the number at forty⁶

Besides one could cross to Yarkand and Kashgar from north Kashmir and then turn westwards to the Farghana valley and thereafter to Tashkent or the Kazakh steppes. But for going to Central Asia, Kabul and Kandhar had emerged as the two most popular exit points.⁷

- 1 8 The contacts between India and Central Asia, became long-ranging and regular when the Islamized Central Asian Turks established their control over north India in the early thirteenth century. The Mongol invasions may have temporarily disrupted the traffic but Timur's incorporation of a part of north western India into his empire restored the old intensity in the relationship between the two regions. Timur's close diplomatic ties⁸ with China ensured that Indians could not only move up to Black Sea in the west but also the Chinese empire.
- 1 9 Timur, after his conquest of Delhi, handed over a large number of skilled craftsmen to princess, nobles and other members of his entourage. Some of these Indians were taken to Samarkand. Timur ordered that stone-masons should be reserved for his own use as he wanted to construct a mosque in Samarkand.⁹ Indians formed a segment of the population of the city. Babur also found on the banks of river Baran a colony of three hundred families of slaves, who had been brought and settled from the suburb of Multan to catch birds and fish by a member of Timur's family.¹⁰
- 1 10 Timur and his successors had transformed Samarkand into the premier trading mart of Central Asia by establishing close contacts with European nations and China. Timur wrote letters to the rulers of France and England and explicitly stated that the traders were welcome and would face no hindrance in their activities.¹¹ A Spanish visitor to Timur's Court during 1403-1406 wrote that Samarkand was full of goods from different countries and from India came the finest of spices, such as 'the best variety of nutmegs, cloves, mace, ginger, etc.'¹² Between 1403 and 1409 Samarkand sent thirty-three diplomatic missions to China. During the same period China received fourteen embassies from Herat, besides three diplomatic missions from Badakhshan, two from Andhoya (!) and one each from Khojent, Andijan and Margdine.¹³
- 1 11 Shah Rukh, the ruler of Herat (1409-1447) sent his envoy Abdur Razzak to the kind of Vijaynagar where he stayed from 1442 to 1444.¹⁴ The Russian trader Afanasi Nikitin also visited the courts of Bahmani Sultans a quarter of century later (1469-72 or 1472-74), having reached India by the sea-route from Persia.¹⁵
- 1 12 Hence, by the beginning of the fifteenth century, a very congenial situation obtained for the overall growth of trade in the entire region. Indians took advantage of new economic opportunities. However, we are as yet in no position to describe it in quantitative terms but a source lamenting the change brought by the arrival of the Portuguese in the Indian ports in 1498 says that the disruption of Indian sea trade with Persia had caused a spurt in the caravan trade.¹⁶ It is against this background that we should evaluate the statement of Babur made in 1505 that every year 'ten, fifteen to twenty thousand Indian

merchants' arrived in Kabul with slaves, sugar, white cloth and medicinal herbs¹⁷ We do not know how many of them traveled to Iran or Central Asia or to Tibet and China but certainly some of them did move to Transoxiana He had also noted that caravans came to Kabul from Farghana, Turkestan, Samarkhand, Bukhara, Balkh, Hisar and Badakhshan¹⁸ The merchants remained unhappy even if they made a profit of 300 to 400 percent¹⁹

1 13 Babur, driven out of his parental kingdom by the Shaibanids, settled down in Kabul and in 1526 succeeded in establishing his dynasty in India He was always nostalgic about his homeland and the lost principality of Samarkand The Shaibanids, despite all animosities did not shun diplomatic contacts In 1528-29 an Uzbek embassy consisting of Khwaja Kalan, Abdul Shahid and a member of the House of Shaibanids visited him²⁰ That people could cross the frontiers in large groups is also evident from Jauhar's statement that five hundred Mughal soldiers from across the Oxus river seeking employment with Humayun entered Kabul²¹

1 14 It can safely be presumed that the number of Indian visitors to the Central Asian markets increased since the political changes around the Caspian Sea had further broadened economic contacts of the region The Russian Tsar, Ivan III had brought the Khanate of Kazan under his vassalage in 1487 and gradually the Russian arms were moving towards Astrakhan in order to ensure for the Russians unhindered access to the Caspian Sea through the Volga river The Bukharans who had emerged as an important power were keen to exploit this opportunity and had sent a caravan to Astrakhan in 1537²² In 1552 the Russian Tsar occupied Kazan and the Russians could easily reach the Caspian Sea In the fifties the Tsar permitted an Englishman, Anthony Jenkinson to sail over the Caspian Sea and the Englishman arrived in Bukhara in 1558 Jenkinson reporting on the trade of the place noted, "There is yearly great resort of Merchants to this Cities of Boghar, which travel in great caravans from the countries there about adjoining as India, Persia, Balgh, Russia with diverse others, The chief commodities that are brought thither out of these aforesaid countries, are the following

"The Indians doe bring fine whites, which the Tartars doe all roll about their heads, and all other kinds of whites, which serve for apparel made of cotton wool and Crasca, but Gold, Silver, precious stones and spices they bring none The Indian carry from Boghar against wrought Silkes, red hides, slaves and Horses, with such like I offered to barter with merchants of those countries, which came from the farthest parts of India, even from the Countrey of Bengala, and the river Ganges, to give them Kerseis for their commodities but they would not barter for such commodities as Cloath"²³

1 15 Jenkinson realized the hazards of such a long journey He noted that even though a caravan from India had been assured safety by the rulers it had been

robbed, a great part slaine', at about 'ten dayes journey from Boghar' by theaves' ²⁴

- 1 16 Almost four decades later, the picture had not materially altered Badruddin Kashmiri, a contemporary author speaks of Central Asians who possessed goods looted from the caravan of traders ²⁵ insecurity on the roads was a strong deterrent yet the Mughal occupation and hold over Afghanistan enabled Indians to move to Central Asia from Kandhar, Kabul or Kashmir in the sixteenth century with comparative security

II

- 2 1 The Central Asian exports to India were silk and half-silk textiles, crimson velvet, carpets, bronze and copper utensils, arms such as sabres, knife, shield, armour, Bukharan bow etc , and a variety of fresh fruits such as apples, melons, quincey, grapes, etc , and dried fruits such as almond, pistachio, raisins, etc The Samarkand paper (both Sultani and Mirbrahimi) enjoyed great demand in India Samarkand also sent to India horses and camels besides Russian goods ²⁶ Babur had also spoken of the export of dry fruits from Central Asia to India
- 2 2 The demand for Central Asian horses never slackened in India because of their large-scale deployment on the battle-field and their use for quick transport from place to place Babur noted that every year in Kabul arrived, seven, eight or ten thousand horses' ²⁷ Bernier, the French traveller (1658-67) put the figure at twenty-five thousand annually ²⁸ Towards the end of the seventeenth century, Manucci stated that Indian traders purchased horses of Balkh and Bukhara at Kabul numbering 1,00,000 ²⁹ According to a fourteenth century source the profit in this trade was estimated at 2500 percent ³⁰ The trade in hoses was considerable, both in terms of number as well as value The Indian merchants did participate in it in the seventeenth century as they had done in the sixteenth century as pointed out by Jenkinson
- 2 3 As stated earlier India received a large supply of dry fruits from the region and Bernier noted the sale of dry fruits from 'Persia, Balkh, Bukhara and Samarkand' in the markets of Delhi ³¹ Under Jahangir a new dimension was added and India started receiving fresh fruits from the region The export of fresh fruits from Central Asia received a great boost after Jahangir's accession since he loved them immensely He received melons grown in Kariz near Herat, grapes and apples from Samarkand ³² He boasts that although his father Akbar was a great lover of melons, pomegranates and grapes, yet "during his time the kariz melons, which are the finest kind, and pomegranates from yezd, which are celebrated throughout the world and Samarkand grapes had never been brought to Hindustan" ³³ On receiving this at a distance of 1400 kos, and kaphilas take five months to come, they arrived very ripe and fresh They brought so many that they sufficed for all the servants" ³⁴ While staying at Ahmedabad, he received 1500 melon from Kariz ³⁵

- 2 4 Bernier also noted the sale of 'fresh grapes, black and white, brought from (Persia, Bulkh, Bukhara and Samarkand), wrapped in cotton, pears and apples of three or four sorts and admirable melons which last the whole winter. These fruits are however, very dear'.³⁶ Bernier had no hesitation in saying, "Usbec being the country which principally supplies Delhi with these (fresh and dry) fruits, which are eaten all the winter,"³⁷ he commented, " Hindustan consumes an immense quantity of fresh fruit from Samarkand, (Balkh), Bocara, and Persia, "
- 2 5 When Abdullah Khan II conquered Badakhshan (1584), Herat (1588) and Khorezm (1593-94), political stability was imparted to Central Asia. Akbar had cordial relations with him as is evident from the exchange between them. Indians enjoyed easier access to Central Asia.³⁸ Abdullah Khan, proclaimed himself Khan of Turan in 1583 and Hindukush became the boundary between the Uzbeks and the Mughals.³⁹ The Indians were now a segment of the local population in Samarkand as is evident from a collection of sixteenth century documents from the office of the Qazi of Samarkand, *Majmua' i Vasaik* discovered by R G Mukminova.
- 2 6 A document describes Daria Khan Multani, son of Shaikh Sadi as a very rich merchant of Samarkand. He is mentioned in eight documents bearing the seal of the Qazi of Samarkand, dated either A D 1589 or A D 1590. No other individual is referred to in so many documents.
- 2 7 A document dated 13 October 1589 writes about Lahori Chittar son of Laly who had promised to pay Daria Khan Multani a sum of one hundred and fifty *tangas* as and when asked.⁴⁰
- 2 8 In another document executed on the same day, Lahori Chittar undertook not to leave the place without the prior permission of Daria Khan. He also divorced his wife by uttering the word *talaq* three times.
- 2 9 In another document of 25 November 1589 Mulla Husain, son of Paimda Multani promised to deliver to Daria Khan thirty-two pieces of cloth 'Chit-i Purband' measuring 12 x 1 'gaj Mukassar' within four months.⁴¹
- 2 10 On 19 September 1590, Ustad Gazor Multani, son of Ustad Hussain Multani executed a document in which he confessed that he owed to Daria Khan twenty-eight silver *tangas* and seven pieces of 'purband' clothes. He undertook to return them to Daria Khan.⁴²
- 2 11 In another document executed on 25 October 1590 we find one Mangui Gazor Multani promising to supply to Daria Khan Multani seven pieces of 'purand' textiles each 12 'Shariat gaj' long.⁴³ From another document registered on 22 November 1590 we learn that Ustad Hussain, son of Pirman promised to bring to Daria Khan ninety pieces of red chit (purband) measuring 12 x 1 'gaj mukassar' within seven months. As a security he sent to Daria Khan, his slave, a Hindu, around twenty-seven years old. The slave was to be returned once Ustad Hussain had fulfilled his obligations.⁴⁴

- 2 12 These documents make it clear that towards the end of the sixteenth century, Indian traders and craftsmen had settled down in Samarkand. Daria Khan was apparently one of the richest and most influential traders. Several craftsmen were indebted to him and worked for him. Not all of them belonged to Multan, as one of them bears the surname Lahori, i.e., belonging to Lahore.
- 2 13 The affluence of some of the Indian traders is confirmed by the fact that another Multani, Khwaja Ibrahim Multani, son of Abdullah Multani, owned at Samarkand a building and some residential houses.⁴⁵
- 2 14 These documents belonging to the office of the Qazi frequently refer to Hindus and Afghans. Most of the non-Muslim foreigners were primarily moneylenders, as the law of Shariat prohibited moneylending by the Muslims.⁴⁶
- 2 15 Daria Khan is referred to in some of the documents as 'janab' of Lord. He could certainly dictate his terms to those with whom he did business. He was not only a merchant of textiles but he also dealt in other items such as in extremely fine variety of wool, used for manufacturing shawls of the Kashmir variety.⁴⁷
- 2 16 These Kashmir shawls had become well-known in Central Asia because they were sent as gifts to Zubairi Sheikhs, who were regarded as spiritual teachers by the Mughals.⁴⁸
- 2 17 The Indian traders from their bases in Central Asian cities had extended their activities to the cities of Iran, cis-Syr Darya region in the north, with the Kazakhstan steppes, and even with Siberia.⁴⁹ They had also trade relations with China.⁵⁰
- 2 18 For the convenience of foreign traders, caravan serais existed in several places. In Tashkent and Bukhara, there were special caravan serais for Hindu traders from India.⁵¹

III

- 3 1 Among Indians in Central Asia, another group which was numerous consisted of slaves. They reached there in a number of ways. Some of them had been secured on the banks of Indus, as Father Menserrate tells us in exchange for horses. Some of them had been taken as prisoners during the wars⁵² while others had been captured during raids on trading caravans.
- 3 2 These slaves were both Hindus and Muslims. Some of them were skilled craftsmen. Indian slaves with specialized skills were much sought after. Badruddin Kashmiri, the author of the manuscript, *Rauzat-ur Rizawan va hadikat al-gilman* written at the behest of the Zubairi Sheikh Khwaja Sa'ada in the reign of Abdullah Khan II informs us that four skilled stone-masons were brought from India to work on royal building.⁵³
- 3 3 A document of 1590 tells us that a Hindu slave around 30 years of age was manumitted after he paid 147 silver *tangas*. He was thereafter neither to be sold nor handed over into slavery.⁵⁴

- 3 4 A couple, both slaves, were set free by their master on the intervention of Mulla Painda (a Multani) However, they were required to pay him 130 *tangas* and to work for him for an year on the condition that he fed and clothed them ⁵⁵
- 3 5 Abdul Abbas Muhammad Talib, the author of *Matlab at-Talbin* also speaks of Indian slaves According to him a Zubairi Khwaja owned thousands of slaves, Russians, Kalmyks and Hindus etc , who worked in fields, looked after cattle or constructed buildings ⁵⁶
- 3 6 The members of the family of Zubairi Khwajas and other Naqshbandi orders off and on visited the Mughal emperor Jahangir and received sumptuous gifts In his 8th regnal year he presented Rs 12,000/- to Khwaja Qasim, brother of Khwaja Abdul Aziz, a Naqshbandi Khwaja ⁵⁷ in the twelfth regnal year he presented a robe of honour and Rs 5000/- to Muhsin Khwaja of Naqshbandi order from Transoxiana ⁵⁸ In the thirteenth regnal year he was so happy to receive a walrus teeth from Khwaja Hasan Zubairi that he decided to send him choicest goods worth Rs 30,000/- through Mir Baraka Bukhari as a mark of his thankfulness ⁵⁹ The Zubairi Khwajas were sent by the ruler of Turan on important missions to Shah Abbas I in Persia and Jahangir in India ⁶⁰ The exchange of envoys continued in the time of Shah Jahan ⁶¹
- 3 7 In the seventeenth century, it appears that the number of Indians arriving in Central Asia increased further One reason was Mughal control over Kabul and their ability to hold on to Kandhar for a long period and their cordial relations with the Iranian and Central Asian rulers Jahangir boasted that he had not forgotten the Turkish language ⁶² Another factor which contributed to increased flow of Indians to Central Asia was the emergence of Astrakhan on the mouth of the Volga river where it falls into the Caspian Sea as the Russian trade window to Iran and Central Asia Furthermore, 'the wars in seas around India while diminishing the maritime Indo-Persian trade also resulted in a spurt of caravan trade on the northwest frontier of India Robert Steel in 1615 noted that because of dispute over the island of Ormuz between the Portuguese and the Persians, the number of camels reaching Kandhar had increased to 'twelve or fourteen thousand whereas heretofore scarcely passed three thousand' ⁶³ Niels Steensgaard estimates that in 1639, even after the Dutch and the British had intervened in the Indian Ocean trade, 25-30,000 camel loads of cotton material was imported annually by Persia from India ⁶⁴ Since from Kandhar a fairly convenient route ran to Central Asia, it would be a permissible guess that part of this merchandise was carried into Central Asia by Indian merchants
- 3 8 Gradually Indian traders from Iran moved to Astrakhan and made it a base for their activities in Russia Indian traders, especially from Bukhara now decided to participate in it They were in good company since the Bukharan traders had a history of visiting Astrakhan From Astrakhan the Indian traders moved into the heartland of Russia and appeared for the first time in Moscow in 1638 ⁶⁵
- 3 9 The Indian traders in Bukhara found the trade with Astrakhan more attractive as the Russian Tsars tried to establish Russo-Indian trade links from

Astrakhan via Bukhara The strong presence of Indian traders in Bukhara is attested to by the fact that under the rule of Imam Kuli Khan, a full sector of the city was occupied by Indian (Hindu) traders, who had their own chief⁶⁶

- 3 10 They were also engaged in moneylending⁶⁷ These merchants faced all the problems, a common citizen has to endure Once, thieves stole a small box containing precious stones belonging to Indians from the Serai in which they were staying They, roused by the hurrying steps of the thieves, ran after them shouting in the streets A night patrol, hearing their cries held the thieves but the thieves, by addressing one another by the name of the ruler (as the ruler was in habit of occasionally walking in the streets in disguise) deceived the patrol and managed to flee When next day the Indians complained to the ruler Imam Kuli Khan against the patrol, he investigated the matter and eventually restored to them the small box with precious stones⁶⁸
- 3 11 Under Shahjahan, there was an attempt by the Mughal ruler to interfere in Central Asian politics Shahjahan fought a number of wars and for sometime was able to control Balkh and even seated his nominee on its throne⁶⁹ The Mughals however had to retrace their steps The Mughals chronicles do not speak of the reverses the Indian army faced However, the Central Asian chronicles have a different story to tell A large number of Indians were taken prisoners and sold into slavery in the markets of different towns such as Samarkand, Tashkent, etc , for five or six roubles each or even for less⁷⁰ The Indian slaves in Balkh faced starvation and even firewood was not available in the winter months To ward off cold, they warmed themselves first by burning the wooden handles of javelins, bows, arrows and palanquins and everything that could be burned Eventually they even burnt the corpses of their compatriots to keep themselves warm⁷¹
- 3 12 The fate of Indian slaves can be inferred from the experience of Aladin Khan, who reached Astrakhan in 1661 As a trader he had gone to Balkh fifteen years ago After two years, having sold his goods, while returning home, he was enslaved and carried to Bukhara There he lived for three years and was then sold to the Khivans He was resold to a Tatar woman from where he escaped after stealing a horse he was arrested at Cherno Yar where his horse was confiscated and was sent to Astrakhan he then applied to the Tsar to allow him to become a Christian⁷²
- 3 13 Continual wars certainly impeded the flow of men and goods both ways But once the wars had ceased, the visits of traders between the two areas continued subject only to local factors, such as famines, internal political instability, etc Under Aurangzeb, the exchange of embassies was resumed The chronicler Saqi Mustaiad Khan tells us about the exchange of envoys⁷³
- 3 14 Having ascertained that close contacts existed between India and Central Asia, the Russian ruler tried to gather information about trade routes to India via Central Asia through a variety of sources⁷⁴ He was emboldened to do so after the envoy of Urgench, asked about the way to India and the possibilities of trade, had replied, "traders between the two countries move freely and

time involved in travel was two and half months the goods brought by Indian traders were cotton textiles, etc , cloves, nutmegs, dyes " ⁷⁵

- 3 15 The Russian Tsar sent a number of envoys and agents overland via Bukhara to the Mughal Empire in order to establish direct trade links ⁷⁶ In 1670 the Russian envoys B A Pazukhin reported to the Tsar that the ruler of Balkh had informed them that the route between capital Balkh and Delhi ran through populous areas and life and property were absolutely safe and no extra-legal taxes were charged ⁷⁷
- 3 16 When the Bukharan envoy was interviewed by Russian officers, he informed, " at present merchants bring goods from India as they (belonging to both the countries) are continuously moving They bring precious stones and pearls and other items of luxury" ⁷⁸
- 3 17 One of these Russian envoys Muhammad Yusuf Kasimov reached Kabul in 1676 but was not allowed by Aurangzeb to come to Delhi and he returned home in 1677 ⁷⁹
- 3 18 Khwaja Samandar Termezi the author of *Dastur al-Muluk* written around 1695-96 describes Korshi or Neseef, as another emporium where goods from Kandhar and Central Asian cities such as Bukhara, Samarkand, Hissar, etc , were brought and exchanged by the respective traders ⁸⁰ At another place while writing about an administrator of Karshi he says that he covered the entire distance from Karshi to Jurgati with cloth from Gujarat taken from the local textile shops ⁸¹ One cannot think that such plentitude of textiles from a region of India, thousands of miles away by land route could be brought only by Central Asian merchants After all, a merchant carried horses from the port of Surat in Gujarat while Shahjahan was camping in Kabul It is true, the two met somewhere between the rivers Jhelum and Chenab on 19 October 1646 since Shahjahan had left Kabul on 20 September 1646 ⁸² The price of horse was estimated at Rs 15,000/- and it was named as 'Lal Bibaha' or priceless ruby ⁸³
- 3 19 The Indians engaged in this trade generally came from Sindh, rajasthan and the Punjab regions of our country and as I have earlier stated, they professed faith such as Hinduism, Sikhism and Islam, etc However, some evidence of nineteenth century suggests that Indians from Mirzapur in Uttar Pradesh also travelled to Central Asia

IV

- 4 1 Friends, I have not spoken of Indian scholars of Persian and Arabic visiting Central Asia Indians, during the Mughal period, made significant contribution to Persian language and literature and were respected for their learning in Central Asia
- 4 2 The decline of the Mughal empire after the death of Aurangzeb in 1707 did not put an end to visits of Indians to Central Asia

4.3 The sources, now more abundant, such as *Russko-Indiiskiy Otnosheniya v XVIII v*⁸⁴, Forster's *A Journey From Bengal to England*, Vol II, Mohan Lal's *Travel In The Punjab, Afghanistan And Turkistan*, attest to the presence of Indians there in the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries. I will not speak of Indians who have been there in our century.

4.4 But the Indians after performing these arduous journeys did not forget their homeland. They repeated to themselves,

“जो सुख अपने चौबारे, ना बलख ना बुखारे

“The pleasure that can be had in one's own courtyard cannot be had even in Balkh or Bukhara”

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II (a) Political and Administrative History

39

GHAZNAVID ORIGINS OF THE ADMINISTRATIVE INSTITUTIONS OF THE DELHI SULTANATE

SYED JABIR RAZA*

- 01 With the annexation of the Punjab to the Ghaznavid Empire during the reign of Sultan Mahmud of Ghazni, the political and cultural institutions found their way in the region. These institutions had far reaching impact on the life of people. Later on, these institutions were adopted by the successors of Sultan Muizuddin bin Sam (killed in 1206 A.D.). This article seeks to have an argument on the introduction of the Central Asian institutions by the Ghaznavid Sultan in Punjab and their continuation subsequently.
- 02 It is worth-recalling that Sultan Mahmud does not seem to have been serious about establishing his rule over any territory beyond the river Indus. The control of Peshawar valley was considered necessary for the defence of the Empire. Later on, having been attracted by the wealth of the temple in the Doab and other regions, he thought it necessary to capture Punjab and Sindh and found military bases at the strategic points there for military operations against the Hindu rulers of north India. First, he selected the town of Nandana for his military headquarters in 1014 A.D. He appointed Sarugh as *kotwal* of the fort of Nandana along with a number of their officials and soldiers to maintain law and order. After the extinction of Hindu-Sahiya kingdom in 1021 A.D., Sultan Mahmud divided his Indian dominions into three administrative units viz Peshawar, Multan and Lahore, the latter being the principal seat of

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government The history of the introduction of the Ghaznavid administrative institutions in India is thus traced to the year 1021 A D

0 3 To govern the empire, there were five principal departments under Sultan Mahmud of Ghazni

- i) *Diwan-i Wizarat* or, Finance Department
- ii) *Diwan-i Arz* or, War Department
- iii) *Diwan-i Risalat* or, Correspondence Department
- iv) *Diwan-i Shughl-i Ishraf-i Mamlukat* or, Secret Service Department, and
- v) *Diwan-i Wikalat* or, Household Department

The Central government of Delhi Sultanate was chiefly administered by four departments

- i) *Diwan-i Wizarat*,
- ii) *Diwan-i Arz*,
- iii) *Diwan-i Insha*, and
- iv) *Diwan-i Risalat*

I

THE SULTAN

- 1 1 With the decline of the Abbasid Caliphate, monarchy found its place in the Muslim World The Samanid rulers who preceded the Ghaznavid Sultans ruled over their Empire as independent monarchs with nominal allegiance to the Abbasid Caliph of Baghdad It was, however, Sultan Mahmud who assumed the title of Sultan and thus began a new era in which the new Sultanate polity began to develop¹ In the tradition of Mahmud, his descendants and after them the Ghurids styled themselves as 'Sultan'
- 1 2 As the Abbasid Caliph commanded great respect among the religious elite of the Sunni Muslims, the Sultan had to pay nominal allegiance to him and get the letter of authority to rule over his territories The grant of the diploma of authority with investiture provided legitimacy to the Sultan's claim to authority² But it had become only a custom This prevalent tradition of allegiance to the Abbasids was carried on by the Ghurids and Delhi Sultans as well³

DIWAN-I WIZARAT:

- 1 3 After the Sultan, the next important administrator in the kingdom was Wazir The term Wazir is of Persian origin and the institution was first created by the Abbasid⁴ The wazir was incharge of the *Diwan-i Wizarat*, which dealt with finances⁵ The duties of a wazir was unlimited Apart from being the administrative deputy of Sultan, sometimes he also discharged the military duties as well⁶

- 1 4 The Ghaznavid wazir was called as *khwaja*, *khwaja-i Buzurg* and *waziru'l-Wuzara*,⁷ while the wazirs of Delhi Sultans had their honorific of *khwaja* (e.g. Khwaja Hasan, Khwaja Khatir)⁸ One of the main duties of the wazir was to select competent persons to act as provincial wazirs who could act as his representatives. During Sultan Mahmud and Masud's time Qazi Abu'l Hasan Shirazi was the *Sahib-i Diwan* of Punjab.⁹ Ibn Battuta mentions a *Wali'ul-kharaj* of a province, probably it meaning *khwaja* or *Sahib-i Diwan*.¹⁰
- 1 5 The Wazir appointed the *amil*s (revenue collector) for the provinces who collected the revenues with the help of the other officials and deposited it in the provincial treasury.¹¹ It seems that in Delhi Sultanate the term *amil* went along with *nazir* and *waqf*.¹²
- 1 6 The *mustaufi-i mamalik* was the accountant general. Sad Salman, father of a celebrated poet Mas'udi S'ad, was the *mustaufi* (accountant) of Amir Majdud, the governor of Punjab.¹³ While in Delhi Sultanate, the term has different connotation and here *mustaufi* stands for auditor-general and *mushrif* for accountant-general.¹⁴ In the Ghaznavid administration, *mushrif* was the head of the department of secret intelligence.¹⁵

LAND GRANTS AND IQTA

- 1 7 The Ghaznavid Sultans used to disburse *bistagani* or *ijri*,¹⁶ i.e. payment in cash, to the officials and troops for their maintenance. Apart from this the payment in form of *milk*, *inam*, and *iqta* was also prevalent.
- 1 8 The terms *milk* and *inam* denote the assignment of land by the Sultan to the scholars, poets and nobles.¹⁷ Abu Najm Ayaz, a favourite slave of Mahmud, was assigned an area of 12,000 *farsang* in India by Sultan Mahmud.¹⁸ Sultan Masud granted two villages of Peshawar to his son Abdul Razzaq.¹⁹ The relevant epigraphic evidence also corroborates our literary sources in this regard.²⁰ The endowment for the maintenance of the religious institutions was called *waqf*.²⁵ The system was followed by the Delhi Sultans also.²²
- 1 9 It is believed that the assignment of land in the form of *muqata* (contract) and *iqta* goes back to the Abbasids.²³ Though the *muqata* was not widely prevalent in the Ghaznavid Empire, we find only two instances. For example, Awfi informs that during the reign of Abdar Rashid (1049-52), Tuman had his favourite, the former *Sahib-i barid-i Deh* as the *Muqata* of the territorial unit of Peshawar,²⁴ i.e. the land was given to him in *ijara* (farming). The Delhi Sultans were also aware of the system of *muqata*.²⁵
- 1 10 In course of time, during the Abbasid Caliph Muqtadir (d. 932) the system of *muqata* has changed into *iqta*.³⁶ The Ghaznavid borrowed this system through their Samanid overlord²⁷ and used to assign *iqtas* to their *walis* (governors) and *Hashm* (soldiers).²⁸

- 1 11 The assignment of additional iqta's (*iqta'at*) was also in practice ²⁹ The iqta holder was called *muqta* ³⁰ A celebrated post of the Ghaznavid Punjab, Abul Farj Runi speaks against a *muqta*, who was cruel towards people ³¹ Under the Ghaznavids, the *muqta's* used to appoint the deputies (*na'iban*) in their *iqta's* to collect the revenue ³² It was a sort of sub-assignment of power to anyone, within the *iqta's* There was no shred of evidence to suggest that the *iqta* assigned to a noble was ever transferred to some other person under the Ghaznavids ³³

II

DIWAN-I ARZ

- 2 1 The *Diwan-i Arz* or, Military department occupied the second highest place in the Ghaznavid administrative hierarchy The office worked under an army officer designated as the *Ariz*,³⁴ or *Sahib-i Diwan-i Arz*,³⁵ or *Ariz-i Lashkar*³⁶ Abu Nasr Mansur b Sa'id, Amir Abu'l-Fateh and Muzaffar Nasir held the charge of the *Diwan-i Arz* of Punjab and Sindh successively ³⁷ Under the Delhi Sultans, the *Ariz* was styled as *Ariz-i Mamalik*³⁸ and *Rawat-i-Arz* ³⁹
- 2 2 The *Ariz* was the chief adviser of the Sultan in military affairs ⁴⁰ He maintained the strength and efficiency of the army and reviewed (*arz*) the troops once in a year ⁴¹
- 2 3 The *ariz* used to keep an up to-date record of *huliya* i.e name and physical features of the soldiers and their belongings (war implements) ⁴² At the muster, these records were used to check the soldiers To prevent the officers and soldiers from deceiving the state, the horses were all branded with the Sultan's mark mentioned as *dagh* or *dagh-i Sultani* ⁴³ Later on, the system was carried out in the Delhi Sultanate ⁴⁴ It seems that Firuz Shah had discontinued both *dagh* and *huliya*, but Sikandar Lodi re-introduced the *huliya* which was now known as *chihra* and *dagh* was revived by Sher Shah ⁴⁵

THE SIPAHSALAR

- 2 4 In the military hierarchy, next to the *ariz* was the *Sipahsalar*,⁴⁷ or *Sahib-i Jaish*⁴⁸ of local troops was highest military authority, or the military governor With the annexation of Punjab military commanders were assigned the administrative work as well Sultan Mahmud appointed military governors to make an impression on the recalcitrant Indian chiefs
- 2 5 As for the duties and functions of the *Sipahsalar*, he was charged with the duty of defending officers in maintaining peace and order The *Sipahsalar* also collected the tribute from the feudatory Indian chiefs ⁴⁹ The Ghurids continued the Ghaznavid tradition and used to place newly conquered territory under the *Sipahsalar* ⁵⁰ However, under the later Delhi Sultans, position of *Sipahsalar* decreased in the officials hierarchy and was replaced by *Maliks* and *khans* The

authors of the *Masaliku'l-Absar* and *Subhul-Asha* placed the *Sipahsalar* in the last decimal system with a command of less than 100 horsemen ⁵¹

III

THE SLAVE TROOPS:

- 3 1 The slave force (*ghilman*) constituted the core of the Ghaznavid army, which played a decisive role in the battlefield. Most of the leading commanders of Sultan Mahmud and Mas'ud were his slaves viz. Altuntash, Arslan Jazib, and Tilak, an Indian.
- 3 2 The slave troops were under the direct control of the Sultan. The *Salar-Ghulaman*, *Hajib-i Sara'i*, or *Sarhang-i Sara'i* was the commander of the slave force ⁵². Within the slaves a special contingent was selected for the personal bodyguard of the Sultan and known as *Ghulaman-i Sara'i*, *Ghulaman-i khass*, or *Ghulaman-i Sultani* ⁵³. In the battlefield they usually held the position in the centre and were used as a crack force. The *Ghulaman-i Sara'i*s were the main fighting force at Agra under Saifad-Daula Mahmud b. Ibrahim, the governor of Punjab ⁵⁴. The slave generals of Sultan Muizuddin Muhammad bin Sam and his successors in India played an important role in the building of the Delhi Sultanate during the thirteenth century ⁵⁵.

IV

DIWAN-I INSHA

- 4 1 The next office was the correspondence department. Under the Abbasids, it was known as *Diwan ur-Rasa'il* ⁵⁶. The Ghaznavids called it *Diwan-i Rislat*, ⁵⁷ or *Diwan-i Rasa'il* ⁵⁸. In the Delhi Sultanate, the institution was known as *Diwan-i Insha*. The incharge of the department was *Dabir-i khas*, who had the proper link of correspondence between the Sultan and the provincial governors ⁵⁹. He was assisted by the officials called *dabirs* ⁶⁰. When Amir Majdud was appointed the viceroy of Punjab, his *dabir* was Abu Mansur b. Abu'l Qasim who was an experienced and qualified officer ⁶¹. We find a reference to *ilaqah-dabir* under the Delhi Sultan ⁶².

DIWA-I BARID.

- 4 2 An institution of great importance was the *Diwan-i Barid* or, Postal department. The author of *Chahar Maqala* recognised the antiquity of this department ⁶³. The Ghurids adopted the tradition from the Ghaznavids, which was carried on in the administration of the Delhi Sultanate.
- 4 3 Under the Ghaznavids, the *Sahib-i Barid* was the official newswriter of the province and its dependencies, ⁶⁴ while in the Delhi Sultanate the

head of the state news agency was called *Band-i Mamalik*⁶⁵ When Ahmad Yenaligin was appointed *Sipahsalar* of Punjab, a trusted *barid* Bu'l-Qasim Bu'l-Hikam was also despatched to keep watch on him⁶⁶ In the Delhi Sultanate, the *barid* were entrusted to organise the espionage system⁶⁷ also

- 4.4 The Ghaznavids maintained two kinds of postal services viz the footmessengers called *musra* and *paik*,⁶⁸ while mounted couriers called *Askudar*⁷⁰ and *Khailtash*⁷¹ In the Delhi Sultanate, the footmen were known as *piyadah* and horsemen were called *ulagh*⁷²

V

LOCAL ADMINISTRATION

- 5.1 The fort town was under the command of a *kotwal*⁷³ He had police-cum-military power to administer the town⁷⁴ An other officer, called *Shahna* also had the same functions to perform, the difference between him and the *kotwal* was that of status. The *Shahna* held a lower rank and position as he was entrusted with the charge of a small fiscal cum-administrative unit, i.e. a dependency of an extensive unit or a *rabat* (hospice), built on a highway and protected the caravans and travellers against the highwaymen⁷⁵
- 5.2 As for rural administration is concerned, the headmen of the villages were the *khut* and *Dehgan* signifying the village headmen. They were synonymous with each other and acted as intermediary between the state and the peasantry. They were allowed a small share in the revenue collected by them for the State⁷⁶ Unlike the *khut* or *Dehgan*, the *Muqaddams*, *Rana*, *Chaudhury*, and *Khut* as 'Zamindari' in the 13th and 14th centuries⁷⁸ Fakhr-i Mudabbir refers to a *khut* (headman) of the village near Takinabad, in the reign of Sultan Khusrau Shah, who was an influential and a rich man of the village⁷⁹ The Farhang-i qawas (the early 14th century lexicon) is the earliest work that gives clue to the fact that the term *khuta* (wrongly read by the modern scholar as a *khut*) was a village headman, also called *dehqan* in Central Asia and Iran⁸⁰ During Sultan Mahmud's reign, the *dehqan* was entrusted with the collection of the revenues from the cultivators⁸¹ It strengthens the view that during the early Ghaznavid period the designation *dehqan* was in use which was later replaced by the term *khuta*. *Khut*, is, however, not to be confused with *kinarang* or *marzban*, the term which were used in the sense of 'Zamindar', i.e. hereditary land chiefs in India⁸²
- 5.3 Under the Delhi Sultans, the *khuts* and *muqaddams* enjoyed certain privileges and lived with great pomp and show⁸³ Though their privileges were curtailed under Alau'd-Din Khalji, Sultan Ghiyath u'ddin Tughluq restored them, recognizing the value of their services to the State⁸⁴

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SHAIKH HAMID-U'D-DIN NAGAUURI

MAKSUD AHMAD KHAN*

I

- 1 1 In accounts of thirteenth century religious divines two personalities, both of Nagaur, an important *iqta* or provincial headquarters of the time stand out Qazi Hamid-u'd-Din (d 641 AH/1246 AD)¹ and Shaykh Hamid-u'd-Din Sawali/Nagauri (d 673 AH/1274 A D)²
- 1 2 In this paper, I wish to present the information that I have been able to collect on the later of these two persons His original name was Hamid-u'd-Din, the name by which he was popularly known (*Kunya*) was Abu Ahmad and the title given him by posterity was *Sultanu't Tarikin*³ (King of Recluses)
- 1 3 His father Shaikh Ahmad, one of the descendants of Sa'id bin Zaid,⁴ is said to have migrated to Delhi from Lahore The Shaikh himself on one occasion claimed that he was the first Muslim child to be born in Delhi after its conquest by the Muslims⁵ It was sometimes after the birth of the Shaikh that the family migrated from Delhi to Rajasthan and settled at Suwal⁶
- 1 4 Hamid-u'd-Din completed his education under Maulana Shamsu'd-Din Halwai But once asked by someone about his spiritual master (*pir*), the Shaikh replied that he had three spiritual masters, Maulana Shams-u'd-Din Halwai "Master of company" Khwaja Muin-u'd-Din Chisti, "Master of disciple" and Shaikh Hamid-u'd-Din Juwaini "Master of Spirituality"⁷

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- 1 5 Shaikh Hamid-u'd-Din Sufi was very handsome in his youth and held a fascination of women towards him. This made him busy in pleasure and merry-making. But as soon as he became a disciple of Khwaja Muinu'd-Din Chishti, he repented his past and became dedicated to asceticism and seclusion.⁸
- 1 6 While Shaikh Hamid-u'd-Din Sufi remained loyal to the established Chishti traditions, he seems to have made a conscious effort to follow a mode of austerities and ascetic life more in tune with Indian tradition. According to the contemporary sources, he never used Sufi garments but used only two sheets of cotton to cover the lower and upper parts of his body.⁹
- 1 7 He is also reported to have never taken meat in his food and to have remained a vegetarian throughout life. He even forbade his disciples from offering meat preparations for the blessing of his soul in *Fatiha* after his death. He was so strict to such an extent in this connection that he even prohibited them from purchasing meat from the butcher's shop for *Fatiha*, saying that the quantity of meat purchased for this purpose may be replaced by the butcher by slaughtering another animal. This seems that he was a firm believer of non-injury and did not like to kill innocent animals for food.¹⁰
- 1 8 Shaikh Hamiduddin did not consider mystic qualities to belong to Muslims alone. There was a Hindu in Nagaur and whenever the Shaikh saw him he used to say 'this man is a Friend of God' (*Wali-i Khuda*).¹¹ The Shaikh also released Hindwi and used to speak in Hindi with the local.¹²
- 1 9 Perhaps he is the only Chishti saint who is reported to have earned his livelihood by adopting profession of farming. He cultivated just one *bigha* of land¹³ half of it being sown in each season. Besides that he had restricted his needs to such an extent that he never accepted even unasked gifts or presents (*Nazrana-o Shukrana*) from any one.
- 1 10 When the *Muqta* (Governor) of Nagaur came to know about the indigence and austerities of the Shaikh he presented himself with some cash and pressed the Shaikh to accept more land for cultivation but the Shaikh replied politely in the negative saying that no one from his senior spiritual masters had accepted it. The *Muqta* reported the matter to the Sultan at Delhi. The Sultan sent a *farman* to the *muqta* with 500 rupees and one village free of tax and asked him to force the Shaikh to accept the present. When the *Muqta* tried to convince the Shaikh to accept the grant, the Shaikh asked him to wait for a moment and went to consult the matter with his wife. She replied that he should not to accept the gifts which might jeopardise their devotion and saintliness. The Shaikh became happy to know of her firmness and of course rejected the preferred gift.¹⁴
- 1 11 The self-effacement that Hamiduddin pursued was shown by the anecdote reported about him by Nizam-u'd-Din Auliya. He was asked why some people are remembered after death others not. He answered, only those are remembered, who, when alive, have kept themselves "hidden".¹⁵

- 1 12 Hamiduddin Nagauri left behind a memory of a humble saint, who knew the dignity of labour and loved poverty and saw in *sufism* a message that transcended religious sectarianism That message has, perhaps, some meaning for us still

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- 1 The son of Khwaja Atau'llah of Bokhara, he came to India during the reign of Sultan Mu'izzu d-Din Muhammad B Sam (d 1206 AD) He was one of the most learned and talented scholars among the early sufi saints of India He served as *Qazi* of Nagaur for three years but abandoned the world and went to Baghdad becoming there a disciple of Shaikh Shihab-u d-Din Suhrawardi He died at Delhi and lies buried close to the tomb of Khwaja Qutb-u d-Din Bakhtiyar Kaki (with whom he had intimate friendship), at Mehrauli in Delhi For details see Mir Khurd, *Siyar ul-Auliya*, Delhi, 1876, pp 52, 57, 347, 472, 476-7, 501, 502, 507, 519, 526, Mir Hasan 'Ala Sizi, *Fawa'id-u l Fua d*, Delhi 1894, pp 6, 33, 53, 83, 162, 188-9, 239-41 Hamid Qalandar *Khair-ul Majalis*, Aligarh 1959, pp 45, 276 Muhammad Ghaus Shattari, *Gulzar-i Abrar* Rotograph, pp 25-26, Abdul Haq Muhaddith Dehlawi, *Akhbar-u l Akhyar*, Delhi, 1914, pp 34-44, Dara Shukoh, *Safinat-u'l Auliya*, Agra, 1853, p 195, Hafiz Ghulam Sarwar, *Khazinat-u l Asfiya*, Vol I, Kanpur, 1902, pp 309-13, Mumtaz Ali Khan, 'Qazi Hamidu'd-Din of Nagaur', *Is Cul* Vol LII, No 1, Jan 1978, pp 71-87
- 2 *Akhbar-u l Akhyar*, p 33
- 3 According to Shaikh Abdul Haq Muhaddis Dehlawi, Khwaja Muinu'd-Din Chishti conferred this title on the Shaikh's defence of his abandonment of the world *Op cit*, p 33
- 4 He was one of the companions of the Prophet and one among the *Ashra-e Mubasshara*, *Akhbar-u l-Akhyar*, p 33
- 5 The author of *Surur-us Sudur* informs us that the Native place of the Shaikh is Delhi It is a collection of the sayings of Shaikh Farid-u d-Din Muhammad, son and successor of Shaikh Hamid-u'd-Din Sufi Nagauri, M S, Maulana Azad Library, AMU, Aligarh
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- 7 *Surur us Sadur*, M S f 48
- 8 When his old friends tried to incite him to engage in his previous pleasures, the Shaikh replied "I have locked my brouser strings so tight that I doubt whether this could be opened by the hoors (*Siyar ul-Auliya*, p 263) See also *Fawa'id u l Fuad*, p 346
- 9 *Siyar-u l Auliya*, p 157
- 10 *Surur-us Sudur*, M s f p 9
- 11 *Siyar-u l Auliya* pp 158, which adds that the Hindu later became a Muslim! - this would, of course suit a more orthodox tradition *Fawa'id-u l-Fau d*, p 118
- 12 *Surur us Sudur*, M S ff 43, 47
- 13 The author of *Siyar u l Arifin* says he had 10 *Jarib* of land on the bank of a river Roto, p 10
- 14 *Siyar-u l Auliya*, pp 264-5
- 15 *Fawa'id-u l Fua'd*, p 3, *Siyar-u l Auliya*, p 156

IMPACT OF MONGOL INVASIONS ON THE DELHI SULTANATE

ARCHANA OJHA*

I

- 1 1 The movement of the Mongol nomads with their specific 'cultural attributes' and military skills and their consequent confrontation with the sedentary civilized state of the Delhi Sultanate whose culture and military traditions were different from their own led to a different type of interaction. This interaction although of a violent nature, succeeded in transmitting material culture which led to diffusion of certain innovations in the field of military art, sciences, spread of Islam, appreciation of their spirit of religious generosity, efficient generalship, and strict adherence to the concept of justice and discipline. The myth of a savage and primitive nomad prevalent earlier was completely shattered.
- 1 2 In the writings of the medieval Persian historians there is a natural feeling of resentment, awe, fear, contempt and suspicion due to recurring Mongol onslaught which affected the political, social and economic structures of their state. At the same time, there was a hidden attempt to explore certain distinguishing features of the Mongol empire builders and people. During this process of what may be termed as the attraction of the opposites, Persian historians uncovered differential socio-cultural processes and political and economic patterns which were generated as a result of the response and

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interaction of two different groups Minhaj, Barani and Isami three main contemporary historians of the medieval India, were highly critical of Mongols physical appearance, violent nature and social behaviour but do not fail to appreciate their certain special qualities. A brief attempt has been made in this paper to study the impact of the Mongol invasions on the existing institutions.

- 1.3 The Mamluk Sultans were the first to rule the Delhi Sultanate and were busy keeping the boundaries and power of the state intact in their own hands. The Turkish governing class was engaged constantly in inter-wrangling and power struggle. The '*Ulema*' and the men of pen became the champions of socio-religious matters. These two classes firmly controlled all the productive forces of the state but did not take adequate steps to improve the economic condition of the common masses and bring about some semblance of social equality by providing equal opportunity to deserving candidates whose inclusion into the political affairs of the state, irrespective of their religion could have provided the extra strength and an all India character to the empire.
- 1.4 The rulers of the Khalji and the Tughlaq dynasties followed the policy of broad-basing their state structure by including all the elements of the Indian society on the basis of their qualification and loyalty towards the Sultan. They ruled according to *zawabit*, i.e., state laws and not according to precepts laid down in the *shariah*. This comparative freedom from the adherence to the orthodox Islamic laws and traditions, assured the Indian rulers to execute those laws which would be beneficial to the State as well to the people. This policy of broad spectrum assisted the Delhi Sultans to rally supporters around them not on the basis of religious zeal but on the question of security of the kingdom. The economic measures of Khalji and Tughlaq rulers helped in the development of a pre-mature planned economy which in turn assisted in social stability. The new governing class assisted in the establishment of a centralized state structure as opposed to regional identities. The importance to the '*Ulema*' and the men of pen were given a secondary status. The result was a combined effort of all the Indian elements in the defence of the state against their one common enemy 'the Mongols' and they were successful.
- 1.5 The Delhi Sultans faced the difficult task of bringing together the monastic and non-monastic forces together on one platform for the general harmony in the society and for the stability of the empire. Jalau'ddin Khalji, Alau'ddin Khalji and Muhammad-bin Tughlaq began the process of inducting Indian born Muslims or converts and then Hindus followed by the Mongols themselves in the political affairs of the state. All the rulers of the Delhi Sultanate had one thing in common and that all of them had first hand experience of direct confrontation with the Mongols and their victory over them either ensured their position over the throne or else turned their heads to such worldly pleasures from which they emerged only to be murdered by their opponents who were at one time governors of the provinces which faced direct onslaught of the Mongol armies or commanding the forces against them. In this manner to defeat the Mongols was an act of bravery and a step towards attaining the throne of Delhi. So there was an inherent contradiction in this situation and

balance could only be maintained as long as the ruler was strong enough to keep the forces of dissensions at bay

- 1 6 The fortunes of the governing class also fluctuated according to their performance in the battle against the Mongols. In the initial stages success over the Mongols meant instant rise to eminence and power in the form of bestowal of governorship and *iqta*. But continuous success was also a source of jealousy and fear for the Sultans. Some of the nobles who had attained victory over the Mongols wanted in return for their services more power and privileges. When this was not granted, they had the alternative to declare themselves independent or else seek assistance from the Mongols. It was because of this problem that the Delhi Sultans were always on alert as far as the governors of the North Western Frontier were concerned. On the other hand, the inclusion of the foreign and the Indian elements in the governing class meant for the Sultan a combined knowledge of Turkish, Afghan, Mongolian and Hindu methods of warfare with the help of which the Sultans were able to offer a formidable resistance against the invading Mongol armies. The Indian Sultans employed the same tactics which the Mongol rulers had employed that of utilizing every available source of power without taking into consideration their social or religious background. The duties of the governors were increased by including the administration of the towns, cities and districts under their supervision, they were to supervise taxation and the maintenance of *karakhanas*, organization of the garrisons and the command of local military units were placed under their jurisdiction.
- 1 7 To improve the communication system apart from the existing postal system known as *barid*, Alau'ddin introduced the post-horse relay system which was introduced in Persia by Great Khan Ogedei. With this system the Sultans were able to keep themselves informed about the affairs of the state in the far flung areas, maintain direct links with the governors of the provinces and the process was much more speedy. Two Mongol taxes, *qubchur* which was pasture tax and *tamgha* which was tax on commercial transactions were introduced by Alau'ddin in the areas under his control. The Mongol rulers followed the policy of religious toleration and did not impose taxes on the pious men of different religions and the Delhi Sultans followed the same policy. The later Mongol rulers ushered in the era of urbanisation by undertaking the construction of cities and canals to encourage cultivation and overcome the difficulties which they themselves had created earlier when they had ravaged the lands and converted them into pasture lands. Construction of canals and other artificial systems of irrigation was also undertaken by the Delhi Sultans. Muhammad-bin Tughlaq also attempted to introduce copper currency which failed miserably as that of Ilkhan Geikhatu who tried to introduce paper currency in Persia based on the Chinese model known as Chao.
- 1 8 The Sultans tried to regulate and channelise the flow of the energy of their subjects in a general direction of progress, expansion, prosperity and mental preparedness to face hardship in case of prolonged Mongol onslaught. Thick jungles were cut to make way for the roads and Delhi was connected through

this system with many coastal and regional centres. The introduction of the post-horse relay system meant construction of *sarai* which assisted not only the trader and the merchant classes but added to the security of the important trading routes. To bring about peace and prosperity in the empire crimes, thefts, conspiracies, rebellions, corruption and misappropriation of wealth were dealt with firmness which included punishments like death sentence, imprisonment, loss of royal patronage, rights and privileges as well as confiscation of the property without taking into consideration the status of the individual.

- 1 9 Due to the Mongol invasions there was continuous migration of artisan and merchants from the Islamic lands who brought with them their crafts, techniques and practices with the help of which they brought about changes in the field of technology like paper and building industry. The migration of Arabs, Abyssinians, Afghans, Egyptians, Persians, Turks, Mongols and others brought along with them their own individual cultural traditions and customs which greatly enriched the Indian history. These people formed the upper strata of the society and created geographical and ethnic divisions in the urban population but it never culminated in the racial war or hatred because of the policies adopted by the Delhi Sultans. The change in the social and political outlook of the cosmopolitan population brought about the beginning of the commodity production which in turn created inter-professional mobility whereby the lower strata of people made attempts to rise to upper levels of the society.
- 1 10 In the border areas the population remained fluid due to continuous movement of people across the borders. The result was no one special group was able to establish a dominant position. The Mongol raids meant the destruction of the agricultural lands and fort towns as the Mongols were more interested in living in tents. The Indian Sultans made sincere efforts to befriend the tribes living near the border areas and many of them later did become Muslim converts. These tribes were important as they were adept at making certain types of weapons capable of causing immense damage to the Mongol army. According to Juvaini, the Mongols " They came, they sacked, they burnt, they slew, they plundered and they departed "

SYSTEM OF EDUCATION IN BAHAMANI ERA

PARVEEN RUKHSANA*

- 0 1 The statement of an Egyptian historian bears much importance about the interest in educational matters taken by Sultan Mohammad Bin Tughlaq. He writes, there were one thousand schools in the Capital city, Delhi, at that time, out of which there was only one appertaining to the *Shias* and the rest belonging to *Hanafis*.
- 0 2 Similarly, Feroz Tughlaq also took keen interest in promoting the education and arts. His patronage and philanthropy had bestowed a status on educational institutions to his capital. The education department had a notable importance in the history of India during the period of Delhi Sultanate. The appreciation and promotion of education was not confined and limited within the capital city, Delhi, but wherever these rulers established their domination. Every part of that place became blooming with progress and they not only kept alive the patronage and liking for the knowledge and education the quest for truth, but they keenly looked after it.
- 0 3 In Deccan, a new chapter opened with the establishment of Bahmani kingdom (1347) the promotion of cultural and educational interests started simultaneously. The entire empire became acquainted with education and every place had small and big schools with every possible facility for the students.
- 0 4 Deccan became a big centre for education due to the appreciation, patronage, encouragement and professional strife of the rulers. The capital became the

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House of knowledge and education due to the contribution of experts earned eminent well known and celebrities of foreign countries The following view points can proximate the progressive survey of the period

I

PATRONAGE OF BAHMANI KINGS

- 1 1 For hundred and eighty years when the Bahmanis had their hold on this territory, the period was marked by the struggle and turmoil The kings were changed, enthroned, de-throned within gap of days The energies of the kings and their ministers were spent in protecting and defending the borders or conquering extra territories or to curb-down internal chaos and disturbances which had included the foreign or external elements who were responsible for intrigues, vengeance and treacherous dealings The imbalanced policy of the government or state had fallen victim to the intrigues and treacheries of the court and cabinet inspite of such importance of policies, consternation and discourses the educational progress and promotion, on the whole was much notable during this era
- 1 2 Bahmani kings were great appreciators of the learned, talented men of tastes and experts Most of them had mastery over Turkish, Persian and Arabic languages because of which the Arabic and Persian education became more favourite and popular The princes were tutored by notable educationists Schools were established at many places in their state Because of these activities their reign is more notable in the field of Education They were very much enlightened and far sighted monarchs with considerable literary tastes and love for arts They wanted to illumine far and wide corners of their dominion by the light of knowledge and education Out of these kings some personally took interest in the cause of education and its progress They benefited others by their store of knowledge and capabilities of thoughts A brief account is given as under
- 1 3 Alauddin Hasan Bahman Shah had deep interest in science and literature, He used to pay much respect and offer great interest to scholars and talented persons Abdul Jabbar Malkapuri, with reference to *Mulheqat* Ainuddin wrote *Ganj-i uloom* (store of knowledge) that spread Persian and Arabic education in Deccan He arranged for the education of the princes in very decent and excellent manner who were made to read standard Persian books i.e. '*Gulistan*' and '*Bustan*'
- 1 4 Schools were established in the state for young children, stipends and scholarships were granted for poor students Teachers were given salaries and remunerations It is mentioned that, Ainuddin Hasan had so much care for the education of the princes that when he was on his death-bed he called them and inquired about their educational progress and was very happy when his youngest son Mahmmod Khan recited a story from *Gulistan*

- 1 5 In 750 AH promulgating the king's order, the *subedar* of Berar, Safdar Khan Sistani founded a school at Ilichpur. Maulana Mohammed Ibrahim Sindh and Maulana Mohammad Yalufa of Sindh were appointed as teachers. The school was situated in the Jama Masjid of Ilichpura. The arrangements for boarding and lodging of the students and teachers were made at 'Bargah Kalal Maoof na Bhadkal' which is situated by the side of the Jama Masjid. Food and clothing were provided by the endowment. The salaries of the teachers and the staff of the school were given from the treasury. One hundred students resided at the school and one hundred students were the day scholars. The king has granted a *jagir* of an annual income of thirty thousand *huns*, as an endowment for the school. Similarly schools were established at Daulatabad, Gulbarga and other provinces where Persian and Arabic were taught.
- 1 6 Mohammad Shah I himself was scholar and showed much interest in education. He tried much more than his father for the cause of education in the state. He appointed great scholars to educate his crown Prince. Mujahid Shah was expert in Turkish, Persian and Arabic languages. Dawood Shah and Mujahid Shah had a very short period of their reign. During the period of Mohammad Shah II the education Department was much developed. His age was a period of peace and tranquility. He opened schools in all the towns of his state where poor and incapacious students were imparted free education. He had special care for the education of Orphans. They were provided free boarding, lodging and education from the government. The royal treasury bore the expenses of education. In his period schools were established at Gulbarga, Gandhar, Bidar, Ilichpur, Daulatabada, Chawe and Dabat.
- 1 7 Able teachers were appointed to impart education who used to get reasonable salaries. In this respect Mahmood started school at Qandhar received fame and popularity, besides this he appointed speakers and traditionalists at different places in the state, so that they may propagate religious education. He had so much care for the public education that he appointed inspectors of schools who used to keep the government well informed about the progress of the schools. The trend of interest of Mohammad Shah II got infused much and developed in the succeeding period of Feroz Shah. The ruler himself had a very keen interest in education, commentaries of Quran, politics, principles of physical sciences and objective learning. He got new mosques constructed and schooling arrangements made there at. He personally attended the teaching work three days in a week i.e. on Saturday, Monday and Wednesday. Special books in the royal syllabus were '*Zahidi*' and covered the topics of Arithmetics, Logic, Geometry, Philosophy, Etymology and Grammar. In case, the king did not get the time to attend to his teaching schedule he used to call the students in the night and as per routine taught the students and made them benefited from his knowledge. The old educational institutions which existed earlier were also patronized and looked after on the same pattern. Due to his patronage many scholars and learned people from Iran and Middle East had collected and people from far off places in quest use to come to get them quenched, equipted and adorned in knowledge and education. He proved to be a very able politician and minister. His practical life started as a scholar.

He coached the princes and taught them to dispense the education and learning in the Bahmani territory. His services are distinctively noteworthy for knowledge and political incentives. His fame gripped roots during the reign of Mohammad Shah II. He had a very close contact and cooperation with the king. The king had assigned him the ecclesiastical department. But history shows that educational projects of the state were also kept in his hands. Mir Fazalullah Anju belonged to the well known and prominent family residing at Shiraz whose lineage went upto Al-Qasim al-Rasibin Hasan ben Ibrahim Taba-Taba.

- 1 8 He was not only engaged to look after the educational projects parts of the kingdom but also he appointed many experts and teachers and called many well known scholars from abroad i.e., Iran and Middle East to raise the standard of learning and knowledge in Deccan. Fazlullah Anju had given the princes excellent education. He taught Feroz Shah the things of high learning. It was only due to him that this ruler during his reign looked after the education well. The second personality in this context is Khwaja Mahmood Gawan who during the last days of Bahmani kingdom emerged as a towering personality in the field of education.
- 1 9 The buildings of Mahmood Gawan at Bidar were the unique examples of his tremendous quest for learning and welfare of the people. He had a hearty desire to raise this school to an international level in context with its aims and objects. He nurtured a very fabulous desire to bring up the standards of teaching. For this purpose he invited eminent and distinct scholars and learned persons to Deccan. The letters in *Riyaz-ul Insha*, aptly disclose Khwaja's purity of heart and faith in the promotion of knowledge and education. He invited Nooruddin Abdur Rahman Jami, a luminous and well known scholar and ecclesiast to lead this institution so that people in Deccan may quench their thirst of knowledge. But unfortunately Deccan could not avail the opportunity to be benefited by the knowledge and learnings of Nooruddin Jami as he could not come down to Deccan. Many other experts and eminent scholars and teachers came to Deccan and Khwaja Mahmud Gawan made Bidar a second Baghdad of Deccan a centre of Arts and literature, science and crafts. His assassination took place in 886 AH. In this way, he could serve the institution only for ten years. Very large land grants and endowments were attached with the school, whereby the authorities made the boarding, lodging arrangements for the students as well as for the staff members.
- 1 10 Thousands of *Ashrafis* (gold coins) were annually offered as gifts to the *Ulema* and scholars. Rooms in upper storey of the buildings were allotted for scholars and prominent personalities. The central rooms of the first and the second floor were meant for the students. In some classes seats were reserved for the science and technology students and in some for the memorising and pronunciation of Quran (*Hifz* and *Tajved*) along with those of Tradition (*Hadith*). Here the lessons from *Sahi-al Bukhari* were daily imparted. Major part of his income used to be spent for the school. He himself spent his leisure time in the school premises where he himself used to get benefited by the

scholars and he used to impart knowledge and information to the students. This school had a library of rare books where there were three thousand bookshelves.

II

- 2.1 No information is available regarding the syllabus prescribed for study in these institutions. We can not say with certainty that the subjects taught in the Islamic World were taught here also. Persian and Arabic languages were taught on a higher level as Mahmud Gawan himself had a special liking for the literature besides Arithmetics, Astronomy and Mathematics and as such there must have been special arrangements for teaching of these courses. On the whole we can say that Grammar, Logic, Mathematics, Arithmetics, Astronomy, Muslim law (*Fiqh*) Tradition (*Hadith*), rational and traditional sciences, Medicine, literature (Persian and Arabic) were taught upto a higher level.
- 2.2 In this school there were two sections, 1) Elementary Level, 2) Advance Level. After passing out from elementary section the students used to get a certificate of *Mulazim* that is elementary grade. The name of the student was listed in a special Register which was called "*Roznamcha Humayun*". There were two parts of the syllabus of Elementary grade. In the first, the Quranic literature and Grammar of high standard were taught. In the other class, Principle of Jurisprudence, Muslim law (*Fiqha*) and Tradition (*Hadith*) were taught. There was no practical examination of subject, on the hand it was compulsory for the student to give lectures to higher grade on particular subject for a specific period for the award of certificate of teaching on the basis of which he was considered fit to be appointed as high ranking officer of the state. According to studies teachers had so many categories, Serilo (*Katib*) clerk (*Munshi*) (*Moulvi*) trained teacher, Mulla, the performer of religious rites. High grade teacher (*Mulla-Manazil*) was the highest grade. In education the candidate used to become perfect in poetry, medicine and all the sciences. Such qualified persons were given Ministry, Chairmanship and Judicial posts. Mulla of this school used to be great scholars, writers and historians out of whom some have been enumerated as scholars (*Allama*), for instance, Mulla Hafiz, Mulla Nizamuddin, Mulla Rajullah, Sadr-us Sudur of Bahmanis, Mulla Tajullah, Bahmani judicial officer, etc.

III

THE ATTEMPTS OF RELIGIOUS AND ECCLESIASTICAL INSTITUTIONS

- 3.1 The religious institutions were great centres of learning. During this period the Mosques and Khangahs had seminal importance for the popularisation of education. Schools which imparted education at the primary and secondary level were the parts of the Mosques. *Imam* of these Mosques used to impart general education and religious teachings to the Village children.

- 3 2 Besides these, Temples and Pathshalas also taught Sanskrit and local languages. In this system of education the *pujari* of the Temple had great importance. The king used to provide financial and other assistance to them. These *Imam* and *pujari* who used to perform rites, teach ethics and other general education to the public, got salaries from the king. The expenses for the construction of new Mosques and their maintenance was assigned to the department of *Waqf* which feature a very old administrative characteristic of Bahmani rule.
- 3 3 In this era such pious persons and saints had lived whose life and personality had influenced indirectly the educational life of Deccan, notable amongst them was Sheikh Sirajuddin Junaidi. He saw the periods of five Bahmani kings. In the beginning, he lived in Village of Gulbarga Kuddhi by name. On the request of Allauddin Hasan Bahman Shah he migrated to Gulbarga and shifted his permanent resident over there. The people who used to visit from far-off places of Deccan in groups got benefited from his spiritual beneficiaries. In this way a considerable big section of the state was under the influence of his spiritual teachings.
- 3 4 Khwaja Bandanawaz Gesudaraz came down to Gulbarga from Delhi in the year 803 AH. Feroz Shah and Ahmad Shah both were his devotees. He was a saintly person of mystic temperament and a very good writer and poet of Persian language. The span of his teachings and intutional beneficence were vast, irrespective of caste and creed many got richness of beliefs and preponderance. This general attitude left much deep impressions upon the cultural and ethical beliefs and traditions of different sections of the people. His vast and impressive personality, teachings and treatment linked all in one chain of love and brotherhood. Ahmed Shah I established one school in 1422 A.D. in the suburbs of Gulbarga where Bandnawaz used to teach his devotees and favourites tutorials. His deputies and successors kept the torch of spiritual knowledge and learning until the fall of Bahmani kingdom. In this way the Bahmani kings had established schools in every village mosque and schools in every big cities the expenses of which were met through big endowments and high salaries.

THE SAFAVIDS AND MUGHAL RELATIONS WITH THE DECCAN STATES

M. SIRAJ ANWAR*

I

- 1 1 During the sixteenth century a precarious balance of forces seems to have existed between the three Asian empires, namely, the Safavids, the Uzbeks and the Indian Timurids. In the three cornered tussle that was going on among these powers, the Safavids and the Indian Timurids were comparatively closer to each other politically as well as culturally, the rivalry between them over Qandahar notwithstanding. This state of Mughal-Safavids relations continued, by and large, into the first half of the 17th century. Throughout this time the two powers were rivals over Qandahar. But, on the whole, this rivalry was not allowed by both of them to take the form of a general military conflict arising from religious differences. As pointed out by Abdur Rahim, even at the time Shahjahan was planning to regain Qandahar after Shah Abbas I's death in January A.D. 1629, though he appeared to be inclined "to form an anti-Persian league of Sunni powers", in reality, he was not averse to making a deal with the Safavids behind the back of other Sunni powers, the Uzbeks and the Ottomans.¹
- 1 2 In view of the above nature of the Mughal-Safavids relations, a suggestion by some modern scholars that there was an "intrigue" between the Shi'ite Deccan states and the Safavids to thwart the Mughal advance towards the Deccan is rather difficult to accept.² It is sometimes assumed by these scholars that this

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"intrigue" was basically rooted in the Deccan rulers' Shi'ite leanings. For them (i.e. Deccan rulers'), according to this view, the Safavids were their "natural allies". They purportedly looked upon the Safavids as their preceptors and overlords and wanted the Safavid rulers to protect them from Mughal aggression. The Safavids, were not averse to playing this role to the extent it was within their power to do so.

- 1.3 In this paper an attempt is made to examine the validity of this view regarding the role of the Safavid Empire as the natural ally and protector of the Deccan states against Mughal aggression. This is going to be tested with particular reference to the evidence that has survived on this theme in the form of diplomatic correspondence of the 16th and 17th centuries. A similar re-examination was attempted earlier by S.M. Raza Naqvi³ in the context of the question of the Safavid occupation of Qandahar in A.D. 1622, with the aim of helping the Deccan states. In the present study, which attempts a general reappraisal of the Safavids' attitude towards the Deccan States, these lately published documents are used extensively to answer the question as to what extent the Safavids were inclined to help the Deccan States against the Mughals and also whether the Safavids' sympathy for the Deccan States stemmed, from their anxiety to protect the rulers who claimed to be staunch Shi'ite.

II

- 2.1 Diplomatic contacts between the Deccan States and the Safavids date back to the early years of the reign of Shah Ismail Safavi, i.e. much before the establishment of the Mughal Empire in Hindustan. It is worth noting that even in their letters of this early period, the Deccani rulers were proclaiming their adherence to *asna-i ashri* faith (i.e. Shi'ism) and their having the *Khutba* read in the name of the Shah. The earliest such contact was established in A.D. 1508, when Yusuf Adil Shah of Bijapur sent a letter to Shah Ismail Safavi through Sayyid Ahmad Harvi⁴. The court historian of Shah Abbas I, Iskandar Beg Munshi, referring to those early contacts, says that the Deccani rulers, including Nizam Shah, Adil Shah as well as Qutub Shah, were always sending embassies to the Safavid court asserting that they professed *Shi'ite* faith and were having the *khutba* recited within their dominions in the Shah's name⁵.
- 2.2 A closer examination of the political developments in the contemporary Deccan, however, goes to reveal that during the first decade of the sixteenth century a sharp rivalry existed among the States of Bijapur, Golconda, Ahmadnagar, Berar and Bidar which had only recently emerged as independent sultanates after the disintegration of the Bahmani Empire. In this situation some of the Deccan rulers, having *Shi'ite* leanings, were prone to seek Safavid moral support in their struggle against the rest of them. It is noteworthy that Yusuf Adil Shah's conversion to Shi'ism and his decision to seek Shah Ismail's moral support coincides with the beginning of his quarrel with Barid Shah, Imad Shah and Nizam Shah. In making these moves he was,

apparently, trying to strengthen his position vis-a-vis his rivals.⁶ This goes to show that the driving motive behind his decision to establish close contacts with the Safavid court was not out of a desire to make a common cause with a superior *Shi'ite* ruler but, apparently, prompted by the more mundane design of strengthening his position against his rivals in the Deccan. The attitude of Sultan Quli Qutub Shah during this time goes to strengthen this inference. Although the Golconda ruler of this period, Quli Qutub Shah had *Shi'ite* leanings (he was eventually converted to Shi'ism in A D 1509-10), there is no specific reference to any one of his embassies to Shah Ismail's court making the same kind of professions as were made on behalf of Yusuf Adil Shah.⁷ The apparent explanation for his not sending an embassy to Shah Ismail seems to be that Quli Qutub Shah, during this time, was not having any ongoing dispute with his neighbours and hence he was, apparently not particularly keen to ingratiate Shah Ismail or seek his moral support. There is, in any case, no evidence to suggest Shah Ismail's responding to Yusuf Adil Shah's above embassy by extending any help or even moral support to him.

- 2.2 The Nizam Shah's diplomatic contacts with the Safavid court seem to have begun only after Burhan Nizam Shah converted to Shi'ism under the influence of Shah Tahir in A D 1537-38.⁸ Although Burhan Nizam Shah was involved in a territorial dispute with rulers of Bijapur and Berar since A D 1507-08, on no occasion before A D 1544-45, is he reported to have established direct contact with the Safavids for winning their favour and support. It was only after Shah Tahir became his political and religious guide that he was persuaded to use the influence of this *Shi'ite* divine for gaining favour with the Safavid ruler. Shah Tahir's letter written some time during A D 1535-40 reproduced in *Nuskha-i Jami-ul Murasilat* goes to show that he was trying to impress the Safavid ruler with the spread of *Shi'ite* faith in the Nizam Shahi kingdom.⁹ It seems that he became instrumental in bringing Burhan Nizam Shah and Shah Tahmasp closer after the former was converted to Shi'ism. This is borne by Shah Tahmasp's letter to Burhan Nizam Shah of the year A D 1545-46, where the Shah urges Burhan Nizam Shah to maintain regular friendly contacts with the Safavid court and also invites him to convey his "desires" (*mud'a*) without any hesitation. As it is well known, around this time, Burhan Nizam Shah was having a dispute with the Adil Shah over the territory of Parenda. The above cryptic message of Shah Tahmasp to Burhan, in this light, could only be interpreted as a signal to the effect that he was not entirely on Adil Shah's side and was prepared to consider Burhan Nizam Shah's claims or viewpoint on the current dispute between them.
- 2.3 After the Mughal Empire was firmly established in North India it began a drive for territorial expansion towards the Deccan, which became particularly pronounced in the later years of Akbar's reign. This growing involvement of the Mughals made the Deccani rulers, including Adil Shah and Qutub Shah panicky. They started seeking Safavids' help against the Mughal expansionism. While doing so they were often induced to emphasize their adherence to Shi'ism and their special ties of allegiance to the Shah. They tended to give an impression that they were being harassed by the Sunni (*ahl-*

i khilafat) Chaghtais on account of their being close to the Safavids. They even went to the extent of attributing religious motives to the Mughals for their aggressive policy in the Deccan. In their letters to the Shah, written during the first quarter of the seventeenth century, they appear particularly keen at inciting his religious feelings. The contents of some of these letters are examined in the following pages

- 2 4 In a collection of letters entitled *Makatib-i Zamana-i Salatin-i Safawiya*, Nazir Ahmad has identified a number of letters of the rulers of Bijapur, Golconda and Ahmadnagar addressed to the Safavid ruler Shah Abbas I. These letters were written between A.D. 1609-10 to 1626-27.¹¹ Each one of these letters is bitterly denunciatory of the Mughals who sometimes are also referred to as *ahl-i khilafat*, an obviously discreet allusion to their being Sunni heretics.
- 2 5 The earliest letter of this collection is the one sent by Ibrahim Adil Shah of Bijapur through Mir Khalil *Khushnawis* in 1609-10.¹² In this letter Ibrahim Adil Shah assures Shah Abbas I that "The Deccan territories form as much a part of the Safavid Empire as the provinces of Iraq, Faras, Khurasan and Azarbaijan". He further assures him that "the names of the Safavid monarches have been recited in the (Friday) *khutba*". Further he tries to instigate the Shah to come to his rescue by invading the Mughal Empire from the North-West. A well-equipped army from the side of Qandahar be sent. So far as we are concerned, I myself along with other brothers (reference to the rulers of Golconda and Ahmadnagar) are ready to join the victorious army and it would not be too much to desire the occupation of the whole of India in no time. We hope to receive favourable reply soon".¹³
- 2 6 In another letter sent after sometime through the same envoy, Ibrahim Adil Shah describes himself as a governor of the Safavid Empire (*in subadar*) and asks the Shah to send his victory letters (*fathnama*) to him in the same manner as were sent to the other provincial governors.¹⁴
- 2 7 The contents of the above two letters are to be seen in the context of Ibrahim Adil Shah's alliance with Malik Ambar. This made him a party to Malik Ambar's struggle against the Mughals. As, around this time, the Mughal pressure on Malik Ambar and his Bijapuri allies was increasing, the latter appeared eager to persuade Shah Abbas I to create a diversion for the Mughals in the North-West. Thus we find Ibrahim Adil Shah instigating Shah Abbas I against Jahangir. Although Shah Abbas I did reciprocate the embassy of Shah Khalilullah by sending his ambassador Talib Beg in A.D. 1619-20,¹⁵ there is no evidence to suggest that he had paid serious attention to Adil Shah's urgings to invade the Mughal territories. While reporting this embassy Iskandar Beg Munshi does not make any reference to the Shah's planning to move against Qandahar around this time. As is known, Shah Abbas I eventually attacked Qandahar two years later, in A.D. 1622.¹⁶ It would, therefore, be not very correct to imagine that the above letters of Ibrahim Adil Shah were aimed at co-ordinating the moves of the Deccan States with Shah Abbas I's plan to attack Qandahar. However, it is interesting to note that, side by side, with

writing letters to Shah Abbas full of such malice and ill will for the Mughals, Adil Shah was also addressing petitions to Jahangir pledging his loyalty to the Mughal Emperor¹⁷ This goes to show that, at this time, Ibrahim Adil Shah's real concern was to dissuade the Mughals from making further annexations in the Deccan

- 2 8 Quli Qutub Shah, the ruler of Golconda, also sent a letter to Shah Abbas I, through an envoy Qazi Mustafa in A D 1609-10 In this letter he emphasized his religious and political ties with the Safavid dynasty and sought the Shah's protection against Mughal aggression Quli Qutub Shah requests the Safavid protection on the plea of his firmly believing in their "*Wilayat and imamat*"¹⁸
- 2 9 There is no indication that at that occasion Shah Abbas I made any move or sent any assurance in response to this letter But it seems that his usual response to such letters written by the Deccan rulers would be to use his friendly contacts with the Mughal court for persuading Jahangir not to be very harsh with them A letter that he sent to Jahangir in A D 1613 asking him to forgive the Deccan rulers, particularly Muhammad Qutub Shah testify to this¹⁹ A similar letter that the Shah wrote in A D 1616-17, is of particular significance, because here he assures him that if after Jahangir's condoning "the faults" of the Deccan rulers, "they do any thing contrary" to his pleasure again, then the Shah himself would take the responsibility of chastising them²⁰
- 2 10 It seems that Shah Abbas I's attitude in regard to the Deccan states continued on the above lines down to A D 1620, when he seems to have finally decided to use force against Qandahar The last letter that the Shah wrote, recommending the case of a Deccan ruler to Jahangir in the same friendly language as in the above two letters, dates back to A D 1620 itself This was a letter brought by Qasim Beg to Jahangir in which the Shah refers to the arrival of the Mughal envoy Khan Alam at the Safavid court, and requests Jahangir to allow Qasim Beg to proceed to the Deccan, so that he is able to deliver the message that the Shah had sent to the Deccan ruler without much delay²¹
- 2 11 It is significant that in the same year (1620), perhaps sometime after sending Qasim Beg to the Mughal Court, Shah Abbas I attacked Kej and Mukran (then ruled by chiefs who paid allegiance to the Mughal ruler) and occupied these two places²² Annexation of these territories adjacent to Qandahar was obviously a part of Shah Abbas I's plan to wrest Qandahar from the Mughals by force In one of his subsequent communications addressed to Muhammad Qutub Shah, Shah Abbas not only reports his annexation to Kej and Mukran but goes on to say that this would eventually pave the way for easier communication between Iran and the Deccan states²³ This appears to be a turning point in the attitude of the Safavids towards the Mughals Perhaps Shah Abbas I adopted this attitude because he thought that it was an opportune moment for snatching Qandahar from the Mughals As we know from Abdur Rahim's study on Mughal relations with Persia, till this time the Shah was pressing Jahangir to return Qandahar to the Safavids in a friendly

manner But it seems that sometime in A D 1620, a final decision was taken to use force for achieving the same goal

- 2 12 From a letter of Burhan Nizam Shah III to Shah Abbas I that he sent in A D 1620-21 through Habsh Khan,²⁴ we come to know that prior to this date, Shah Abbas had sent a communication to the Nizam Shah through Muhammadi Beg²⁵ Although the content of the communication are not known, we can assume that as, by this time, the Shah had already adopted a militant attitude towards the Mughals, the contents of this letter would have been similar to those of the Shah's above letter to Mohammad Qutub Shah It is significant that the Nizam Shahi envoy, Habsh Khan who carried the letters to the Safavid court in A D 1620, stayed on there This is an indication of the fact that the two courts were maintaining close contacts with each other throughout A D 1621 and early part of A D 1622, when Qandahar was finally taken by the Safavids It is noteworthy that Habsh Khan accompanied Shah Abbas during the siege of Qandahar Habsh Khan's presence with the Safavid army during their attack on Qandahar was surely symptomatic of the active collaboration between the Safavids and the Nizam Shahis against the Mughals on this occasion
- 2 13 We know from Abdur Rahim's study of this period that after Qandahar was occupied by Shah Abbas, he adopted a conciliatory approach towards the Mughals Now he was no longer interested in giving an impression to the Deccan States as he did since the time of his letters of the Qutub Shah and the Nizam Shah in A D 1620, that he was prepared to fight the Mughals and even extend military help to them Subsequently, he was all the time trying to explain to Jahangir his action on Qandahar, and ensure that this episode of Qandahar should not rupture Safavids-Mughals relations and lead to a prolonged conflict and tension between them²⁶

III

- 3 1 From the above discussion based on the letters exchanged between the Deccan rulers and the Safavids, it becomes apparent that the rulers of the Deccan States sought to use the power and influence of the Shah for their own interests The assertion of Abdur Rahim and S H Askari, that there was an intrigue between the rulers of the Deccan states and the Safavids against their common adversary on the basis of religious affinity, does not seem tenable On the other hand, the contention of S M Raza Naqvi that there was no such intrigue has been substantiated, to some extent, by the argument in this paper However, an understanding between the Deccan and the Safavids on some occasions cannot entirely be ruled out It is obvious from the tenor of the letters despatched by the rulers of the Deccan States that they (i.e the Deccanis) tried to incite the religious feelings of the Safavids against the Mughals But the Safavids themselves were engaged in a relationship with the Mughals in a very delicate way Notwithstanding their differences over faith, the only bone of contention between them was the possession of Qandahar

On the other hand, the Safavid rulers were exchanging embassies with the Deccani rulers from very early period, but on their part, they never responded favourably to the religious planks raised by the Deccan rulers from time to time. Although the Safavid ruler did take over the territories of Kej and Mukran, previously under nominal allegiance to the Mughals, this was not until he had finally decided to use force at Qandahar also. Shah Abbas had no clear cut intention of creating a diversion for the Mughals in Qandahar for the benefit of the Deccan rulers, he wanted to recover it for himself.

NOTES AND REFERENCES

- 1 Abdur Rahim 'Mughal Relations with Persia', *Islamic Culture*, Vol IX, 1935, pp 113-30
- 2 See Abdur Rahim, *op cit*, Also S H Askari, 'Indo-Persian Relations with special Reference to the Deccan', *Studies in Asian History*, New Delhi, 1961
- 3 S M Raza Naqvi, 'Shah Abbas and the Conflict between Jahangir and the Deccan States', *Medieval India-A Miscellany*, Vol I, Aligarh, pp 272-79
- 4 See Ferishta's *Tarikh-i Ferishta*, Nawal Kishore Press, Lucknow, 1864, Vol II, p 12
- 5 Iskandar Beg Munshi, *Tarikh-i Alam Ara-i Abbasi*, Tehran, A H 1350 (A D 1932), Vol I, p 116
- 6 Qasim Bārid, the *Wazir* of Bahmani Empire did not like the independent authority exercised by Yusuf Adil Shah of Bijapur. He made a coalition with Imad Shah and Nizam Shah against him. Ahmad Nizam Shah of Ahmadnagar had demanded the territory of Naldurg from Bijapur. On Yusuf Adil Shah's refusal to surrender that territory, he joined the alliance of Barid Shah and Imad Shah. The joint forces of these allies marched against Bijapur in 1504-05. For details, see *Tarikh-i Ferishta*, Vol II, p 5. Also M A Nayeem's *External Relations of Bijapur Kingdom* (A D 1489-1686), Hyderabad, 1974, pp 20, 78, Radhey Shyam's *The Kingdom of Ahmadnagar*, Delhi, 1966, p 42
- 7 The author of *Alam Ara-i Abbasi*, Vol I, p 116, has mentioned about the arrival of embassies on earlier occasions from Adil Shah, Qutub Shah and Nizam Shah but he was writing during the reign of Shah Abbas I (A D 1589-1628). He has not given any specific reference to Qutub Shahi embassy during the reign of Shah Ismail Safavi.
- 8 For Burhan Nizam Shah's conversion to Shi'ism under the influence of Shah Tahir, see Saiyid Ali Tabataba, *Burhan-i Maasir*, Delhi, 1936, p 251. Also *Tarikh-i Ferishta*, Vol II, p 104
- 9 See Abul Qasim Haidar Aiwaghi's *Nuskhah-i Jami-ul Murasilat*, B M MS Add 7688, fol 824a-b. Cited from Riazul Islam's *Calendar of Documents on Indo-Persian Relations*, Tehran and Karachi, 1979, Vol II, p 122
- 10 For Shah Tahmasp's letter to Burhan Nizam Shah, see Khwar Shah bin Qubad-ul Husaini, *Tarikh-i Qutbi*, (ed.) Syed M H Zaidi, New Delhi, 1960, pp 95-96. The British Museum Manuscript of this book is entitled as *Tarikh-i Elchi-i Nizam Shah*, B M MS 23513
- 11 *Makatib-i Zamana-i Salatin-i Safawiya*, Asafiya Library, Hyderabad, MS No 1214, Fol 404, Nazir Ahmad has published six letters in *Medieval India-A Miscellany*, Vol I, Aligarh, 1969, pp 280-300
- 12 Iskandar Beg Munshi gives the date of Mir Khalil's arrival of the Safavid court around A D 1612-13, vide *Alam Ara-i Abbasi*, Vol II, p 866
- 13 *Makatib-i Zamana-i Salatin-i Safawiya*, f 404. For text of the letter, see *Medieval India-A Miscellany*, Vol I, pp 280-85. For translation of the letter see M A Nayeem, *External Relations of Bijapur Kingdom*, Appendix-I, pp 275-76. Also Riazul Islam, *Calendar of Documents*, Vol II, pp 131-33

- 14 *Medieval India-A Miscellany*, Vol I, pp 285-87 For translation, see *Calendar of Documents*, Vol II, p 136
- 15 *Alam Ara'i Abbasi*, Vol III, p 951
- 16 Jahangir's *Tuzuk-i Jahangiri*, ed Syed Ahmad Khan, Aligarh, 1864, pp 344-45 *Alam Ara-i Abbasi*, Vol III, p 970
- 17 *Tuzuk-i Jahangiri*, p 142
- 18 *Medieval India-A Miscellany*, Vol I, pp 291-94 For translation of the letter see *Calendar of Documents* Vol II, pp 146-47
- 19 Abdul Husain Nasiri al-Tusi, *Munsha'at-i Tusi*, Blochet, 2338, ff 165b-66b Cited from *Calendar of Documents*, Vol II, p 171
- 20 Muhammad Salih, *Majmua-i Makatib-i Muktalifa*, Majlis Library (Tehran), MS 2247, (Catalogue X, 3349), ff (p) 33-34 Cited from *Calendar of Documents*, Vol II, p 182
- 21 *Jahangirnama*, MS R A S Also, see Nasrullah Falsafi, *Zindagani-i Shah Abbas Awwal*, Tehran, 1955, Vol IV, pp 302-03 For the translation of the letter see *Calendar of Documents*, Vol I, p 194
- 22 *Alam Araa-i Abbasi*, Vol III, p 958
- 23 See Anonymous *Tarikh-i Qutb Shahi*, India Office, MS 179, Ethe 456, i/176, ff 239b-41a
- 24 *Medieval India-A Miscellany*, Vol I, pp 294-95
- 25 For Mohammadi Beg's embassy to Ahmadnagar, see *Alam Ara-i Abbasi*, Vol III, p 951
- 26 For Shah Abbas I's letter, justifying the occupation of Qandahar and assuaging and requesting Jahangir to maintain cordial relations, see *Jami-ul Insha*, fol 72b-74a For Jahangir's reply, see *Ibid*, fol 274b-75a Also see *Tuzuk-i Jahangiri*, pp 348, 350-52

ABDUL QADIR BADAUNI - A VOICE IN THE WILDERNESS

FAUZIA ZAREEN ABBAS*

I

- 1 1 Love and hatred are the two strongest passions in man and both refuse to see man in his original light and shade. Abdul Fazl's love of Akbar "that paragon of greatness" made him see nothing but virtue and wisdom in his benefactor. Badauni looked upon him as a "renegade", who surrounded by sycophants and minions, crossed the Rubicon and indulged in religious experiments.
- 1 2 The Age of Akbar was prolific in historical literature and registered an advancement in medieval historiographical traditions. During this period three great men of letters compiled history. Abul Fazl the official historian projected the monarch in his full glory. His language was laboured and ornate. Abul Fazl used involved and intricate language and it is behind a plethora of high sounding words that he concealed certain aspects of Akbar's reign which would otherwise adversely reflect on the Emperor's dignity or wisdom. Nizam-ud-din Ahmed wrote a simple, detached narrative of political events. As for Abdul Qadir Badauni, he wrote for posterity. His *Muntakhab-ut Tawarikh* is a political chronicle with a different slant and a different motivation. He presented his simple, straight forward account in plain language. Badauni's work is History written with suppressed ebullition an outburst of his emotions. It is the only historical work written during the reign of Akbar but not for Akbar.

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- 1 3 With present day emphasis on secularism and religious synthesis, the views of Abdul Qadir Badauni and his traditional approach to religious problems appear to have been overshadowed. The emphasis on the work of Abul Fazl, *Akbar Nama* and *Ain-Akbari* have been so overwhelming that Badauni's personality has been eclipsed and deprived of its share of glory. He has been misrepresented and misinterpreted by historians.
- 1 4 Badauni finds himself in a very uncomfortable position as on the one hand he owes allegiance to Islam because of his upbringing and early influences and education but on the other hand he is conscious that his livelihood will be threatened if he dares to become an obstacle in the innovative schemes of the Emperor. But as he wished to present a true picture to posterity therefore he started writing his book in secret, not even sure whether it would see the 'light of day'.
- 1 5 Badauni took the most significant step of extending the scope and conspectus of history by including in his work the accounts of the literary, religious and social activities of the people belonging to different walks of life - as he felt it was essential to study man in relation to his environmental, irrespective of any class bias. The emphasis broadly is on life (culture), Labour (form of work), and language (linguistic of persons).
- 1 6 An interesting feature of the *Muntakhab-ut Tawarikh* is the intertwining of personal notes with the narrative - through these we get to know of Badauni's upbringing¹ and early life², his education³, his appointment as Imam⁴ etc. It is from the *Muntakhab-ut Tawarikh* that we get details of the *Karori* system⁵, the *Mahzar*⁶, the reading of the *Khutba* from the Mosque at Fatehpur Sikri⁷, control of the *Aima* grants⁸, the details of the *Ibadat Khana* ⁹ etc.
- 1 7 In this paper I would not like to point out the sensitive nature of Badauni as is evident from the numerous couplets, quatrains, long elegies and short excerpts from poems and his own poetry as recorded in the *Muntakhab-ut Tawarikh*. Keeping in mind the motive of the historical work one will find that these verses actually yield additional information. Badauni wished to present a true picture to posterity, but he was conscious of the fact that he could only write in a guarded language. His sensitivity and insight is apparent from these verses and exclamations. In some, there is a warning for posterity, in others there is faith in God's mercy, yet in others there are reflections of his insight about the unstable conditions of man's existence and human relationships. All concerns arising from the flux in society during Akbar's reign.
- 1 8 There are occasions when Badauni longs for the good company of friends, and on being frustrated at Akbar's court he cries out -

To be in a prison in the company of friends
Is better than to be in a garden with strangers ¹⁰

On being depressed and dejected he says -

I am not one to weep from grief of heart
But this load of grief heavily oppresses my heart ¹¹

Being upset at the conditions at the Court he says

If the egg of a black-natured crow
you put under a pea-hen of paradise,
If at the time of sitting on that egg,
You give it its millet from the figs of Paradise
If you give it its water from the fountain of Salsabil,
If Gabriel breath e his breath over the egg,
In the end the young of a crow is a crow
And the pea-hen will spend her trouble in vain ¹²

- 1 9 In the ultimate analysis there would be no shades of grey unless there was a black and a white Akbar stands as an epoch in history somewhere between Abul Fazl's legitimization of his authority both religious and political and Badauni's rejection of Akbar's religious authority

NOTES AND REFERENCES

- 1 Badauni, A Q , *Muntakhab-ut Tawarikh*, vol I, pp 363-4, vol II, p 236
- 2 *Ibid*
- 3 Badauni, A Q , *Najat-ur Rashid*, p 104, *Muntakhab-ut Tawarikh*, vol II, p 286, vol III, pp 2-3
- 4 *Muntakhab-ut Tawarikh*, vol II, pp 206, 226
- 5 *Ibid*, p 189
- 6 *Ibid*, pp 268, 270
- 7 *Ibid*, p 270
- 8 *Ibid*, p 204
- 9 *Ibid*, p 200
- 10 *Ibid*, p 188
- 11 *Ibid*, vol III, p 91
- 12 *Ibid*, vol II, p 349

IMPLEMENTATION OF ESCHEAT UNDER SHAHJAHAN SOME IMPLICATIONS

FIRDOS ANWAR*

I

- 1 1 The King and the Nobility were the two essential components of the governing class in the medieval period. The element of inter-dependence in between the two led to the internal cohesion while the factor of mutual contradiction created a gulf between them. To solve this problem Akbar initiated the practice of maintaining an equilibrium between these elements of interdependence and contradiction. On one hand he demanded total surrender from the nobles, on the other he granted some soothing concessions like forgiving the 'wrong-doers' after their submission, extending sympathy to the family of a deceased noble and by usually distributing the property of the deceased noble among his heirs etc. The King's attitude towards the property of a deceased noble may be analysed with reference to the implications of crown-nobility relationship. Due to its financial implications the issue becomes more important and needs careful analysis.

- 1 2 Scholars from time to time have taken up this question and have drawn valuable conclusions regarding the nature, origin and application of the practice of escheat under the Mughals. Jadu Nath Sarkar, who has examined this issue from different angles,¹ justifies this practice and defends the Mughal rulers in these words, "It would, in my opinion, be unhistoric to suppose that these escheats were originally due to a wicked desire of the autocratic

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sovereign to seize his subjects' rightful property when they were no longer to defend it "² But while assessing its practical effect he condemns escheat as "most harmful" because in his opinion the fear of this practice led to the growing extravagance of the nobility and made it "a selfish band" ³

1 3 The subsequent writers like Abdul Aziz,⁴ Mohammad Yasin,⁵ Jagdish Narayan Sarkar,⁶ Syed Athar Abbas Rizvi,⁷ etc seem to be in agreement with Jadu Nath Sarkar and have followed almost the same line of argument From these writings it emerges

- 1 that escheat was implemented by the Mughal rulers atleast since the days of Akbar for which sufficient evidence is available,
- 2 that *Mutaliba* or state-dues was the foremost justification for its implementation,
- 3 and finally, that although it was not a barbaric act to ruin the family of a deceased noble, yet its effects were harmful for the polity and economy of the Mughal empire and it left far-reaching impressions upon the attitude and outlook of the Mughal nobility

1 4 It seems that so far the scholars have concentrated upon the issue of existence of escheat, magnifying it with some cases of its implementation drawn from the period of different rulers Probing into the magnitude of this practice with reference to specific rulers and their nobles, has drawn but little attention of the scholars In this regard M Athar Ali deserves mention as he has discussed this issue with special reference to Aurangzeb's period ⁸ Unfortunately, Shahjahan's reign still awaits such an analysis ⁹

1 5 In this paper an attempt is made to analyse the motives, extent of implementation, and social, political and economic impact of the system of escheat during Shahjahan's reign On the practice of escheat under Shahjahan we have valuable information in the accounts of foreign travellers¹⁰ as well as in the Persian chronicles ¹¹

1 6 Let us first examine Lahori's evidence in this regard as his account is authentic and reliable for the first two decades of Shahjahan's reign About Yamin-ud Daulah Asaf Khan, he writes that the Khan left behind a cash of two crore and fifty lakhs of rupees Out of this, 20 lakhs were distributed among his sons and daughters and the Haweli of Lahore was conferred upon Dara ¹² It is also stated that Asaf Khan himself had specified his assets and had requested the emperor to resume all this in full ¹³ Another case is that of Khan-i Dauran Nusrat Jung, after whose death only 60 lakhs of rupees were resumed ¹⁴ Perhaps these two are the only instances of escheat mentioned by Lahori in his voluminous Badshah Nama

1 7 However, Salih's work, which covers Shahjahan's total reign, preserves more examples of escheat About Islam Khan Mashhadī, he writes that the hoarded wealth of the khan was conferred upon his heirs after his death ¹⁵ Raja Bithaldas Gaur is another interesting example mentioned by him The Raja left

Rs 10 lakhs which were distributed by the emperor among his sons Raja Anurodh got Rs 6 lakhs, Arjun 3 lakhs, Rs 60,000 went to Bhim and Rs 40,000 to Harjis ¹⁶ About Ali Mardan Khan, Salih writes that his total wealth - cash and kind - worth Rs 1 crore was seized ¹⁷ He further adds that Rs 50 lakhs were distributed among his sons (i.e. Rs 30 lakhs to Ibrahim Khan, Rs 20 lakhs to other three sons and daughters) and Rs 50 lakhs only were resumed against the state demand (*mutaliba*) ¹⁸

- 1 8 Farid Bhakkari also helps us and provides useful information in this regard. Perhaps he has mentioned about 6 cases of escheat pertaining to Shahjahan's reign. In case of Khan-i Dauran he differs with Lahori and writes that the Khan's total wealth was confiscated ¹⁹ But his statement cannot be preferred over the exact figures of Khan's wealth given by Lahori, as is mentioned above. However, in case of Islam Khan Mashhadi, he has made an interesting addition. It is that, the Khan during his lifetime burnt all the genuine records in order to hide his actual assets and sent a fake list to the court. But the emperor being well aware of all this gave due consideration to Khan's sincere devotion and past services to the Mughal Crown and gave away all his wealth to his heirs ²⁰ In case of Ali Mardan Khan, unlike Salih, Farid does not speak a single word about the confiscation of wealth ²¹ However, he has made an addition by referring to a reaction to the attempt of escheat in case of Mirza Rustam Safavi. When the Mustasaddis of Agra tried to capture the wealth of the deceased Khan, his widow prepared to check them and pleaded that his family had served the Mughals for the last 50 years, how then their property could be seized like others? When the matter was reported to Shahjahan, he was much pleased with her style and left all the property of the Khan with his heirs except his elephants ²² Almost the same attitude of the Crown peeps out of Mahabat Khan's case. He had quite frankly declared all his wealth before his death and had warned his wife not to hide a single penny. Still everything except his elephants was restored to his heirs after his death ²³ Perhaps the last case of escheat mentioned by Farid is that of Bahadur Khan, son of Darya Khan Rohilla, whose belongings too, except elephants, were left with his heirs after his death ²⁴
- 1 9 Finally we take up Shah Nawaz Khan's evidence in this regard. To say that he has simply reproduced the information given by Lahori, Salih and Farid will not be unfair to him. Quite rarely, he seems to have added something new to our knowledge. In case of Khan-i Dauran he adds that the Khan himself had fixed the share of each son in his wealth, but Shahjahan, quite generously gave to his sons even more than his desire ²⁵ About Wazir Khan Hakim Alimuddin, a Sheikhzada of Chinot, he writes only this much that the Hakim prepared a complete list of his wealth and belongings and submitted it to the emperor ²⁶ Whether escheat was enforced or not in this case is not certain.
- 1 10 Under the light of the evidence given above some general observations may be made. The foremost thing that strikes, is the fewness of such cases where escheat is enforced. From the voluminous contemporary and near contemporary works mentioned above, one gets, roughly speaking, just seven or eight

such cases This could not be simply because of the carelessness of these writers As otherwise their works stand testimony to their insight, reasoning, analytical power and observing capacity Besides this, it is not possible that all of them should have suppressed the information on one particular issue A few tentative explanations may be given for the lack of such evidences

- 1 Perhaps escheat was not enforced as a general rule so as to cover the whole lot of the Nobility, therefore the historians recorded its enforcement in the few rare cases only This point gets strength when we look into the *mansab* and status of those nobles whose property was put to escheat after their death The first notable thing is that all such nobles belonged to the first category of the *mansabdar* (i.e. 5000 *zat* and above), hence highly placed nobles in the socio-political set-up Secondly, most of them enjoyed the special favour of *Do-aspa Sih-aspa* Since this favour added to the military strength of the nobles, it had a direct bearing upon the Crown-Nobility relationship It is to be borne in mind that cordiality of relations between the Crown and the Nobility, basically depended upon maintaining an equilibrium between the elements of interdependence and mutual contradiction
- 1 11 In India nobility had no base in land and derived power mainly from its military contingents, determined by the *sawar* rank This rank occupied special importance On one hand, the military strength and efficiency of the empire depended upon it, on the other, this strength determined the power, position and ultimately the limits of the ambitions of the nobility Larger share of an individual or a group of nobles in the total awarded *sawar* ranks, obviously, suggests greater faith and more dependence of the Crown upon it So, *Do-aspa Sih-aspa* being a part of the *sawar* rank, multiplied the military strength - the real source of power of the nobility - and almost in the same proportion increased the degree of crown's dependence upon the former Thus, with the growth of military power of the nobility there increased a possibility of disturbing the balance between the elements of inter-dependence and mutual contradiction which governed the relations of the crown and the nobility So the enforcement of escheat in case of most of the *Do-aspa Sih-aspa* holders implies a well calculated policy of asserting absolute authority, theoretically resting with the crown - the creator of the nobility In other words escheat was enforced in such cases to underline the basic principle that a noble howsoever wealthy, powerful or influential he might be, was nothing more than a small fry before the emperor who in principle was the real fountain of authority He created the nobility, bestowed power and dignity upon them and he only preserved the prerogative of resuming their wealth and personal property partly or fully Therefore, it may be tentatively suggested that only the *grandees* and not all the nobles were subjected to escheat - hence, no mention of its enforcement in our sources on a wider level
- 1 12 The casual reference to the enforcement of escheat in the above mentioned sources, may also be reviewed with a direct reference to its economic impact upon the nobles The following table drawn with the help of the above

mentioned works, though incomplete in some respects, gives a rough idea of the total assets of the deceased nobles, their *mansab* and the amount in cash or items resumed by the state. This will help in assessing the real economic burden the nobility had to share because of escheat and thus it will minimize the scope of generalisation, biased and subjective interpretation of the impact of this practice

Name of Noble	Mansab	Assets in cash (in Rs)	Amount/Items confiscated (in Rs)	Amount left with heirs (in Rs)
Yaminuddaulah Asaf Khan	9000/9000 2h x 3h	2 crore & 50 lakhs	2 crore & 30 lakhs	20 lakhs
Khan-i Dauran Nusrat Jung	7000/7000 5000x2h-3h	1 crore	60 lakhs	40 lakhs
Islam Khan Mashhadī	7000/7000 5000x2h-3h	—	—	Total assets
Raja Bithaldas Gaur	5000/5000 2500x2h-3h	10 lakhs	—	Total assets
Ali Mardan Khan	7000/7000 5000x2h-3h	1 crore	50 lakhs	50 lakhs
Mirza Rustam Safavi	6000/6000	—	only elephants	Total assets
Mahabat Khan	7000/7000 H2hx3h	—	only elephants	Total assets
Bahadur Khan Rohilla	5000/5000 2h-3h	—	only elephants	Total assets

This table suggests

- 1 That the total wealth of a deceased noble was never resumed
- 2 The amount confiscated under this head, perhaps had some link with the *mansab*, status and financial position of the deceased. That is why about 92% of the total wealth was confiscated under the Law of escheat after the death of Asaf Khan who enjoyed the highest post and *mansab* under Shahjahan. The escheated amount was comparatively less in case of lower *mansabdar* as is evident from its proportion in the total wealth of Khan-i Dauran & Ali Mardan Khan, both 'Haft Hazar' with the distinction of 5000 *sawar* x 2h-3h. In case of the former the resumed wealth was about 60% of his total wealth while in the latter case it was 50%.

3 And, finally it may be said that the enforcement of escheat was more to underline the king's prerogative than doing any financial harm to the nobility. That is why in 5 cases out of 8 the escheated wealth was restored in full to the descendants of the deceased nobles. However, elephants were taken away from the property of 3 nobles out of these five.

1 13 On the whole, it seems that the system had no serious economic implications and did not affect the majority of the nobles. It was not a very significant thing to catch greater attention of our contemporary authorities. Another interesting thing in this regard is the fact that mostly the nobles voluntarily submitted the details of their assets before death. This suggests that perhaps the nobles were not afraid of escheat. Being well aware of its nature they were sure that it was not meant to do much harm to the financial prospects of their heirs. Shahjahan's attitude to the wealth of Islam Khan Mashhadī who is reported to have burnt all the genuine records in order to hide his real wealth, would have given extra satisfaction to the nobles and must have eliminated the fear from them.

1 14 The fact that the seizure of the property partly or fully, was not generally differed by the heirs of the *mansabdar*, reveals that it was not regarded to be an act of injustice. Therefore, they quietly accepted the share allocated by the emperor either according to his own sweet will or the will of the deceased noble.²⁷

From the above discussion one may arrive at some tentative conclusions.

1 Since escheat was enforced only in a few selected cases (for the reasons explained above), its universal implementation under Shahjahan may easily be ruled out.

2 The evidence cited above suggests that escheat was not an exciting economic gain for the state. It was not supposed to enrich the royal exchequer as a temporary or a permanent source of income.²⁸

3 Economic devastation or ruin of the nobility was not the main consideration working behind the enforcement of escheat.

4 The nature and implications of escheat may be properly understood if analysed with a direct reference to the typical format of relationship that existed between the king and his nobles, throughout the Mughal period. It seems that escheat was one of the well tried equations to maintain the much needed equilibrium between the elements of interdependence and contradiction, which dominated this relationship. Its enforcement exclusively in case of the *Umara-i Uzzam*, confirms that it was some sort of an anti dose to neutralise the intoxicating effect of wealth and power of such grandees. It served as a safety valve to release extra pressure which could harm the required balance of power. Escheat underlined the dependence of the nobility upon the Mughal crown in principle. This tinge of supremacy was considered necessary to make the nobles realise that

even their personal wealth could be appropriated by their heirs only with the consent of the king. This principle was also applied to the assets of Mumtaz Zamani, which amounted to Rs 1 crore and the emperor personally fixed the share of the princes and princesses in this wealth.²⁹

- 1 15 So, it may hypothetically be suggested that the system of escheat, at least during Shahjahan's reign, was more theoretical and legal in nature and had a nominal economic significance. It seems to be more symbolic of Crown's supremacy than anything else. That is why its enforcement did not cause any breach between the crown and the nobility as is suggested by our contemporary and later authorities. Pertaining to these implications, perhaps, escheat could not invite special attention of the Persian chroniclers of Shahjahan's period. It could excite the feelings and enrage the minds of only the foreigners against whose generalisations, one should always be on his guards.

NOTES AND REFERENCES

- 1 Jadu Nath Sarkar, *Mughal Administration*, Calcutta, 1952, chapter IX, pp 146-160. He has derived its origin from the old Turanian practice which was continued as a tradition under the Mughals in India, (p 154). Justifying the implementation of escheat, he writes, "the military accounts could never be cleared and no officers' exact dues and liabilities to the state could be ascertained in his lifetime and hardly even after his death. Under the circumstances the safest course for the emperor was to escheat the dead man's property immediately after his death, and then think of setting his account with the government treasury" (p 150).
- 2 *Ibid*, p.155
- 3 *Ibid*, p 156-57. He feels that escheat prevented the growth of private capital and damaged the economy of the country. "It also made the Mughal nobility a selfish band, prompt in deserting to the winning side in every war of succession or foreign invasion because they knew that their lands and even personal property were not assured to them, but depended solely on the pleasure of the king defector" (pp 156-157).
- 4 Abdul Aziz, *The Mansabdari System and the Mughal Army*, Delhi, 1972 (Reprint), p 156. He writes, "all cash and valuables belonging to a *mansabdar* (were) escheated at his death to the crown, in theory the owner and heir of all real and personal property in the country" (p 156).
- 5 Mohammad Yasin, *A Social History of Islamic India (1605-1748)*, Delhi, 1974, p 19, n. He observes that escheat "was generally in vogue in medieval India" (p 19, n). He seems to have fully relied upon the writings of the foreign travellers like Manucci, Hawkins and Bernier but has analysed not a single reign of any medieval ruler to establish his conjecture, which induces us to accept world-wide implementation of this practice.
- 6 Jagdish Narayan Sarkar, *Mughal Polity*, Delhi, 1984, pp 364-71. He gives a general resume of this practice corroborating the conclusions of Jadu Nath Sarkar.
- 7 S A A Rizvi, *The Wonder that was India*, London, 1987, p 181. He is very brief on this subject and follows the same trend set by Jadu Nath Sarkar.
8. M Athar Ali, *The Mughal Nobility under Aurangzeb*, Bombay, 1970, pp 65-67. He seems to be mainly occupied with the question of its enforcement and rounds up the motives in these words, "it is not quite clear in all these cases whether the seizure was only to recover the *mutaliba* or to enforce the right of escheat" (p 67).
- 9 B P Saksena, *History of Shahjahan of Delhi*, Allahabad, 1958.

- 10 F Bernier, *Travels in Mughal Empire*, Delhi, 1989 (Reprint), pp 163-65, 204, Manucci, *Storie do Mogor*, London, 1907-1908, Vol I, pp 171, 195, 198 Bernier condemns the practice of escheat as 'barbarous' (p 163) and regards this as " a custom in consequence of which the widows of so many great Omrahs are plunged suddenly into a state of wretchedness and destitution, compelled to solicit the Monarch for a scanty pittance, while their sons are driven to the necessity of enlisting as private soldiers under the command of some Omrah " (p 164) Such comments of the travellers should be analysed keeping a basic fact in mind that they were obsessed with the ideas of sanctity of private property and hereditary nobility, therefore they attacked the Mughal rulers vehemently and condemned the practice of escheat disgracefully
- 11 Badauni, *Muntakhab-ut Tawarikh*, tr, W H Lowe, Delhi, 1973, Vol II, p 221, Mohd Salih, *Amal-i Salih*, ed G Yazdani, Bib Ind, Calcutta, 1945-46, Vol III, pp 242-48 (hereafter Salih), Abdul Hameed Lahori, *Badshah Nama*, ed Maulvi Kabiruddin and Maulvi Abdul Rahim, Bib Ind, Calcutta, 1867-68, Vol II, pp 258-59, 426-28 (hereafter Lahori) Ali Mohd Khan, *Mirat-i Ahmadi*, ed Syed Nawab Ali, Baroda, 1928, Vol I, pp 135, 267, 319, 326 The implementation of Aurangzeb's orders, introducing radical changes in the practice of escheat, is discussed by M Athar Ali, *op cit*, pp 65-67
- 12 *Lahori*, Vol II, pp 258-59, *Tarikh-i Shahjahanī*, p 96 (Rotograph, AMU, Aligarh)
- 13 *Lahori*, Vol II, pp 258-59
- 14 *Ibid*, pp 426-28 Lahori does not mention his total wealth, but according to Farid Bhakkari the Khan left Rs 1 crore in cash and other things worth 2 crores of rupees See *Zakhirat-ul-Khawanin*, ed S Moinul-Haq, Karachi, 1961, 1970 & 1974, Vol III, p 25 (hereafter Z Kh)
- 15 *Salih*, Vol III, Calcutta, 1930, p 9
- 16 *Ibid*, pp 131-32 (Lahore edition)
- 17 *Ibid*, pp 243-45 Salih uses the words, "ba halqa-i zabt dar amda'
- 18 *Ibid*
- 19 *Z Kh* Vol III, p 25
- 20 *Ibid*, pp 26-27, Shah Nawaz Khan repeats this story (*Maasir-ul Umara*), ed Maulvi Abdul Rahim, Bib Ind, 1888, Vol I, pp 165-66 (hereafter M U)
- 21 *Z kh*, Vol III, pp 27-29
- 22 *Ibid*, Vol I, pp 100-101 This incident is reproduced by Shah Nawaz Khan (M U, Vol III, pp 407-8)
- 24 *Z Kh*, Vol III, p 49 Sha Nawaz Khan confirms this (M U, Vol I, pp 423-24)
- 25 *M U*, Vol III, pp 933-36
- 26 *Ibid*, Vol III, pp 933-36
- 27 The generosity of Shahjahan in the distribution of the wealth of the deceased nobles is evident from the case of Khan-i Dauran whose heirs got a share which was more than the desire of the late Khan (M U I, p 757) In case of Bithaldas and others too total wealth was distributed among the descendants, (*Salih*, III, pp 131-132, 9, *Z Kh*, III, pp 26-27, *Z Kh*, II, pp 163-65, *Z Kh*, III, p 49, etc)
- 28 Aurangzeb's *farman* introducing radical reforms in the system of escheat, fully confirm this *Mirat-i Ahmadi*, *op cit*, I, pp 135-267, 319 & 326
- 29 *Lahori*, I, p 393

NEW LIGHT ON SOME EVENTS OF EARLY YEARS OF AURANGZEB'S REIGN

IQBAL HUSAIN*

I

- 1 1 Recently the Centre of Advanced Study in History, Aligarh acquired xerox copies of Persian Documents from H S Mathur collection Rajasthan Archives, Bikaner. A number of these documents consist of reports or letters of the *Wakils* of Maharajas Jaswant Singh and possibly another noble (*Khan?*) holding Nagaur in *jagir*. The collection also preserves some early *farmans* of Akbar. Most of the letters and *arzdasht* which are not originals but copies made apparently in the 18th century, do not carry names of the writers except two where, incidentally, in the contents their names appear. These are also not dated. However, in some of the documents, the writers mention events and their dates, which enable us to determine their approximate dates with the help of other contemporary information. The documents are very interesting from the historical point of view as they throw light on some of the important events of the period which have been cursorily recorded or even overlooked in the historical accounts of the period. I have selected five letters and *arzdasht* for the present study. They have been translated, omitting, however, the long titles and other complimentary forms of address, and arranged chronologically for the convenience of study.

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- 1 2 Doc No 1 gives an insight into the corruption prevailing in the Mughal administration. Even officers of higher positions were quite amenable. They could be bribed and induced to suppress news of refractory activities of elements who openly defied and indulged into plunder and committed atrocities on people and loyal officers. The document refers to Maharaja Jaswant Singh's 'seizure of *jagir* of the *mansabdar* within his *zamindari*' and act of plunder or oppression committed there on his behalf. These acts were reported to the Khan-i Khanan Zafar Jang, the *subedar* of Ajmer, who ordered that these be reported to the Emperor. On getting this information, Mitrasen, the Wakil of the Maharaja visited the residence of the Governor's Chief Clerk (*peshkar-i khas-i wala*), 'entertained him in the worldly ways' and persuaded him not to send any news to the Emperor concerning the complaint. The *peshkar*, having apparently accepted the bribe, agreed to suppress the news provided the 'khan-i Khanan does not remember it'.
- 1 3 The document is undated but the contents clearly help us in determining the date which is about the end of March 1658. The Wakil of the Maharaja suggests him that he should come 'with a respectable body' and appear before the Emperor who was then encamped near Ajmer. It may be recalled that Jaswant Singh was an adherent of Dara Shukoh and had been defeated near Ujjain on 15 April 1658. Aurangzeb pursuing Dara Shukoh was encamped at village Deorai (about six miles away from Ajmer) on 21 March 1658.¹ Maharaja Jaswant Singh seems to be then active in his *zamindari* in plundering *jagirdar* perhaps absent on military campaigning as is referred to by Mitrasen. This document also contains the suggestion to Maharaja Jaswant Singh that 'he should keep the *Waqainigar* and *Sawanihnavis* satisfied' by doing him some favour (*suluk*) 'so that on no account anything is reported as it is the beginning of the reign'. At the end of the petition the Wakil says that he had spent 'five to six hundred rupees in suppressing the complaint' and requests that 'if now the Diwan of the *suba* writes, money is required for expenses so that this could be prevented'.
- 1 4 Doc, No 2 (*Arzdasht* from Manohar, Wakil of Maharaja Jaswant Singh), refers to the circumstances and his own efforts in the restoration of the title of Maharaja to his master. As is well known, Shahjahan appointed him *subedar* of Malwa on 25 February 1658 conferring on him the title of Maharaja.² Jaswant Singh led imperial troops against Aurangzeb at the battle of Dharmat (23 April 1658).³ After his defeat, Jaswant Singh fled to Jodhpur.⁴ On the recommendations of Maharaja Jai Singh he was pardoned on 24 August 1658.⁵ He was ordered to proceed to Delhi and stay there till the arrival of the Emperor.⁶ On reaching Delhi Aurangzeb honoured him without however restoring him the title of Maharaja.⁷ Jaswant Singh remained with Aurangzeb till 17 January 1659, but he deserted him at Kora on 14 January 1660.⁸ Maharaja Jai Singh once again pleaded his case with Aurangzeb. Consequently he was pardoned and appointed *subedar* of Gujarat on 19 March 1660. The title of Maharaja conferred upon him by Shahjahan was, however, not restored to him, Jaswant Singh was quite anxious for the

restoration of his title for which according to the present document, he asked his *Wakil* to make an effort. Accordingly Manohar pursued the matter through Ja'far Khan, the *wazir*. But the Emperor did not respond favourably. The *Wakil* adds that the displeasure of the Emperor was mainly due to the 'excessive slanders of Maharaja Jai Singh which defy expression'. The *Wakil*, got an opportunity to fulfill the desire of his patron, by the entry of Daud Khan Qureshi⁹ into Aurangzeb's service.¹⁰ Like Jaswant Singh, Daud Khan was also a very loyal and 'the ablest and most faithful among the servants of Dara'.¹¹

- 1 5 After parting company with Dara Shukoh he retired to Hisar Firuza. From there he sent a petition to Aurangzeb. He was immediately honoured with a robe of honour (*Khila'at*). On 3 December 1658, he received a *mansab* of 4000/3000.¹² The same day Jaswant Singh was also honoured through restoration of his title. Meanwhile Daud Khan was assigned the *haveli* of Jaswant Singh for residence despite a plea by his *Wakil* that it would soon be needed by Jaswant Singh's son. Manohar appeared before Daud Khan and 'offered a sum of two thousand rupees in token of hospitality on behalf of Jaswant Singh. Thereafter, he secured his confidence and persuaded him to raise the issue of the restoration of the title in the Court. Seizing an opportunity during the course of discussion about the battle of Dharmat and Aurangzeb's appreciation of the valour of Jaswant Singh, Daud Khan recommended the restoration to him of his coveted title of Maharaja. He succeeded in securing Aurangzeb's orders and got a *farman* issued in favour of Jaswant Singh restoring the title of Maharaja on 9 November 1660.¹³ Doc 2, being the *Vakil's* report of this important gain for his master, must have been written around this time.
- 1 6 Doc, no 3 writer and addressee unknown (but possibly from Indar Singh's *vakil* to his master) refers to Aurangzeb's arrival at Bhimbhar in the beginning of Jamad, II (January, 1663 (?))¹⁴ where the nobles offered him presents.¹⁵ There is an interesting reference in this *arzdasht* to the summing of Ja'far Khan *Subadar* of Ujjain to the Imperial Court.¹⁶ On his arrival is said to have received with great kindness and conferred honours by Aurangzeb. Mohammad Kazim while corroborating the statement is more illuminating. He says that Ja'far Khan was summoned from Malwa in September 1663 for raising him to the position of *Wizarat* after the death of Fazil Khan. It may be pointed out that Fazil Khan was appointed *diwan* after the death of Raja Raghu Nath in Kashmir on 11 June, 1663. Fazil Khan also died on 3 July 1663. Consequently the position became vacant and Ja'far Khan was summoned. The *arzdasht* reveals that Lalman Khatri, the agent of Raja Raghu Nath, who also worked as his assistant in the Imperial Court, was 'appointed to work in the same capacity' under Ja'far Khan.
- 1 7 Doc No 4 Letter addressed to Khan (full name not given), probably a *jagirdar* in *sarkar* Nagaur, tells us the addressee that the *Karori* (King's revenue Collector) of Maroth (Marot) had reported to Marhamat Khan,¹⁷

subedar of Ajmer that Kesari Singh Rathor, resides in Khan's *jagir* and had been committing robberies and thefts in the country. This greatly annoyed the *subedar*. He desired that a report be sent to the Emperor. On getting this information the *Wakil* intervened and dissuaded Marhamat Khan from sending a report. But he calls upon the addressee to expel Kesari Singh Rathor from the *des* (country) as extending protection to bad characters was not the way of wise persons. This letter contains an interesting piece of information also which reveals that how the Mughal authorities were keen to keep the Imperial highway clear of the robbers. It says that Mahabat Khan (Governor of Gujarat 1662-67) sent some packages of fruits for the Emperor through the carriers who were intercepted at village Bamrali, *pargana* Sajhat in the territory of Jaswant Singh where five to six packages of fruits were seized. The carriers complained with Marhamat Khan who despatched forty cavalry men to Jodhpur with directions to the Jaswant Singh's officers (*gumashtas*) of that place to deal with the criminals severely. Consequently the *shiqdar* of that place marched in person, seized the offenders and cut off their heads, and sent them to Marhamat Khan. The punishment inflicted upon the robbers indicate that the Imperial officers paid special attention to keep the Imperial high way safe from robberies and plunders.

- 1 8 Doc No 5, an *arzdasht* from the *Wakil* of Jaswant Singh, refers to the *farman* issued to Shaista Khan summoning him to the Imperial Court from the Deccan. Shaista Khan had been deputed to deal with Shivaji alongwith prince Mua'zzam. He failed in his mission and Shivaji surprised him in an attack injuring him and killing his son Abul Fath Khan.¹⁸ This was regarded a serious debacle for Mughal army and prestige, and Aurangzeb recalled him from the Deccan.¹⁹ The *arzdasht* confirms this event further reveals that in response to Aurangzeb's orders Shaista Khan arrived at Agra where he received another *farman* directing him to proceed to *Purab* (Bengal) and assume the responsibility of Governor there. Ignoring these orders, Shaista Khan proceeded to Punjab and appeared before Aurangzeb on 31 December 1663 at the Shalimar Garden, Lahore. In view of this defiance of orders, the *nazar* which he offered was not accepted by Aurangzeb. The next day, he was directed not to visit the Imperial Court and to proceed to Bengal. The issuance of a second *farman* to Shaista Khan directing him forthwith to go to Bengal after the violation of Aurangzeb's orders by him has not been recorded by contemporary historians like Mohammad Kazim and Saqi Mustad Khan. Nor, to judge from Khare's selection from the *Akbarat* from Aurangzeb's Court, has any report of this survived among them.²⁰ Muhammad Kazim only refers to one *farman* issued on 11 Jumada I/11 December 1663 with a directives to Shaista Khan 'not to come to his presence' and to proceed to Bengal.²¹ But the fact that he went to Lahore is not reported anywhere.
- 1 9 These documents show how much detailed information can be added from such documents. This same collection (f 81a-b) for example, contains an *arzdasht* from Jaswant Singh to Aurangzeb referring to Jaswant Singh's own endeavours in the Deccan, especially after Shivaji's raid on Shaista Khan's camp, and the responsibility entrusted to him there after Shaista Khan's recall.

He complains against Shaista Khan's incitement to Rai Karan and Bhao Singh Hada not to serve under Jaswant Singh's orders, as a result of which both had retired to Daulatabad. Perhaps, there has been much of a tendency (very visible in Jadunath Sarkar) to take up Jai Singh's side as against Jaswant Singh!

TRANSLATION OF SELECTED DOCUMENTS

H S Mathur Coll Bikaner,
I, 228a-b,
Nagaur & C

Doc No 1

Mitrasen Jaswant Singh Wakil's *arzdasht* (n.d.) Addressed to his patron. Refers to the report of the *Diwan* of Ajmer to Khan-i Khanan Zafar Jang the *Subedar* of Ajmer that after reaching his *watan* the Maharaja had seized the *jagir* of the *mansabdar* within his *zamindari*, and let loose every act of atrocity and oppression upon the people there. Many of the oppressed people have arrived here and say that if even after writing to the Maharaja to desist from such tyranny, he does not mend his ways, it would be clear that he has some bad intentions and thus impudence. Hence, having learnt this, the Khan-i Khanan has ordered that the affairs of the Maharaja should be referred to the Emperor. This servant came to know of this and immediately went to the quarters of the *peshkar-i khas-i wala* and entertained him in the worldly way requesting him that till the arrival of Maharaja no writings from the *Diwan* of the *suba* be sent to the Emperor due to the fear of the Khan-i Khanan, the *peshkar* was not agreeable to do so. However, with much persuasion and serving him in the worldly way, the writer made him agree that if the Khan-i Khanan does not remember this, he would also ignore it. For this purpose, a messenger is being sent hurriedly to inform you of the situation. The Emperor is at present encamped near Ajmer. It is advisable for the benefit of the addressee that he comes with a respectable body and appears before the Emperor. The addressee is also requested to send money early for the *darbar* (court) expenses so that on arrival of the Maharaja infirmity is not shown and the reduction in honours and transfers of *jagir* like other *zamindar* does not come about. And to the *Diwan* of the *suba*, such favour (*suluk*) should be shown (by the Maharaja) that in future no complaint against the Maharaja is conveyed to the Emperor. He should also keep the *Waqi'anigar* and *Sawanihnawis* satisfied by showing them some favour (*suluk*) so that on no account any adverse report is made for it is the beginning of the reign, and it may lead to Emperor's displeasure against the Maharaja leading to objections. So far as this servant is concerned, he would to the best of his ability, take all care. But from the *Diwan* of the *suba* and *Sawanihnigar* who write to the Emperor, nothing can be concealed. In this regard the addressee may himself realize the position for once before the people of Nagaur appeared before the Emperor and lodged complaints against the atrocities and oppression.

This servant has spent five to six hundred rupees in suppressing the complaints of those people. If now the Diwan of the *suba* writes, money is required for expenses so that this could be prevented.

H S Mathur Coll
Bikaner, I, 47a-48a

Doc no 2

Manohar, Maharaja Jaswant Singh's *Wakil*, *Arzdasht* (n.d.), addressed to his patron refers to the *parwana* directing him to endeavour for initiating a discourse in the Court for the restoration of the title of Maharaja (to Jaswant Singh). Accordingly the writer pleaded the case before the Emperor through Jamdat-ul Mulk the *Wazir* (Ja'far Khan). But the Emperor did not respond. At heart he is still unhappy over the Ujjain episode (i.e. the battle of Dharmat). Moreover Maharaja Jai Singh's excessive slanders which defy repetition, adds to Emperor's displeasure. Owing to this attitude the writer preferred to remain inactive. In the meantime, Nawab Daud Khan Qureshi, one of the nobles of Dara Shukoh, after having been defeated, presented himself before the Emperor. He was received with great kindness and assigned the addressee's *haveli* for residence. This was another mishap causing shame after shame to this writer. This slave however, tried his best and pleaded to the Emperor that Kunwar (Prithi Singh) was likely to present himself before His Majesty in the near future. Hence the assignment of the *haveli* to the *nawab* (Daud Khan) was a great cause of anxiety and concern to this slave. On this it was ordered that on arrival of Kunwar Prithi Singh the *haveli* would be taken from Daud Khan and given to him. On this, I had no alternative but to keep quiet, and the *haveli*, was occupied by Daud Khan. This slave then visited the *haveli* and offered a sum of rupees two thousand to Daud Khan as a gesture of hospitality making him highly pleased and satisfied. After some days I made a secret agreement with the above mentioned *nawab* regarding the (restoration of) the title of Maharaja and secured his promises on oath. On this issue, the *nawab* became extremely helpful. By the grace of God one day a discourse arose in the Imperial presence. The Emperor greatly admired the valour and manhood of the addressee. Nawab Daud Khan Qureshi was present at that time. He pleaded to the Emperor that Jaswant Singh was one of the great servants of the exalted Court. Wherever he was deputed to serve, he discharged his duties firmly at the risk of his own life. Daud Khan then pointed out that the addressee suffered from one worry - the title of Maharaja - for which Emperor's orders were needed. According to the pleadings of the *nawab*, the Emperor inclined towards great kindness and ordered for the despatch of a horse alongwith *saropa* with the restoration of the title of Maharaja to the addressee. At the same time the *nawab* (Daud Khan) according to the Emperor's orders secured a *farman* which is accompanied by Lal Beg *gurbardar* and a *mansabdar* of the Imperial Court alongwith a horse and

saropa worth rupees twenty thousand, conferring the title of Maharaja and an increase of 500 in the existing *mansab*

M S Mathur Collection
Bikaner I, 100a, 98b

Doc no 3

Letter, writer and addressee not identifiable, undated The Emperor (Aurangzeb) moved from Kashmir in the beginning of Jamadi-ul Awwal and encamped at the valley Bhimbar, where all the nobles offered him *peshkash* and *nazr* The Emperor treated them with great attention and kindness From there he marched and entered the environs of Lahore on 15th Jamāda I, not agreeing to camp in the city, and fixed his residence at the Shalimar garden Here the Emperor visited the camp of Raja Jai Singh who offered him one thousand gold coins and rupees one lakh alongwith jewels and other valuables The Emperor also honoured the Raja with presents It is a general rumour that the Emperor would stay here for a fortnight and then march to Delhi Nawab Mustatab Jamdat-ul Mulki Zafar Khan (Ja'far Khan), *subedar* of Ujjain (Malwa), presented himself before the Emperor and offered two elephants, one thousand gold coins and rupees twenty thousand by way of *peshkash* The emperor paid attention to him with great kindness and gave him back one elephant and accepted all other offerings On the 1st Jamad II, the emperor summoned Najju Miyan and through him sent to the *nawab* (Ja'far Khan) *saropa khas*, an Iraqi horse with its compliments costing rupees twenty thousand and appointed him Diwan in place of Raja Raghu Nath Lalman Khatri, the agent of the above mentioned Raja was his assistant in the Court He was also appointed in the same capacity under the above mentioned *nawab*

Some of the brothers of the *ahadis* killed by the officers (*gumashtas*) at Nagaur petitioned to the Emperor who became extremely unhappy and ordered that on reaching Delhi (Shahjahanabad) this affair should be settled Nawab Ja'far Khan is with the side of the Raja (Indar Singh? assignee of Nagaur) in the affair of Salabat Khan

H S Mathur's Collection
Bikaner, I, 99b-100a

Doc No 4

Wakil (?) to Khan (full name not given (n d) Refers to his patron that a petition (*arzdasht*) from the *karori* of Marotha (Marot) was put up to the *nawab* Marhamat Khan, *subedar* Ajmer that Kesari Singh Rathor, resident of the *jagir* of the addressee has been committing robberies and thefts in the country causing great annoyance to the *nawab* He desired to send an *arzdasht* reporting these affairs to the Emperor However, for the sake of the addressee

this writer has been able to dissuade him from doing so after much effort. This messenger is thus being sent to you with the object that the above named bad character is expelled from the (*des*). Extending protection to thieves and robbers should not be the way of wise men as no gains can be accrued of this. One word is enough for a wise person. Since this one entertains feelings of sincerity, he should be forgiven for this venture, for this being an Imperial matter is very delicate.

Recently nawab Mahabat Khan the *subedar* of Ahmedabad (Gujarat) sent some packages of (*thans*) of fruits for the Emperor through carriers. When the carriers reached the country of Maharaja Jaswant Singh, some of the servants of the Maharaja seized five or six *thans* from the carriers in village Bamrauli, *pargana* Sajhat. The carriers of the fruits came to the presence of *nawab* Marhamat Khan, *subedar* of Ajmer and lodged a complaint. Learning this event, the nawab despatched forty cavalry men to Jodhpur with orders to the *gumashtas* (agents) of that place to send the heads of those bad characters otherwise if the matter came to the knowledge of the Emperor, the situation would be worse as they (robbers) have become so bold as to plunder the Imperial remittance. On this order, the *shiqdar* of that place marched personally, cut the heads of those bad characters and sent them to the *nawab* (Marhamat Khan). A sum of five to six thousand rupees daily was spent to meet the expenses of the cavalry men. After this the fire of mischief and rioting was extinguished, otherwise the matter might have taken a different turn.

H S Mathur's Collection
Bikaner I, 83, 82, 81
Deccan 1663

Doc No 5

Letter (n d) to the same addressee (?) as No 4. Refers to the *farman* issued to Shaista Khan, summoning him to Imperial Court from the Deccan. Accordingly Shaista Khan proceeded and on reaching Akbarabad (Agra) he received another *farman* directing him to proceed to *Purab* (Bengal) but he ignored the orders saying that he would not proceed to the east without presenting himself to the Emperor. In the beginning of Jamada II (31 Dec 1663) he appeared before the Emperor near Shalimar garden (Lahore) offering one thousand gold coins and rupees twenty thousand as *peshkash*. The Emperor was extremely unhappy and did not accept the offerings from him. Next day the *arzdasht* of Maharaja Jaswant Singh was presented to the imperial Court. At this time Prince Mohammad Muazzam and Maharaja Jaswant Singh and other nobles were granted the *khilats* for the winter season.

NOTES AND REFERENCES

- 1 Mohammad Kazim, *Alamgir Nama*, Calcutta, 1868, pp 311-12
- 2 *Alamgir Nama*, pp 32-33

- 3 Mohammad Sadiq Khan, *Tarikh-i Shah Jahani wa Alamgiri*, BM Or 1671, ff 103 ab, *Alamgir Nama*, pp 61, 83 Samsamud Daulah holds the view that Jaswant Singh revolted as he was accustomed to the favouritism of Shah Jahan and he did not enjoy any in Aurangzeb's times, *Maasir-ul Umara*, Vol III, p 755
- 4 *Alamgir Nama*, p 83
- 5 *Alamgir Nama*, pp 83, 183-84 Saqi Mustaid Khan places this event on 14 August 1658 *Maasir-i Alamgiri* (ed.) Agha Ahmad Ali, Calcutta, 1871, p 10
- 6 *Alamgir Nama*, p 229, *Maasir-i Alamgiri*, p 10 Sadiq says that Jaswant Singh was deputed to protect Delhi *Tarikh Shah Jahani wa Alamgiri*, f 104a
- 7 *Alamgir Nama*, pp 285, 289
- 8 *Alamgir Nama*, p 285, *Tarikh-i Shah Jahani wa Alamgiri* f 105b
- 9 A Shaikhzada, he entered the service of Dara Shukoh and obtained considerable influence When Dara Shukoh fled from Lahore to Multan, Daud Khan returned to his home in Hisar Firoza On the return of Aurangzeb from Multan to Delhi, Daud Khan paid homage to him and he was admitted to Imperial service with a rank of 4,000/3,000 *Alamgir Nama*, pp 230, 240, 274-76, *Maasir-ul Umara*, Vol I (tr Beveridge), P 462
- 10 *Alamgir Nama*, p 221
- 11 For a detailed discussion leading to his parting company of Dara Shukoh see Kanungo, Dara Shukoh, Vol I, Calcutta, 1952, pp 193-96, *Maasir-ul Umara*, Vol I, p 462
- 12 *Alamgir Nama*, pp 230-231 In *Tarikh-i Shahjahan wa Aurangzeb*, f 104b his *mansab* is 3,000/3,000
- 13 *Alamgir Nama*, p 446 Mohammad Sadiq Khan provides some insight into the whole episode He says that Jaswant Singh sent several petitions to Aurangzeb expressing loyalty and desire to submit Aurangzeb who was marching towards Ajmer forbade Mohammad Amin Khan from taking any action against Jaswant Singh He was recalled to Ajmer In the meantime he sent a secret *farman* to Jaswant Singh through Raja Jai Singh assuring him for the restoration of title of Maharaja (*Tarikh-i Shah Jahani wa Alamgir*, f 108a) Mohammad Sadiq further says that later on the title of Maharaja was restored to Jaswant Singh and he was raised to the *mansab* of 7000/7000 and assigned the *subedari* (governorship) of Gujarat (*Ibid*, f 109b) Ishwardas Nagar Mehta provides other details, he says that Aurangzeb conferred the title of Raja on Rao Rai Singh gave him *tika* and assigned him Jodhpur Mohammad Amin Khan was deputed with an army and good park of artillery to eject Jaswant Singh from Jodhpur and to raise Rao Rai Singh as ruler of that place (*Futuh-i Alamgiri*, Add 23884, ff 40ab) Ishwardas later on says that Jaswant Singh was pardoned and a *farman* was sent to him appointing him subedar of Ahmedabad (Gujarat) granting him *mansab* and title (*Futuh-i Alamgir*, f 45a)
- 14 *Alamgir Nama*, p 838 refers to Aurangzeb's arrival from Kashmir at Bhimbhar in the beginning of Rabi-ul Awwal/October 1663 Jumma II of our document (which is a copy) must be an error for Rabi I
- 15 *Ibid*, p 840
- 16 He was the son of Sadiq Khan Mir Bakshi and sister's son in law of Asaf Khan From the very beginning he was patronised by Shah Jahan On the death of Ja'far Khan's father, Shah Jahan sent Aurangzeb to condole with him Soon after his first enthronement (1 August 1668) Aurangzeb appointed him Governor of Malwa with an increase in *mansab* to 6,000/6,000 *du aspa* and *sih aspa* On the death of Fazil Khan, he was appointed *Wazir* when Aurangzeb was encamping at Panipat See, *Maasir-ul Umara*, Vo I, pp 531-35
- 17 Originally Shafiullah Khan Uzbek, served in different capacities under Shah Jahan He was appointed *subedar* of Ajmer on 21 June 1658 with a *mansab* of 4,000/4,000 (*Alamgir Nama*, p 119, *Maasir-ul Umara*, Vol I, pp 493-98)

- 18 *Maasir-i Alamgiri*, p 45, *Maasir-ul Umara*, Vol II, pp 690-706, *Alamgir Nama*, p 848 says that he was suspended from the *subedari* of Deccan
- 19 *Maasir-i Alamgiri*, p 45, *Alamgir Nama*, p 848, *Maasir-ul Umara*, Vol II, pp 690-706
- 20 G H Khare, ed , *Persian Sources of Indian History*, Vol VI, Akhbars of Aurangzeb's Reign, Pune, 1973
- 21 *Alamgir Nama*, p 848, Cf *Muntakhab-ul Lubab*, pt II, P 175

LOCAL ADMINISTRATION IN SIND: A STUDY OF SOME SEVENTEENTH AND EARLY EIGHTEENTH CENTURY DOCUMENTS

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I

- 1 1 In the paper, I presented at the last session of the Indian History Congress, Calcutta 1990, I introduced a rare collection of documents on the administration of Sind titled *Jamm-i Badi*,¹ compiled sometime after 1733-34. That time I could take into account mainly *farmans*, *nishans* and *parwanas* mostly related to *madad-i ma'ash* grants and the appointment of important provincial and local officers such as governor, *sadr* and *qazi*. The present paper takes note of other papers in the same collection, viz., *arzdasht* (petitions), *tajwiznama* (recommendatory letters), *mahzar* (public attestations), *shikayat* (complaints) and *dastaks* (permits). These documents throw light on the working of the local administration in *sarkar* Siwistan and Bhakkar. They also reflect on the nature and size of the perquisites of various subordinate officials and their fiscal claims. One can also infer the nature of general conditions prevailing and the functioning of agrarian structure existing at the local level. Since many of these documents are undated, the persons and officers, particularly the subordinate officers at local level, mentioned there remain unidentified.

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- 1 2 Let us begin with a long *arzdasht* (ff 37a-41a), where a long preliminary theoretical or moralistic statement is followed by specifications of certain evils found in Mughal administration in Sind. First, that the learned of the empire (*ulama-i huzur-i purnur*) have declared lawful the additional income (*firoiyat*), in the form of rent (*kiraya*) and profit (*nafa*) on *ijara* (revenue-far). According to them whoever establishes on a piece of land a market (*mandi*) obtains the right to levy rent from sellers and purchasers in the manner of cesses imposed in the crown-land (*khalisa sharifa*). The *amils* have announced everywhere that nothing would be sold elsewhere, if in case it is found that they are selling and buying at someother place, heavy fine or dishonour would be imposed. They have also decreed that wherever any goods of merchants are found, they should be brought at the market (*mandi*) and whatever amount (*hasil*) they assess on it is then exacted from them. The writer considers this arbitrary attitude as unfair and argues that the merchants should be consulted and whatever amount of cess or rent is agreed between them and the *amils* on a monthly or daily basis that only be exacted. It should not happen that the 'devil-like tax gatherers (*muhasilan*) and foot soldiers (*payadagan*) of demon's disposition" should forcibly seize goods everywhere and bring them to the set market, proclaiming that the rate assessed by them is according to the rules of the *khalisa sharifa*, and then charge all other expenses such as *muhasilana* (fees of the bailiff), *daroghghana* (fees of superintendency) and *chaukidarana* (fees of the custom watchman). Formerly, in the town of Alor² in *sarkar* Bhakkar, a loaded camel carrying goods to the city was charged six *dams* only, but at present, when everything is supposed to be done in accordance with the commands of the crafty *ulama* (*ulama-i zifitrat*), thirty-six *dams* are being charged, due to this all merchants, big and small, are distressed, though they do not object to paying the established taxes³.
- 1 3 Secondly, the imperial *ulama* and jurists (*fuqaha*) have issued a *fatwa* in the court saying that boats may be hired on rent (*ijara*) from their owners and be given on higher hire to the traders and the profit, so accruing be deposited with the royal treasury. The *jagirdars* have accordingly issued *parwanas* that action be taken accordingly. The *mutasaddis* of the *sarkar* have been entrusted with the *ijara* to which traders have also agreed and they are hiring boats on profit. For resistance to this unjust measure, the boatmen (*mallaha*) are being imprisoned in dark cells and are threatened and abused, the poor boatmen have suspended plying their boats for a long time. Wherever a merchant happens to come, the officers having forcibly seized the boats charge from him whatever they like for their use, and leaving a little with the boatman, the rest is distributed among the *darogha*, *mushrif*, *tahvildar* the foot-soldiers and all the functionaries. Later on they take a bond of agreement (*tamassuka*) from the boatman (*mallah*) and send the *Qazi* it to get his seal affixed. All this is treated as a legal matter (*ma'amulat-i sharai*), and if the boatman hesitates he is badly beaten up. When the boats are ply down stream or in the opposite direction they forcibly realize tax (*hasil*) from them and then only allow them to go, calling this again a *shariat* exaction. On this account merchants and boatmen have decided that they would only pay the established or customary cesses like *muhami* (writing or sealing tax), and *misri* (city tax)⁴, and none else.

- 1 4 It also appears that even the respectable person were not exempted from such malpractices and illegal exactions. The writer says that the scholar-gentry (*firq-i makhadim*) were in a very destitute state. A few of them, after great effort in life, had amassed some wealth in the hope that one day it would be utilized for their funeral ceremonies, when the *sadr* visited a place the people in order to protect their age old land holdings (*maq buzha*) and to safeguard their means of livelihood (*wajh-i maishat*), they offered to him whatever amount they had collected in several years by way of beggary (*gada'i*). The poorer amongst them (*makhadim-i reza'h*) who did not have even their daily subsistence, could only show to the *sadr* the royal *farmans* (pertaining to their land grants), since they did not possess any thing to offer to him. The latter thereupon raised certain objections on account of *haziri* (presence), *ghair-haziri* (absence), *farari* (flight), *kharidi* (purchased grant), *takrari* (confirmation) and absence of deserts (*adm istihqaq*) completely depriving them of the support of life. When Abdul Jalil took over the charge of Aminship (*amanat*) of this place people took a sigh of relief hoping that things would now be improved. But after his arrival conditions further deteriorated and oppression and extortion have become so extensive as if dooms day has come to this country.⁵
- 1 5 The writer then argues that the administration has broken down and the cultivation has declined resulting in depopulation which he attributes to a couple of reasons. First, that the past and the present governors (*hukkam*), in order to increase the cultivation and habitation in the *parganas* established crop sharing (*bata'i*) and or concessional rates (*kamdastur*) in accordance with the produce of land (*hasil-i zamin*) and capacity for cultivation land (*istidad-i mazru*), so that these be levied on all the three crops. However, whatever was remitted on account of crop-failure owing to flood and drought, for the relief of the peasantry, has now been levied and large amounts collected. This has greatly distressed the small peasantry (*reza ri'aya*) who have withdrawn their hands from cultivation.⁶ Further, the headmen (*arbaban*), *muqaddams* and *patwans* of *parganas* have been summoned for a month and by torture, imprisonment and abuse forced to falsely record large payments made to *amils*, out of the *Dewan's* enmity towards the latter. Thus the *amils*, who in hope of official favour, had kept the country prosperous and enhanced the revenue every year, have been humiliated being forced to pay up these amounts falsely held against them in the presence of *qazis*. When the matter was reported to the Imperial Court, a *hasbul hukm* was issued asking for the facts. Yet no attention was paid to this, and the oppression was even further increased, leading to an outcry from the affected men (i.e. the *amils*).⁷
- 1 6 Rivalries among local officers and sending spurious reports to the court seem to have been a common feature of the time. In an *arzdasht* (ff 41a-42b) obviously written during the earlier half of Aurangzeb's reign, from its reference to Said Khan Bahadur, the writer says that although the desired quantity of water is available from rivers these days and the peasants are fully engaged in cultivation and hopefully, as per His Majesty's desires, the harvest would be

excellent, yet the petitioner had received a *hasb-ul hukm* from Ibrahim Khan, the *Bakhshi* containing allegations against Abid the *amil* of *pargana* Matila and Muhammad Qasim, the *amil* of *pargana* Jatoi.⁸ The former is alleged to be involved in improper acts while the latter to be extremely dishonest. The petitioner was asked to give his report on the matter to the court. The fact, however, was that the two *amils* were upright persons and good administrators and people of their respective *parganas* were quite satisfied with them. The *amil* of *pargana* Matila was a man from Central Asia and had previously served with Said Khan Bahadur Zafar Jang.⁹ Before him a *thanadar* along with thirty troopers was posted there and the inhabitants of the *pargana* were always in trouble. Under the present *amil*, however, the people were fully satisfied. Most of the agents of the news writer who were posted here reported matters from the *parganas* in a misleading manner. In fact when the *amil* prevented any one from committing an oppressive act, the disgruntled person asks the *waqia nawis* to write a hostile report, and the latter too, without any care about truth, despatches it to the court.¹⁰

- 17 The *amil* of *pargana* Jatoi, Muhammad Qasim, was a Saiyid of Khawaf, and no dishonesty was seen in him.¹¹ He had so many times visited the writer and expressed his unwillingness to remain in service. The writer argues that the truth about every *amil* is known to him. When the work of collection of revenue in *parganas* was over, the writer having sent imperial troopers in every *pargana* summoned the *patwari* and *muqaddam* along with their village accounts (*kaghaz-i kham*).¹² They were asked to give a written statement mentioning truthfully, whatever they had paid to any official. Then the village accounts which were written in 'Hindwi'¹³ were translated into Persian, and when on comparison the two statements (village accounts and the written document) were found correct the *patwari* and *muqaddam* were sent before the *Qazi* who put their seal after having cross examined from them. In this way whatever had been collected by the *amil* and others from the *pargana* was verified, and according to the *khalisa* regulations, a third part (of what was due to the *amil* as salary) was released to them, and two-thirds withheld (till the accounts were cleared). When such a strict process of collection was followed how could an *amil* be expected to give anything to anybody so that he may not write bad of him?¹⁴
- 18 The *arzdasht* also mentions that in revenue arrangement concessional rates (*kamdastur*) and reduction of state share (*takhfif-i hissa*) in crop-sharing (*batai*) were the usual devices to encourage cultivation. If somebody has produced more in the previous year he is again granted concessional rate so that next year he would further make efforts to increase the production.¹⁵ Explaining why most of the villages in Hindustan are lying uncultivated (*as jama uftada*), the writer says that it is because of the fact that if a skilled and honest person arrives, the disobedient and the jealous do not allow him to work properly. By way of several accusations and suspicions they make him out to be unjust and corrupt. They do not understand that if he prospered it would also bring their own prosperity.¹⁶

- 1 9 According to another *arzdasht* (ff 42b-44a) two officers Khwaja Lutfullah and Abdul Jalil appear to have threatened Abdul Wahid, the headman (*arbab*) of *pargana* Darbila¹⁷ and Jatol, and his *vakil* to write in a false (*darogh*) amount as due from the writer of the petition. When Abdul Wahid and his *vakil* refused to comply, they were detained at the *thana* being charged for the theft of Abdul Bagi's provisions in their territory. The writer says that detention of Abdul Wahid on this false charge was causing great loss to cultivation as he possessed about seven thousand *bighas* of land. If he were in the *pargana* he would have made provision for realization of the *jama* and cultivation of *moona* and *mash* and all other crops (*jynas*). The headmen and *muqaddam* of all *pargana* are also sharing the same fate and are being deprived of sowing the present and the next crop. The officers are more interested in misappropriation than encouraging cultivation in their territories. Abdul Jalil and Khwaja Lutfullah were also demanding revenue at full rates (*pur dastur*), with the result peasants have left cultivation.¹⁸
- 1 10 Similarly, Thatta which had been once a very prosperous and populous province and the big *jagirdars* were always desirous of getting its *mahals* into their *jagir* as they yielded revenue equal to 'twelve or fourteen months' (i.e. the same as *jama* or one-sixth more). But now, says the writer, due to the conduct of the *mutasaddi* the total revenue (*hasil*) of its *sarkar* had come down to only three months (a third of the *jama*). These *mutasaddi* clearly say that they have nothing to do with the prosperity of the place they are just interested in raising money by false means (*zarhai darogh*).¹⁹

II

- 2 1 One of the recommendatory letters (*tajwiznama*) says that the office of *qanungo* of half of the *pargana* of *sarkar* Bhakkar be assigned either to Saiyid Yaqub *Mustaufi* or to Shaikh Muhammad Said in place of the former Hindu *qanungo*, as they would act for the betterment of the people and the empire and would send the revenue accounts according to the state regulations. The letter further explains that when the final choice between the two was asked, Shaikh Muhammad Said was recommended as the most appropriate person for the office of *qanungo* because the inhabitants of the place were also satisfied with his experience and performance.²⁰
- 2 2 Another important *tajwiznama* (ff 72b-73a) is by Asad Khan, the Imperial Diwan, written on 19th Shawwal 1122 A.H./11 December 1710. It says that *Qazi* Nasruddin, the *Qazi* of *sarkar* Siwistan and *sadr* of *sarkar* (Bhakkar?) had been asked to look into the grants (*aimma*) of *sarkar* Bhakkar. The *Qazi* had left his son Shaikh Abul Maali as his deputy in Siwistan. The son is fully qualified for the office of deputy *Qazi* and has been working very well. He does not have any source of income. It was therefore requested that one hundred *bigha* of land in *pargana* Ma'lumi (?) which is his place of residence and is in *suba* Thatta, "without condition of service", and a daily allowance of one rupee from the Imperial treasury at Bhakkar on "condition of (service as) his deputy".

(*niyabat*) be granted either to *Qazi* (Nasruddin) or his son Abul Maali, so that he may serve honestly, and Qazi Nasruddin who had arrived at Bhakkar to look into *aimma* matters may do his work contentedly" ²¹

III

- 3.1 One of the *mahzars* (ff 73a-b) describes an agitation by the officers demanding their pay arrears. It relates that on 13 Zilhijja of the regnal year (not given) Qurban Beg, brother of Nihal Beg, *Qiladar qasba* Siwistan, Bahadur Beg *Sadiwan* and Saligram and other men from Bhakkar who were stationed at the fort gathered around the *haveli* of Thakur Das, the deputy *faujdar* of the *sarkar*. They demanded their pay-claims according to the rates sanctioned for Imperial officials. They misbehaved with the brothers and servants of Thakur Das. Thakur Das tried to appease them through Saiyid Inayatullah, *Bakhshi* and *Waqia nawis* of the *sarkar*, promising that whatever money had been realized from the *Kharif* crop in the *mahals* of the Prince's *jagir* would be paid out to them according to rates sanctioned for other salaried staff. The balance due would be paid to them after the realization from the *rabi* crop provided he was retained as revenue-collector. Otherwise whosoever comes would pay their arrears. Moreover, he (Thakur Das) had written to the Prince about the payment of their salaries, so they should wait for the reply and should not misbehave. The *Qiladar*, however, did not agree, and the claimants having stopped food and water continued their clamour throughout the night. The next day (i.e. 14th Zilhijja) they set on fire the nearby *haveli* of the brothers of Thakur Das. The fight between the two parties continued till noon, and people died on both sides. At last Saiyid Inayatullah, the *waqai nigar* again intervened. He stood surety and after borrowing 800 rupees in cash from the *sarrafs* (money-lenders) of Siwistan, he paid this sum to the claimant, and for the remaining amount of 700 rupees he wrote a *tamassuk* under his own seal to the *Qiladar* with the promise of paying the amount within seven days ²²
- 3.2 The *mahzar* of Jan Muhammad provides valuable information about the maintenance of a *jama* mosque in *sarkar* Siwistan and also describes the perquisites of the staff employed in the mosque. The *mahzar* mentions two important officials of the mosque, *Imam* and *Khatib* who were appointed from respectable families of the city. In the *Jama* mosque of Siwistan Saiyid Mahmood and Saiyid Abdur Rahim were *Imam* and *khatib* respectively and both belonged to respectable Saiyid families. Their daily allowances (*wajh-i yaumia*) were respectively 7 *annas* and 5 *annas*. In addition to this some land was also granted to meet other expenses such as the repair of the mosque and maintenance of those who were dependent on mosques such as beggars both newly arrived and permanent mosque dwellers (*zawiya nashinan*) ²³
- 3.3 Another important document is a complaint (*shikayat*) bearing the seal of Hidayat Ullah Khan, deputy *wazir* (?) of the Chief *Diwan*, addressed to Muhammad Musa. The document mentions the duties and functions of the superintendent of *dak* and news reporter (*sawanih nigar*) of Thatta. The two

offices, combined together, were assigned to Muhammad Musa in place of Muhammad Salih. The *darogha* of *dak* and *sawanih nigar* in discharging his duties was supposed to be accurate and honest and also very efficient so that in the delivery of letters and other official messages there should not occur any delay and detention. The imperial regulations and orders which were issued to the *mutasaddi* of that place were to be delivered to them carefully, the petitions and daily news (*waqai*), were to be sent to the Court according to the regulations, with a separate list thereof. He was to take an undertaking (*muchalka*) from *mewrhas* (the couriers), who worked under him, that except for *naiwas* (bamboo tubes) of official papers they would not carry letters of others and that they should carry the royal post (*kar-i bashahi*), according to the regulations of the *kachehri*, to one *kuroh* (on each run). They were not supposed to levy any exaction which was held to be prohibited. The *mewrahs* were also not harass inhabitants of villages and towns, and travellers. He was to despatch the record (*siyaha*) of *dakchauki*, proceedings of the *qazi's* court, description of the prisoners in the fort, *kachehri* and at *chabutara kotwali*, and the reason of their imprisonment. The particulars of prisoners, the statement of account of the treasury and artillery stores were to be despatched every month.²⁴

IV

- 4.1 The last document is a *dastak* (f 75b) bearing the seal of Qutbul Mulk Saiyid Abdullah Khan Bahadur Zafar Jang, Prime Minister of Emperor Farrukh Siyar. The *dastak* warns the *gumashta* (agents) of *faujdar*, *rahdar*, *guzarbanan*, *zamindar* and *chaudhan* in the *suba* of Multan from Bhakkar to Siwistan not to exact illegal cesses from the boats of merchants such as *rahdari*, *muhari*, *misri*, weighing of boat (*wazan-i kashti*), *muqaddami* etc. They have to realize only the sanctioned cesses on the goods of these merchants.²⁵
- 4.2 I have introduced what have seemed to be the major documents in this collection about the local administration in Sind under Aurangzeb and his immediate successors. These should help us to reconstruct the administrative history of Mughal Sind, while they also shed light on the principles (and malpractices) of Mughal administration in general.

NOTES AND REFERENCES

- 1 "Mughal Administration in Sind - Some Early Eighteenth Century Documents", *Proceedings of the Indian History Congress*, 51st session, Calcutta, 1990, pp 254-258. A copy of this MS is in possession of Professor Irfan Habib to whom I am beholden for letting me use the MS.
- 2 Capital of ancient Sind near Sukkur, E of the Indus. Alor was a *pargana* in *sarkar* Bhakkar, *suba* Multan. Camels were found in abundance there. They were used for transporting goods towards Jaisalmer, Multan and Qandahar by paying customs (*kiraya*). See Yusuf Mirak, *Tarikh-i Mazhar-i Shahjahani*, ed. Syed Husamuddin Rashidi, Sindi Adabi Board, Hyderabad, Sindh, 1962, pp 5-6. Also see Irfan Habib, *An Atlas of Mughal Empire*, OUP, Delhi 1982, Notes on Sheet 5B, p 16.
- 3 *Jamm-i Badi*, ff 38b-39a.

- 4 Probably from *misr* meaning a city, a town, a tract or region
- 5 *Jamm-i Badi*, ff 39b-40a
- 6 *Ibid* , ff 40a-b
- 7 *Jamm-i Badi*, ff 40b-41a
- 8 The two *paragana*, Matila and Jatoi, were in *sarkar* Bhakkar, *suba* Multan See *Mazhar-i Shahjahani*, pp 5, 14-15, also Atlas, *op cit* , Notes on Sheet 5A, p 13
- 9 Said Khan Bahadur Zafar Jang had been appointed governor of Multan twice during Shahjahan's reign (1642-44 and 1647-48) See M Athar Ali, 'Provincial Governors under Shahjahan - An Analysis', *Medieval India - A Miscellany*, Vol 3, Bombay, 1975, pp 80-112
- 10 *Jamm-i Badi*, ff 41a-b
- 11 Perhaps Khawafis had a reputation for honesty and ability in revenue affairs in those days See my article, 'Iranis in the Mughal Nobility A Case Study of the Khawafis', in the *Proceedings of the Indian History Congress*, Bombay, 1980, pp 248-264
- 12 In order to detect misappropriation the administration used to inspect the village accounts from time to time See Irfan Habib *The Agrarian System of Mughal India*, Bombay, 1963, p 231
- 13 *Kaghz-i kham* were usually maintained by the *patwaris* in 'Hindwi' or the local language See Irfan Habib, *op cit* , p 135
- 14 *Jamm-i Badi*, ff 41-b-42a
- 15 *Ibid* , f 42a
- 16 *Ibid* , ff 42a-b
- 17 *Pargana* Darbila was in *sarkar* Bhakkar, *suba* Multan See *Mazhar-i Shahjahani*, p 10, also Atlas *op cit* , Notes on Sheet 5A, p 13
- 18 *Jamm-i Badi*, ff 42b-43a
- 19 *Ibid* , ff 43a-44a
- 20 *Ibid* , f 72a
- 21 *Jamm-i Badi*, ff 72b-73a
- 22 *Jamm-i Badi*, ff 73a-b
- 23 *Ibid* , ff 73b-74a
- 24 *Jamm-i Badi*, ff 74b-75b
- 25 *Ibid* , f 75b

ARMED ZAMINDAR : THE POWER PLAY IN AWADH (1595-1858)

SAIYID ZAHEER HUSAIN JAFRI*

I

- 1 1 Superior proprietary rights in land had an intimate connexion with the domination of particular clan over an area. Elsewhere it has been argued that the major *zamindar* clans were able to maintain their hold broadly unchanged between 1595 to the annexation of Awadh. Although it has been pointed out that such stability was essentially due to the late date at which Awadh was annexed by the British,¹ one should not forget that such an uninterrupted possession of their rights also depended upon the capacity of that particular clan to maintain its hold with the help of armed power. "Armed force appears as the first historical pre-requisite for the establishment, as well as the retention, of *zamindar* rights."²
- 1 2 Use of armed power by various clans to keep their possessions intact and/or to acquire new possessions had been a continuous process in Awadh throughout the medieval period. The traditional account of the *chakla* Gorakhpur bears testimony to this fact.

"In ancient times the dominion and *raj* of the neighbourhood of this city belonged to the caste of Domes. Thus remains of their forts at Batyalgarh, Ramgarh, Bhindiagarh, Domangarh etc. in the area adjoining the

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city are found to this day And in the villages the caste of *Tharus*, i.e. the hillmen of the race of those who are now settled at the foot of the hills, had their settlements The markets of Batwal for the sale of goods from the hills was held in Gorakhpur From the time of the establishment of the rule of the Muslims, the markets and settlements of the *Tharus* gradually disappeared and exist now only in the *Tera* Some Srinet Rajput natives of Srinagar having extirpated them, established their power and are uptill now known as Raja Gorakhpur Thus, their descendants hold the zamindari of some of the villages of Silhat and of the *pargana* of the environs of Gorakhpur and Silhat hold (their lands) in accordance with the deeds of the Gorakhpuri Raja Afterwards in the time of Akbar, the ancestors of the *ta'alluqadar* of Kachhar, formerly residing in the *pargana* of Bhauwapora with their kinsmen seized the *zamindari* of the environs of Gorakhpur and Silhat which till now is in the hands of their descendants "³

- 1.3 Apart from such traditional accounts, Abul Fazl has given detailed statistical information in the Account of the 'Twelve Suba' about the military resources of the *Bumiya* or *zamindar*, viz., cavalry, infantry, number of elephants in each *pargana* The *sarkar*-wise information is tabulated below ⁴

TABLE I

	<i>Sarkar</i>	Elephants	Cavalry	Infantry
1	<i>Sarkar</i> Awadh	23	1,340	30,4000
2	<i>Sarkar</i> Bahraich	-	1,170	14,300
3	<i>Sarkar</i> Gorakhpur	-	1,010	22,000
4	<i>Sarkar</i> Khairabad	-	1,160	27,800
5	<i>Sarkar</i> Lucknow	36	2,680	77,050
	TOTAL	59	7,360	1,71,550

Almost all the *pargana* of the *suba* possessed cavalry, and infantry This makes it almost certain that every land holder of consequence maintained armed retainers By the 17th century, they invariably had built mud forts (*garhi* or *gilacha*) in the villages of their *zamindari* to station

these retainers. An interesting petition from *pargana* Hisampur, *Sarkar Bahraich*, reports a night attack by certain malefactors on a village included in the *zamindari* possession of one Saiyid Muhammad 'Arif. He speaks of a *qilacha* he had built to protect his possessions⁵. In another document a reference is made to the razing of a *gil'acha* by some usurpers and it was ordered that the same be rebuilt by these who had destroyed it⁶. In the *Insha-i Roshan Kalam* a number of expeditions against such forts of recalcitrant *zamindar* are mentioned. R'ad Andaz Khan and his deputy Sher Andaz Khan boasted of their services in destroying and capturing various *garhis* of the *zamindar* of Baiswara⁷. In one *'arzdasht* it is said that the Chauhan *zamindar* of *pargana* Kanjura had refused to pay the land-revenue and with the help of 8 or 9,000 men had attached *pargana* Shahpur. In retaliation, a number of their forts (*garhi*) were captured and many of the rebels were put to the sword. Finally, they sued for peace and agreed to pay the land-revenue to the agents of the *jagirdar*⁸. In the similar manner rebellious *zamindar* of *pargana* Bijnore and Zaidpur were suppressed. A number of their forts were taken and handed over to the agents of the *jagirdar* in lieu of arrears of land-revenue⁹.

II

- 2.1 Any *zamindar* of consequence always tried to keep his hold over his fortresses, and seize those of his weaker neighbours. The rebel *zamindar* of *pargana* Harsha had captured the fort of Murtazanagar from its Saiyid owners based in Unao. Later on its possession was restored to the owners with the help of the imperial forces¹⁰. Similarly new forts were built by *zamindar* at places of strategic importance with the help of professional soldiers. Kharsen, the *zamindar* of *pargana* Jajmau, employed Salim Afghan and building a fort named it Salimgarh. But the Mughal forces stormed the fort, and a number of soldiers, including Salim Afghan, were killed¹¹. Fortified houses situated alongside the highway were also used by the *zamindar* to block the passage of the imperial troops. The capture of such places and their control by the imperial officials was thought to be very necessary for establishing their control¹².
- 2.2 A number of the *mahzar* seeking redress against the wrongs suffered by the petitioners and imperial officials containing a recital to the same effect also provide important clues to the strength and the use of armed power by the local *zamindar*. It seems that established hereditary *zamindar* usually resented the induction of any new element, such as land grantees, within their territory. During the reign of Shah Jahan and Aurangzeb, the holders of the *madad-i maash* grants were therefore often faced with harassment from local *zamindar*, who enforced a non-payment of the land-revenue to the grantees or ensured a refusal of payment of the revenues by the peasants (*ri'aya*).

- 23 Two *farman* of Aurangzeb from *pargana* Sadarpur *Sarkar* Khairabad direct the officials to investigate the allegation of the petitioners and report accordingly. It was contended that one Samar Singh *zamindar* of Mahnauti, *pargana* Fakharpur had a number of mounted and foot soldiers, and had become a freebooter. He raided and burnt the villages of the petitioners, mosques, and tombs being razed to the ground. A number of inhabitants were killed, money amounting to Rs 8213/- and 6376 heads of livestock had been taken away.¹⁴ Similarly, the *madad-i ma'ash* holders of a village in *pargana* Himpur, *sarkar* Bahraich presented a *mahzar* in 1125 AH/1717 AD complained that the residents (*zamindar*?) of the neighbouring villages had attacked their *aimma* (grant) villages with the help of 500 persons. In the raid many inhabitants were killed, their property looted and destroyed, while the women had committed *jawhar*, even the corpses were not allowed to be buried. Moreover, the family grave-yard of the petitioners was brought under the cultivation by the malefactors.¹⁵ Similarly the Muslim *zamindar* of *pargana* Fatehpur Devi and of *pargana* Sahali in *sarkar* Lucknow had attacked and killed the representatives of what later came to be the house of Firangi Mahal, Mulla Qutubuddin. The incident occurred in the 35th Ry /1690 AD of Aurangzeb.¹⁶
- 24 Often the *zamindar* defied the administration by refusing to acknowledge the authority of the local *qazi*. It seems that the holders of the religious offices and *a'imma* holders were most vulnerable to the armed power of the *zamindars* since they had no force to back their claims, hence their existence in any area depended upon the help from the military officials of the area. A petition by the family of the *qazi* posted in Baiswara especially mentions the tussle between their ancestors and the Bais (*zamindar*) of the area which was going on for the last 80 years. The *qazi* had all the 21 *pargana* of Baiswara under their jurisdiction, but due to the hostility shown by the inhabitants, they have been driven away from 15 *pargana* and now-only 6 *pargana* actually remained within their judicial jurisdiction.¹⁷

III

- 31 During the first quarter of the 18th century, the local chieftains and the *zamindar* had acquired much power and were in possession of considerable resources. When Sa'adat Khan Burhan-ul Mulk was appointed the *subedar* of the province, he had to fight a number of battles with these chiefs in various parts of the province. Prior to his appointment as the governor of the *suba*, these chiefs and the *zamindar* were strong enough to undermine the authority of the *nazim* and the agents of the Mughal *jagirdar* as to make the work of revenue collection nearly impossible. But Sa'adat Khan dealt these refractory elements with such firmness that in the very first year of his tenure, the total amount of collection increased from barely 70 lacs to 107 lacs of rupees. On realizing his ability and competence, the Mughal *jagirdar* too leased out their *jagir* to him on *ijara* tenures. In the next two years, the total collection reached two crore rupees.¹⁸

- 3 2 The traditional account of the capture of Lucknow from the hands of the Shaikhzada *zamindar* may well contain a considerable amount of exaggeration. However, from our point of view the importance of the episode lies in the fact that even the newly appointed governor had to resort to dubious methods to reach the provincial capital which happened to be in the hands of local *zamindar*¹⁹ or one may think of the power gained by the Kanhpuria chief of Tiloin, Raja Mohan Singh, by plundering the Saiyid owners of Mustafabad and the Bais chieftain of Khajurgaon. When Burhanul Mulk decided to end the growing pretensions of these chiefs, battle took place. Mohan Singh was killed and all his possessions which lay in the jurisdiction of *suba* Awadh were seized.²⁰
- 3 4 Burhan-ul Mulk was able to keep the recalcitrant elements of the province in check, but with his death the local chieftains began to reassert their power. His successors, Safdarjung's letters to Muhammad Shah are full of references to the rebellions of the *zamindar*. It was alleged that with the help of their strong torts and numerous armed retainers, they refused to pay the land revenue and undertook depredations all round.²¹ The *nawab-wazir* had to be throughout on the march, and the *nawab-wazir* offered this as an excuse for omitting to heed urgent summons from the imperial court.²²
- 3 5 In Safdarjung's letters addressed to *wazir* Qamaruddin Khan, it is stated that due to the rebellious attitude of the chieftains, additional troops are to be maintained in order to carry on the work of revenue collection and keep the malefactors under the effective control. This had enhanced expenses while the actual income (from the *jagir*) had fallen, and the *nawab-wazir* had claims outstanding for which he had no *jagir*. At another place he says that he had instructed his *wakil* (at the imperial court) to be present at the time when new *jagir* assignment orders were issued for the province of Awadh, so that he may invite the attention of the *wazir* towards the acute problem faced by the *nawab-wazir* in administering the turbulent province of Awadh.²³
- 3 6 The *zamindar* and local potentates were always prone to take to banditry. Roads and the highways were considered to be quite unsafe, and it was always considered necessary for heavy armed escort to accompany the treasures passing through the territorial limits of Awadh.²⁴
- 3 7 Among the major rebellions by the *zamindar* during Safdarjung's reign, was a fresh one by the Kanhpuria chieftains of Tiloin. He had collected together a numerous body of armed retainers and possessed a very strong fort. It was surrounded by a deep ditch and extensive belt of dense and thorny jungle. But the forces of *nawab-wazir* were strong enough to defeat the Rajput forces and to capture the fort in (1739).²⁵ Another important uprising was that of the Gaur *zamindars* of *sarkar* Khairabad. It appears that they had refused to pay the land-revenue and took to banditry. Safdarjung, through forced marches reached their strongholds, of the fort of Nabigarh and Katesar. These forts fell after a siege of eleven days and with some difficulty the Rajputs were defeated and the area was brought under control.²⁶

IV

- 4 1 After the battle of Buxar Shuja-ud Daula was forced to reduce his regular army, and strong exception was taken by the Company officials at the reported attempts of the *nawab* to re-organize the army. As a result, the work of revenue collection could proceed only with the help of the British forces. Such help was always available to the local officials of the *nawab-wazir* as the Company was entitled to receive large sums of money out of these collections. Indeed, the English looked askance at the *zamindar's* refusal to pay revenue for the amounts so withheld were sure to be "expanded on those numerous forces which the *zamindars* raised and (?) up only to support them in their resistance to Government"²⁷
- 4 2 The revenue contractors, had constantly to face armed resistance of the *zamindar* in their respective jurisdictions. Often they were ruthless in suppression of the uprisings. The atrocities committed by Almas Ali Khan against the *zamindar* of Doab were reported to Middleton in 1778. But whatever he did it was with the help of the British forces²⁸. But it was thought that the destruction of the forts of the *zamindar* in Doab, "will have many ill consequences and accordingly the *nawab-wazir* was advised to adopt, "more conciliatory mode of proceeding" when using British forces against such elements"²⁹
- 4 3 In the early years of Asaf-ud Daulah's reign, the *zamindar* of Gorakhpur went into rebellion. The intensity of these disturbances was such that *nawab-wazir* had to proceed in person to suppress the rebellion³⁰. A group of bandits made a night attack on the royal treasury, when it was going to Lucknow from Baiswara. A good number of Company sepoy's accompanying the treasury were killed. Obviously such an attack could have been made only with the help of local *zamindar*³¹
- 4 4 The death of Asaf-ud Daulah in 1797 marks a watershed in the history of Awadh, it offered an opportunity to the Company to conclude new treaties with his successors first with Wazir 'Ali and then with Sa'adat Ali Khan (1798-1814). Now, the subordination of the kingdom of Awadh to the Company was complete in every respect. The army had to be disbanded and even the work of the revenue collection was to be done only with British help. The help had mixed results. It was alleged that the, "country was pillaged under the sanction of the British name and under the terror of sepoy bayonets" and also, "the more parties (of the sepoy's) were sent out in support of the *amin*, the more were called for"³². To remedy such a situation, it was suggested by the Resident that the 'crown dues' be leased out to the *zamindar* for a number of years instead of being collected by *amin*. Under this system 'proofs' were to be furnished by the king for the outstanding dues against the erring *zamindar* before military help was given by the British to coerce them into making payments³³. Such a tedious process could only further encourage the *zamindar*. The king, accordingly remonstrated that, "all his difficulties have arisen from his entire confidence in the friendship of the Company. That this induced him and his ancestors to disband an excellent army and thus they

have become unable, without help to enforce payment of their ancient revenues³⁴ Under these circumstances the *zamindar* had acquired such power as to make the king plead for his own survival, "from the only enemies he has or is likely to have, his rebellious *zamindar*"³⁵ The 'judicious care' and 'scrutiny' of each and every case by the Resident, before the requisition of the king for sepoys was met, had adversely affected the fortunes of the kingdom. The king was unable to face the rebellious *zamindar*, as they had driven away many of his officials from their areas and in this process, "the chief actual sufferers at the present movement are the king, who gets little or nothing even of his undoubted dues, and the travellers, who unless he has such a guard as I have had better sleep in a safe kin on the other side of the Ganges"³⁶

V

- 5 1 The *zamindar* were able to multiply their armed retainers, forts, cannons and guns after the death of Sa'adat 'Ali Khan (1814). This became possible as the King was unable to check their activities, and the British help too was not forthcoming to the king in his attempts if ever made to punish a rebellious *zamindar*. It should not be assumed that they were simply 'invincible' or Awadh government was in any way less competent to control the situation. Sleeman describes how the Kanhpuria Rajput chiefs of Nain were suppressed by Raja Durshan Singh and Bukhtawar Singh during their term of *nizamat* of the district Salon (in which lay the Nain estate). But when the affairs of this place were entrusted to a court favourite, Hamid Ali, the situation undergone a change. Thereafter, "the Kanhpuria have recovered all the lands they had lost, restored all the *jungal* that had been cut down, and they are now more powerful than ever. They have strengthened their forts, and built some new and added greatly to the number of their armed followers, so that the governor of the district dares not do anything to coerce them into the payment of just demands of government or to check into their usurpation and outrages"³⁷ The Gaur *zamindar* of Banthar in Bainswara named Kesri Singh paid Rs 1,50,000/- annually in revenue, but thought it expedient to maintain 1000 matchlockmen. With these forces he defeated and slew a *chakledar* Sobha Ram and *faujdar* Shaikh Karim Buksh³⁸
- 5 2 Such defences could have been broken very well, but the army employed to bring down these *zamindar* was never given adequate supplies as to carry any long siege of the *garhi*, most of which were situated in midst of thick bamboo jungle. On the other hand the supply line of the besieged rebels could not be successfully broken, as the neighbouring *zamindar*, always entertained a strong sense of fellow-feeling for them. Although the total strength of Awadh forces was said to have been 54,000, it was, "an ill paid, disorderly multitude employed in coercing the *zamindar* under the orders of the *chakledar*"³⁹ It was thought of it to be, "useful only to the enemy, it is dangerous to the well being of the state, utterly useless for war, most mischievous during peace"⁴⁰ The number of the retainers kept by the *zamindar* was computed at 100,000 men, and they were mostly drawn from the caste of the *zamindar*⁴¹

- 5 3 The country was dotted with innumerable fortresses, surrounded with dense forests, carefully rendered inaccessible for state forces ⁴² All the *zamindar* invariably kept cannons and big guns for the defence of their forts A combination of all these factors always proved more than a match for the "royal forces" Sleeman estimated that some 250 mud forts and about 500 pieces of cannon were deployed in their service ⁴³
- 5 4 It seems the British officials had no clear idea of the actual strength of the *zamindar*, and whatever they guessed was a gross under-estimate The actual position came to light only after the Rebellion of 1857 was over, and the British officials started some sort of combing operations in the province As a result 1575 forts were destroyed and 720 pieces of cannon were seized ⁴⁴ In addition to these general statements, we possess a statement showing the armed strength of 149 land holders of southern portions of Awadh It was prepared by the deputy commissioner of Salon (then an administrative division of southern Awadh) in 1858 We find that every land-holder invariably had a *kacha* or *pucca* fort and a number of armed retainers Even small land holders having two villages, maintained a fort The statement gives us the following statistics ⁴⁵

**LIST OF THE FORTS, GUNS AND RETAINERS BELONGING TO
THE TA'ALUQADARS OF SOUTHERN AWADH**

Forts	Strength			Guns
	Infantry	Cavalry	Total	
150	78,211	3,313	81,524	308

Although details regarding the other parts of the kingdom are not available, still one can have an idea as to what the actual strength of the land holders was on the eve of annexation ⁴⁶

- 5 5 As a necessary corollary, the British Government carried a systematic campaign to disband the retainers, confiscate the guns and destroy the forts of the land holders after the fall of Lucknow We have an interesting lease-deed (*patta*) executed in 1265 F/1858 in favour of a revenue grantee It was stipulated that the lessee should have surrendered all pieces of cannon and guns to the government officials All the forts situated in his area should have been destroyed, the forests cleared and the ditches filled If any other land-holder in his area had concealed any guns or cannon, the matter be immediately brought to the notice of the government In failing to discharge these duties, stern action would be taken including the forfeiture of the lease itself ⁴⁷ Other confirmatory *sanads* issued to recognise the previously existing allodial rights of the *zamindar* and the revenue-grantees invariably carried a recitation to this effect

- 56 Lalji laments on the fact that, "among the Hindu inhabitants of the country (Awadh), the most numerous are the Rajputs. Most of the large *zamindar* and the *ta'alluqadar* of the kingdom belong to them. The fact that they possess large body of the (armed) retainers and forts, had made them arrogant and hence they had become disrespectful towards the others. Some of these idiots show no consideration towards the priestly class of the Brahmans and openly defy the religious customs"⁴⁸ The additional income so gained was again invested by the *zamindar* in raising the number of the retainers, forts and cannon "⁴⁹
- 57 In many ways the increase in armed power of the *zamindar* was a direct consequence of the British interference in day to day affairs of the kingdom. No doubt the *zamindar* had always kept a number of the retainers maintained forts, rebelled or taken to banditry under Mughal rule. But by and large, they seem to have been kept in check till the reign of Shuja'ud Daulah. But after Buxar a sort of 'dyarchy' was introduced in Awadh and interference was attempted at all the levels without any recognised system of policy. The Awadh administration became a prey to changing policies of the British Governor-Generals "Everything mere guess work and experiment. One governor general, or one Resident had adopted one plan, next had tried some thing wholly different"⁵⁰ On occasion, Company sepoy were deployed immediately to crush rebellions of *zamindar*, while on other such occasion, help was refused even on the requisition of the king himself. Such a situation could not but greatly encourage the *zamindar* to take up arms against the government as well as against the fellows *zamindar*.

NOTES AND REFERENCES

- 1 See my paper 'The Land Controlling Classes in Awadh - A Study of Changes in their composition, 1600 1900', *U P Historical Review*, vol V, Allahabad, pp 22-39
- 2 Irfan Habib, *Agrarian System of Mughal India*, Bombay, 1963 p 163
- 3 Mufti Gulam Hazrat, *Kawaif-i Zila-i Gorakhpur*, ff 7a-b, Cf Irfan Habib, *Ibid* p 160
- 4 Abul Fazl, *Ain-i Akbari*, ed Blochman, Bib Ind Calcutta, 1866-77
- 5 Documents in Regional Records Office, Allahabad accessioned in Register of Historical Documents Purchase Committee U P (hereafter Allahabad followed by the accession number) *Allahabad-1225* (Dec 1689)
- 6 Allahabad - 786 (Jan 1684)
- 7 Bhupat Rai, *Insha-Roshan Katam*, Ms Maulana Azad Library, AMU Aligarh, ff 2a 4a, 6a 8a
- 8 *Ibid*, 'arzdasht, No 1
- 9 *Ibid*, 'arzdasht, No 2
- 10 *Ibid*.
- 11 *Ibid*
- 12 *Ibid*, 'arzdasht, No 3
- 13 *Ibid* However, some fresh evidence has been examined to study the tensions between the *zamindar* and the *madad-i ma'ash* grantees during this period in the same region. It has been shown that the grantees, holding ecclesiastical offices as well, could become an easy target

of *zamindars* wrath, rather than those who were simple grantees See my paper, Tension and Conflict in the Agrarian Society of Awadh during the 17th century - A study of the revenue Grantees' *PIHC*, (1990), pp 354-36

- 14 *Allahabad - 287 and 290* (4th Ry of Aurangzeb)
- 15 *Allahabad - 1315*
- 16 *Firangi Mahal Document No 185* (35th Ry of Aurangzeb) Research Library Centre of Advanced Study department of History, AMU, Aligarh This has been reproduced in Mufti Raza Ansari's *Bani-i Darse-Nizami* (Urdu) Aligarh, 1973
- 17 This petition has a many unique features, which are otherwise missing from the contemporary historical literature For further details see my paper, *PIHC* (1990), P 356
- 18 Ghulam Husain Khan, *'Imad-us Sa'adat*, Nawal Kishor Press Lucknow, pp 7-8
- 19 Kamal-ud Din Haider, *Swanihat-i Salatin-i Awadh*, pp 7-8 Also see A L Srivastava, *The First Two Nawabs of Awadh*, Agra, 1933, pp 33-5 (hereafter as *FTNA*)
- 20 *'Imad-us Sa'adat*, pp 7-8, *FTNA*, PP 35-7
- 21 *Mansur-ul Maktubat* ff 6-7, f 89, The collection contains the letters of Burhan-ul Mulk and Safdarjang to emperor Muhammad Shah and other high officials of the Court, and *parwana* to the Nawab's officers in Awadh These were drafted by Munshi Santokh Rai and collected in a book form by his son Munshi Awadhi Lal in 1201 AH Probably the only copy of this manuscript is available in Tagore Library, Lucknow University
- 22 *Ibid*, ff 4-6, 38-40 It was asserted that these *zamindar* were, 'capable of creating disturbance in the twinkling of eyes" and were thought to be, "more dangerous than the Marathas of Deccan, the hereditary enemies of the Mughal Empire" See also *FTNA*, pp 39-40
- 23 *Ibid*, ff 46-7
- 24 *Ibid*, ff 7-8, ff 14-16, 17-18, 42
- 25 *Ibid*, ff 30-31 In a letter addressed to Nawab Ishaf Khan (?) Safdarjang conveyed him the news of his victory over the rebels of Tiloi Their forts were captured and a number of Rajput Chiefs were put to sword *Ibid*, ff 77-8 See also *FTNA*, PP 92-4
- 26 *Ibid*, ff 6-7
- 27 *Foreign Department Secret Consultations*, 12 Jan, 1778, National Archives of India, New Delhi, (hereafter *FDSC* and *NAI*)
- 28 *FDSC*, 8 Jan 1778, *NAI*
- 29 *FDSC*, 8 Jan 1778, *NAI* For a latter account of Almas Ali Khan, when he has become very old, see J V Valentia, *Vayoges and Travels in India, Cyclone, The Red Sea, Abyssinia and Egypt, 1802-6*, 3 vols London, 1809, see pt I, pp 136-7
- 30 *Foreign Secret Consultations*, 26 Feb 1777 (c) and 21 April, 1777 (D), *NAI*
- 31 Munshi In'amullah Raghib, *Ausaf-al Asaf*, Ms Aligarh 'Abdul Salam 480/1 *Farsi*, compiled in 1199 AH, transcribed in 1202 AH The second section of the MS contains letters, despatches, petitions and *parwana* see ff 69b-70a
- 32 Bishop Heber, *A Narrative of a Journey Through the Upper Provinces, 1824-25*, London, 1828, pp 84-5
- 33 *Ibid*, p 85
- 34 *Ibid*, p 86
- 35 *Ibid*, p 87 This was not the end of the matter as subsequently we find the situation deteriorating further Henry Lawrence observed thus, "At Lucknow for years the Residents held public *darbar*, where the guaranteed attended, and pleaded against their own sovereign

or his servants Thus were the monarch and his subjects arrayed against each other, thus was the sovereign degraded in his own capital, *"Calcutta Review*, (iii), 1845, pp 414-5

- 36 *Ibid* , p 98
- 37 W H Sleeman, *A Journey Through the kingdom of Oudh*, Vol I London, pp 134-5
- 38 Donald Butter, *Outlines of the Topography and Statistics of Oudh and Contonment of Sultanpur*, Calcutta, 1838, p 100
- 39 Edward Thornton, *A Gazetteer of the Territories under The Government of the East India Company and the Native States on the Continent of India*, London, 1854, p 36
- 40 Henry Lawrence, 'The kingdom of Oudh, *Calcutta Review*, Pt III) 1845, p 388 (hereafter CR)
- 41 *Thornton*, p 36
- 42 *CR* (III), p 421
- 43 Sleeman, *op cit* , Vol II, pp 210-1 In a different context we are told that in "midst of these forests, the land-holders generally maintained one or more mud-forts, surrounded by a ditch and a dense fence of living bamboos, through which cannon shot can not penetrate *Ibid* , II, p 279 Bishop Heber also confirms this when he says that the stronger *zamindar* built mud-forts, the poor *rayat* planted bamboos, and thorny jungles round their villages *op cit* , p 83
- 44 *CR*, 1860, pp 132-3
- 45 This list provide exhaustive details which are seldom available In the first column the locality of the fort is given, followed by the physical description of the fort and wether it is surrounded by a forest or not, then the name of the *ta'alluqadar* What amount of revenue he paid, the actual strength of the retainers he maintained, the number of the guns he possessed Although utmost care was taken to compile the information still it was mentioned, "that in addition to the above forts, every village in Oude almost, is more or less fortified - the houses being loopholed and after encircled by bamboo plantations *Board of Revenue Records*, file number 395/1859
- 46 The total number of the forts in Awadh belonging to the land holders were said to be around 633 immediately after annexation *Foreign Consultations No 136/53 dated 31 Oct , 1856 NAI*, New Delhi
- 47 *Khairabad Documents No 10*, Centre of Advance Study, Department of History, AMU, Aligarh For a calender of these documents see Iqbal Husain, 'A calender of Khairabad Documents, 16th-19th Centunes', *Islamic Culture*, vol LIII, No (i) & (ii) Hyderabad, 1979
- 48 L'alji, *Mirat-ul Auza*, Ms Maulana Azad Library, AMU, Uny Collec (supply) *Farsi Akhbar* No 60, ff 74a-76b
- 49 *Ibid* , f 91
- 50 *CR*, (III), 1845, p 421

THE MUGHAL POLITY - A CRITIQUE OF “REVISIONIST” APPROACHES

M. ATHAR ALI*

I

- 1 1 The nature of pre-colonial Indian state, especially as one could see it in similarity or opposition to the state in Europe, has exercised a particular fascination since the seventeenth century, when Francois Bernier spelled out his theory about Oriental monarchies, with special reference to the Mughal Empire and Turkey. It may be recalled that he saw eastern states different from the European in two major particulars: (1) The king here was the owner of the soil, in other words, the exactor of rent, and (2) those who actually collected the tax-rent held only temporary tenures, as holders of *jagir* or *timar*, unlike the hereditary European lords. The temporary tenures, which were a necessary reflex of state ownership of land led to over-exploitation of the peasantry, and therefore, a progressive decline of the economy and polity. This was in contrast to Western Europe, where the limitation of state right of sovereignty and dominance of private property over the land, under its protection, were the surest means to progress and prosperity. Already in Bernier we have the articulation of the contrast between the Oriental despotic state and the Occidental *laissez-faire* state.¹
- 1 2 The colonial conquest did not, by including greater familiarity, force an alteration of Bernier's basic thesis. It could at once be seen that over much of India, there was little that could be seen as European landlord's rent, whereas the most visible claimant to a comparable position in size was the tax

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collected by, or in the name of, the ruler. The theory was wholly taken over by James Mill in his *History of British India*, and in his later arguments at East India House that the Indians were the most lightly taxed people in the world, since what the state took from them under the designation of land revenue was the landlords' rent and not tax.² In 1839 John Crawford would speak of his objection to an "Asiatic land-tax" as "a tax which aims at the entire absorption by the state of all it can seize of the rent of the country, nearly the whole industry of which is rural".³ Though Mill and Crawford were on the opposite sides in the revenue controversy, their perceptions of the pre-colonial Indian state and its rights to rent were identical.

- 1.3 The tradition continued till W. H. Moreland (1929), who in his pioneer essay on the medieval Indian agrarian system recognized

"The fact that in the Moghul period the state disposed of from a third to a half of the gross produce of the land constituted it *by far the most* potent factor in the distribution of the national income, [and] that next only to the weather, the administration was the *dominant fact in the economic life* of the country"⁴ (*italics ours*)

This naturally assigned to the pre-colonial state, an economic role which distinguished it crucially from its European counterpart. If one emphasized the selfish nature of the king and the ruling class of the pre-colonial times, exhibited in a lack of reasonable restraint in taxation, one would call it "despotic". Where one wishes to consider the exaction of rent as a necessary device for extending disinterested protection, as the British thought was true in their case, a word like "paternalistic" was thought more to suit such state, which, created in pre-colonial times, continued in its essential fiscal aspect into the colonial. The great difference in intent, not substance, of the state is well put by Macaulay when he presented William Bentinck as having "infused into Oriental despotism the Spirit of British freedom".⁵

- 1.4 It was inevitable that this portraiture of the pre-colonial state should receive reconsideration from historians having a stand-point different from the masters of the Raj. R. P. Tripathi in a thesis submitted in 1926, argued that there was limits to despotism in "the Muslim theory of sovereignty".⁶ Ibn Hasan (1933) while disavowing any attempt to commend or condemn the Mughal polity from the standpoint of "modern institutions", insisted that the 'military form' of the state and the institution of monarchy were derived from geography and social institutions of the country.⁷ In other words, it did not have an independent, self-propelled tendency towards total authority. P. Saran (1941), more directly responding to the Bernier-generated theories, asserted that "our modern institutions are not in all respects necessarily an advance over their predecessors", he denied that the king in India had been the owner of the soil, and insisted that "the peasants who cultivated the land were the *defacto* as well as *dejure* owners of their respective plots".⁸ Saran was also definite that

there was little room for overtaxation in the Mughal System. In all, there seemed to be a tendency to look at the Mughal Empire as essentially similar to contemporary European politics, with self-limiting sovereignty and the role of a benevolent protector of society rather than its principal slave-driver.

- 15 New questions came to be posed once the colonial ban on Marxist literature was lifted, Marxist ideas began increasingly to influence historians after 1947. As is well known, Marx took over the concept of the Asiatic rent-exaction State ("Oriental Despotism"), but modified it heavily by ascribing to it a concern for "public works", chiefly irrigation, and by integrating with it the institution of Village Communities.⁹ At the same time, he put forward the concept of the state as the protector (and, therefore, the instrument of the principal exploiting class in society), and indicated that the specific relationship of the state to society would vary, within this basic area, from one "mode of production" to another, the series comprising "the Asiatic, the ancient, the feudal and the modern bourgeois mode of production".¹⁰ The major pioneer interpretation of pre-colonial history under Marxian influence was that of D D Kosambi (1956). He saw in the Mauryan state of late 4th and 3rd centuries B C a reflex of the Asiatic State, but argued that there was a decline in both state power and urbanism during the first millennium. In the evolution of "Indian feudalism", he saw a weak state, its authority weakened constantly by the rise of local potentates ("from below") or by installation of king's officials as territorial potentates ("from above").¹¹ However, it was not clear how the weak, feudal polity continued in the Delhi Sultanate (13th and 14th centuries) and the Mughal Empire (16th and 17th centuries). Kosambi was obviously on rather obscure ground when he took the very statements for his concept of Oriental Despotism, as evidence of a "feudal system".¹²
- 16 A different approach was adopted by scholars who, while largely seeking a conformity with the Marxist framework, wished first to describe Mughal polity before classifying it. Satish Chandra (1959) offered an excellent synthesis of the work already done on sources of Mughal political history and administration in the introduction to his work on the Mughal Empire during the first half of the 18th century.¹³ In his work on the agrarian system of the Mughal Empire,¹⁴ Irfan Habib (1963) broadly accepted and underlined the centralized nature of Mughal polity and the large share of the surplus that the Mughal land-tax represented. On this he presented an impressive amount of documentary evidence. But at the same time he insisted that the centralized ruling class of collaboration and antagonism, with another scattered, localised hereditary "junior" ruling class, the *zamindars*, who were smaller co-sharers in the surplus. This assertion was based on a fresh scrutiny of Mughal historical works and official records supplemented by an extensive study of local "private" documents.¹⁵ The view of Mughal agrarian system as a relationship between just two sides, the state and the peasantry, was thus replaced by the conception of a three-tiered structure, the tiers being the Imperial ruling class, the *zamindars* and the peasants. Irfan Habib asserted that "the peculiar feature of the state in Mughal India was that it served not merely as the protective arm of exploiting classes, but was itself the principal instrument of

exploitation" ¹⁶ This brought him, of course, very close to the concept of Oriental Despotism (or to the "Tributary mode" of Samir Amin) But implicit in his entire work was also the view that the state was wider than the formal frame-work of the Mughal Empire, and the *zamindars* constituted a centrifugal force S Nurul Hasan (1973) with his classification of 'primary', 'intermediary' and 'tributary' zamindars was subsequently to particularly reinforce these conclusions ¹⁷ One could almost say that these views presumed an "Oriental Despotism" superimposed over a "feudal" substratum to create the state of the 17th century India However, while accepting the force of much of the evidence presented on the concentration of authority in the Mughal Empire, I argued (1972) that the very systematization of the polity represented a control on its arbitrariness, and could even see in the Empire, a "quasi-modern", rather than an "Asiatic State" ¹⁸

- 1 7 While in India these conclusions received considerable acceptance, and have received continuing confirmation from studies of documentary material from all parts of India (of this later in this paper), these views have been subjected to increasing suspicion by an increasingly larger set of western scholars

II

- 2 1 The starting point of the objection seems to be the rejection of a view that India could really have developed centralised or systemized state institutions in view of its cultural and social circumstances Burton Stein (1980) raised this objection on a challenging form, when he argued that the model of the state in South India was that of the "segmentary state" located in African tribal society by Aidan Southal ¹⁹ The new discovery was that caste religion and ethnicity were now seen as forming social institutions which occupied much of the space assigned by modern theory to the state, while the formal state tended to be weak in the same ratio as distance from the capital to be unsystematized and accommodative of local autonomies It would have been too much to expect that having found the concept so useful for South India, Burton Stein and others would not assume that it was also applicable to the rest of India In the enthusiasm for the new Doctrine one could easily forget that Stein's imposition of the Segmentary State on South India itself has not found unanimous acceptance, R Champakalakshmi (1981) and D N Jha (1982) have recorded important caveats and rebuttals ²⁰
- 2 2 The "revisionist" approach to the analysis of Mughal polity arrived at by "Mughal-centered" historians (Frank Perlin's expression) has now taken a number of forms the first was initiated in asides, rather than in substance, by C A Bayly (1983) ²¹ he acknowledged that "the key note of Mughal rule had been size and centralisation" ²² Yet, he also suggested that "the previous writing (on the Mughal Empire) has been too pre-occupied with the state at the expense of the corporate groups which constituted it", in other word, that unlike post-reformation Europe, the state in India was not "the unchallenged political form" He saw in the decline of the Mughal Empire, a positive element,

where these "corporate groups" or "social classes" played their role through the "commercialization" and "decentralization" of Mughal polity in the 18th century in extending agriculture and intensifying commerce, and then shifted their loyalties to the British, as the most - for them - beneficial power. The British conquest was thus an Indo-British affair - the culmination of Bayly's "continuity" thesis.²³ Implicit in this thesis was a favourable assessment of the performance of the regional elites, forming the 18th-century transition states, as if decentralization and regionalisation were the historical objectives of the Mughal Empire - there was, therefore, no real decline.²⁴

- 2 3 Bayly's thesis was supported by Muzaffar Alam (1986), who took over the glorification of the permanent *jagir* and revenue forming (*ijara*) as indices not of collapse of government and equity, but of regionalisation and commercialisation — and, therefore, of "growth".²⁵ He has now made the gratifying supplementary discovery that, but for the work of western scholars from Bernard Cohn (1962) to Bayly and Andre Wink (1986), there would be no emphasis laid on 18th-century regional economy and "local social context of politics".²⁶
- 2 4 A second line of approach has been adopted by Andre Wink (1986), which in its conclusions loosely meshes with the Bayly argument. Wink has had access only to material in Marathi (and not apparently even to the extensive Persian records of the Marathas), but he starts with the assumption that "Mughal sources" consist of only a few chronicles which "merely hide behind a facade of moralistic or religious condemnation". Once he has so easily wished away the mass of Persian and Rajasthani documentation that "Mughal historians" have been using, he has no difficulty in first assuming a universalist Islamic theory of sovereignty, which allegedly applied to the Mughal Empire, then emphasising the actuality of the power of "the intermediary gentry or zamindari stratum", and finally seeing the constant reconciliation of the two by means of the process of *fitna*, an Arabic word meaning sedition, to which Wink gave so wide a range of meanings (all his own) to practically make it an equivalent of policy or adjustment. He was so led away by his own theory that to him the centralization and systematisation of the Mughal Empire became practically illusory, its expansion achieved by *fitna*, its 'decline' (to be always put within inverted commas) the consumption of its expansion. "The Mughal Empire" merely "represented a form of sovereignty, a balancing system of continually shifting rivalries and alliances — At no stage did it transcend *fitna*".²⁷ one begins to ask why Wink did not put the words 'empire' and 'expansion' also within inverted commas, and have done with it.
- 2 5 If there were any peaks of mystification left unscaled by Wink, these have been ascended by Frank Perlin (1985). Like Wink, Perlin's main documentary base is Marathi (not inclusive of Persian records of the Marathas), Wink's cult of *fitna* is here paralleled by that of *watan* (another Arabic word) seen by Perlin as the basic factor behind state formation.²⁸ The picture of the Mughal Empire, its centralisation and systematisation, drawn by "Mughal-centered" historians is dismissed in a few sentences and footnotes as being the work of those who

can not relate text to context, and "fish" out data from different areas of individual complexity to create an illusory uniformity²⁹ The contradictions in the Mughal agrarian system, derived by Irfan Habib from a large mass of documents, is described without further ado as contradictions not of fact but "of our organization of knowledge about the state"³⁰ All this, in spite of Perlin not himself caring to present any evidence about the polity, economy and society of Mughal Empire

- 2 6 If one blows away the smoke of the "revisionist" verbiage, there remains precious little fact that can take us anywhere beyond the three tier relationship of Empire - *zamindar* - peasantry, which since the early 1960s has been the cornerstone of conventional Mughal historiography Bayly's "corporate groups", Wink's *fitna* and Perlin's *watan* are all different ways of defining and describing the position of the intermediate class in this triangular relationship On the Mughal state itself no new light has been shed, no illumination gained This may justify the recent bitter observation of Burton Stein that the history of "the mightiest of the pre-colonial kingdoms of India has not been substantially revised and there appears to be no disposition on the part of most Mughalists to do so" In the manner of one finding a useful scapegoat he locates the cause of this stultification in "the inertia induced by the siege mentality of Aligarh"³¹ The reason, of course, is not any one's mentality, but in the fact that fresh explorations of documentary evidence have only tended to confirm and underline the standard proposition about the elements of centralisation and systemisation in the Mughal polity and position of the *zamindar* class There may be new readings of village communities or monetization or legal systems, but nothing has come up even remotely to challenge the basic perceptions about *mansab* and *jagir*

III

- 3 1 The controversy about the nature of the pre-colonial Indian State may be of some value, if it enables us to better elucidate the basic feature of the Mughal Empire, especially in comparison to its 18th century successors Here it may be well to remind ourselves that there are two separate problems to consider The question of centralization must be kept distinct from that of the plenitude of state power On the one hand, a state with a low quantum of power within society may be extensive and centralised On the other a small decentralized state may enjoy unchallenged supremacy over society within its constructed borders it is obviously an elementary error to suppose that a historian who finds that the Mughal Empire was centralised and had a high degree of administrative unity must also be assumed to assert that the Mughal Empire was to be put in the same class as a Post Reformation European Enlightened Despotism And yet this accusation is implicit in Bayly as well as all the succeeding "revisionists"
- 3 2 On the issue of centralisation, two objections to its actuality within the Mughal Empire have been put forward The first raised by Gerard Fussman (1982/1990) related to the problem of communications He presents a map based

on speeds of relay-couriers in the Mughal empire, and then inferred from this the necessary "existence of local representatives of the king, who had at their disposal a large amount of power" ³² The inference is drawn in respect of the Mauryan Empire, but it would be most directly relevant to the Mughals. One could most easily retort that speed of communications did not increase between Akbar's time and the installation of telegraph about the middle of the 19th century, and yet it would be hard to argue that the East India Company's government in India in Lord William Bentinck's time was decentralised in any recognisable sense of the word. As far as the Mughal empire is concerned, it is enough to see documents such as letters from governors (notably, Aurangzeb's letters as Viceroy of the Deccan, in *Adab-i Alamgiri*), the reports of the proceedings at the governor's headquarters (eg *Akhbarat* of prince Azam's headquarters at Ahmadabad), and the news reports (eg the *Waqai* of the Deccan and of Ajmer) that have survived to show the plenitude of power that the Emperor reserved to himself and to central ministers. The discussion on the degree of Mughal centralisation must surely rest on a scrutiny of such documentation.

- 3.3 The only declared support for the revisionist approach by looking at details of 17th century Mughal documentation that I know of has come from Chetan Singh (1988) ³³ Basically his argument is to challenge the view that "on account of frequent transfers the Mughal bureaucracy was unable to develop regional moorings" ³⁴ He asserts that officials appointed as governors of the Punjab "belonged to areas lying within it", and mentions the names Ghazi Beg Tarkhan, Dilawar Khan Kakar, and Khwaja Main (*sic*) ³⁵ Of these, however, Ghazi Beg Tarkhan 'belonged' to Sind, not Punjab, and was Governor of Thatta at the beginning of Jahangir's reign, he then held successively governorship of Qandhar (1606-07), and he died there in 1612-13. He was Governor of Multan for only a little while in Jahangir's 2nd R Y. Dilawar Khan (Ibrahim Khan) Kakar was an Afghan. After a brief term in Lahore, he is not known to have been posted in the Punjab at all. In 1617-18 he was appointed Governor of Kashmir, where he died in 1619-20. As for "Khwaja Main", by this must be meant Khwaja Mu'in Khan who was simply deputy-Governor of Lahore in 1656-7, when this appointment ceased. Nothing else is known about him ³⁶ How Chetan Singh assumed that all the three "belonged" to the Punjab is a mystery. Moreover, he thinks that Lahore and Multan provinces constituted one region (Multan then included Northern Sind as well), they might for him, but there is no reason to believe that the Mughals thought so. For them, the two were distinct provinces, with totally different sets of officials. They could not have known that Ranjit Singh and the British would one day make Lahore and Multan (minus upper Sind) into one unit. This disposes of most "appointments" in the same region that Chetan Singh pinpoints ³⁷ As to whom he ascribes regional affiliations, one can easily see that this has been done by ignoring other postings received by these very officials.
- 3.4 Najabat Khan Mirza Shuja in fact not only twice held the governorship of Multan, but also twice held the *faujdari* of Koil (Aligarh) in Agra *suba* and died in 1663-64 as *subedar* of Malwa ³⁸ Quli Khan, twice *subedar* of Multan, served

also as *subedar* of Delhi, Allahabad, Qandahar, Lahore and Kabul Said Khan Bahadur, twice *subedar* of Lahore, also served twice as *subedar* of Kabul and once of Qandhar and Bihar Lashkar Khan twice *subedar* of Multan, also served as *subedar* of Kashmir, Thatta and Bihar Murshid Quli Khan whose appointments in Lahore and Multan Chetan Singh refers to, served as *mir atish* (artillery commander) at the court and from 1652 to his death in 1658, was the *diwan*, first of Balaghat and of the whole of the Mughal Deccan³⁹ Any regional attachment of these officers, once we examine their whole careers, is hard to discern Rather what strikes one is the ease with which they would be shifted to distant areas, from Kabul to Bihar, or from the Punjab to the Deccan

- 3.5 If one can construct "regionalisation of the administrative functionaries"⁴⁰ in the face of such contrary evidence, and in absence of any positive one worth the name, we can only imagine that one is working to a brief and not going to sources with an open mind
- 3.6 The second question relates to the degree of power of the state (and not just of the centre) over society This, as we have seen, is about what power the state, centralised or not, exercised within a given territory It may not matter for this purpose whether, the given territory, say Gujarat, was administered from Ahmadabad or Agra We are here concerned with how much of the rural surplus was taken by the state, how much did it interfere in commerce or community life, and so on In the economic sphere the central question is the nature and size of the land tax⁴¹ That the modes of assessment of land tax and customary shares of the *zamindars* varied from area to area was well recognised in conventional historiography (as well as, richly enough, in Mughal documentation) The key issue is whether there was any substantial region in the Mughal Empire, where the land-tax was not seen as the major claim on peasants' surplus On this matter, the "revisionists" have been strangely silent For here the Persian, the Rajasthani, the Marathi and the English documentation is universally in agreement the "text" is at peace with the "context" A state which claimed such a heavy share out of agricultural produce, as Moreland saw, could not just be a marginal social institution, or one among many, as we are now being told to suppose
- 3.7 As for other limiting feature, such as that the Mughal Empire was not a legislating state, i.e. creating its own law independent of and suspending customary and religious laws, nor a state committed to economic growth beyond measures designed to lead to future tax growth, these limitations have never been doubted by historians In fact, this was implicit in the traditional view that full sovereignty in the sense of complete legislative control over society is the product of modern European history and can not be looked for in non-European pre-modern States⁴² No historian had ever laid claim that Mughal polity was in these aspects the equal of the European post-Reformation state And if the "revisionist" have this in mind only, there should be no ground for disagreement with anyone But the picture of the Mughal Empire in its classic phase, as centralised polity, geared

to systematisation and creation of an all imperial bureaucracy, would still remain unshaken

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- 3 Quoted by Stokes, *op cit*, p 62
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- 9 Marx first spelt out his ideas on the pre-colonial Indian state and society in 'British Rule in India', *New York Tribune*, 1853 (Marx and Engels, on *Colonialism*, Moscow, 1976, pp 35-41)
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- 15 See specially *Ibid*, pp 136-189
- 16 *Ibid*, p 257
- 17 Saiyid Nurul Hasan, *Thoughts on Agrarian Relations in Mughal India* New Delhi, 1973, pp 18-40
- 18 Presidential Address, Medieval India Section, Indian History Congress Muzaffarpur Session, 1972, revised version, *JRAS*, London, 1978, No 1, pp 38-49
- 19 Burton Stein, *Peasant State and Society in Medieval South India*, Delhi 1980, p 23
- 20 R Champakalakshmi, *IESHR*, XVIII (3-4), pp 411-426, D N Jha, *IHR* VIII (1-2) pp 74-94
- 21 C A Bayly, *Rulers, Townsmen and Bazaars North Indian Society in the Age of British Expansion, 1770-1870*, Cambridge, 1983
- 22 *Ibid*, 465
- 23 *Ibid*, p 5
- 24 Bayly sums up his arguments conveniently in his conclusion (*Ibid*, pp 458-72)
- 25 Muzaffar Alam, *The Crisis of Empire in Mughal North India Awadh and the Punjab, 1707-48*, Delhi, 1986, esp p 318
- 26 *IESHR*, XXVIII, 1 (1991), p 43 and n It sheds interesting light on consciously 'todate' historiography that Muzaffar Alam in his list of eight authors should have overlooked all works

of Indian scholars in the same genre, such as N K Sinha (on Bengal), Asok Sen and Nihiles Guha (Mysore), Raghubir Singh, (Malwa), Ashin Das Gupta (Surat), S P Gupta and G D Sharma (Rajasthan), V V Diwakar (Maharashtra) and Indu Banga (Punjab), to name a few only

- 27 Andre Wink, *Land and Sovereignty in India — Agrarian Society and Politics under the Eighteenth Century Maratha Svarajya*, Cambridge, 1986, p 34
- 28 Frank Perlin, 'State Formation Reconsidered', *MAS*, XIX (3), pp 415-480
- 29 *Ibid*, pp 418 ff, esp p 419 and n, 420 and n, 423 and n
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- 31 *South Asia Research*, X(2), November 1990, pp 125-26
- 32 Gerard Fussman, "Central and Provincial Administration in Ancient India, *IHR*, XIV (1-2), pp 54-56, 67 (map) Fussman's article originally appeared in *Annales, Economies, Societies Civilisation*, (1982)
- 33 'Centre and Periphery in the Mughal State The Case of Seventeenth Century Punjab', *MAS*, XXII (2) (1988), pp 299-318
- 34 *Ibid*, p 304
- 35 *Ibid*, p 305
- 36 No authorities for statements made here are separately cited, because the references can be traced by looking up the names in the index to my *Apparatus of Empire, Award of Ranks, Offices and Titles of the Mughal Nobility*, (1574-1658), Delhi, 1985 Curiously, Chetan Singh makes no mention of the lists of Governors of Lahore and Multan as well as other *subas* worked out by Irfan Habib (*Medieval India*, 1, pp 91-94) and by me (*Ibid*, 96-133, and *Medieval India*, 3, pp 80-112)
- 37 Chetan Singh, *op cit* pp 306-7
- 38 For his last appointment, *Alamgirnama*, Bib Ind p 873, for the other details *Apparatus of Empire* (indexed refs)
- 39 For the careers of all these officials, whose cases Chetan Singh, (pp 306-7) cites as indicators of regional affiliations, see *Apparatus of Empire* (indexed references)
- 40 Chetan Singh, *op cit* p 317
- 41 "At the heart of the Indian administration lay the land revenue system" (Eric Stokes, *The English Utilitarians and India*, Delhi, 1959/1982, p 81
- 42 I may here quote my own remark on these limitations of the Moghul state, in *JRAS*, 1978, No 1, p 47 "if it (the Moghul Empire) had some rudiments of an unwritten constitution, it yet did not claim to itself the legislative power and functions that are the hall-marks of a modern state'

AFGHAN FORTS AND TOWNS IN NORTH INDIA (C.1720-1800)

IQBAL GHANI KHAN*

- 0 1 In the context of technical roles played by the state builders of the 18th century one needs to look at the encouragement and security they sought to provide for the towns that they had established to sustain their state-systems. This is seen in the growth of fortified markets where cash crops were bought and sold and which led to the rise in the number of 'urban' towns (*qasba*) centered around markets (*ganj*), mosques and bridges especially in Rohilkhand between 1750 and 1800.¹ The ideal which inspired this activity was expressed beautifully in a Ruhela quatrain which may be roughly be translated as follows²

If it be fame with thou crave,
Build things that are for the good (of all)
Build bridges, build wells,
And build arches, and mosques

- 0 2 Apart from the chronicles and reports by leaders in their own praise, very little detailed indigenous literature has survived on the forts built at places such as Anola, or Bareilly. Eyewitness accounts by European residents and itinerant military officers, offer us a few descriptions, but that is mostly about the nature of their masonry defences.³ However for the Bangash Afghan forts and towns, a near-contemporary source like the *Tankh-i Farrukhabad* of Waliullah is rich in evidence which we shall presently discuss

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- 0 3 Perhaps the low level of documentation is reflective of the fact that at the outset lavish construction was hardly ever undertaken by the Afghan ruling class. Construction was minimal, sparse and functional. Security was the focal point in the planning process undertaken by the master-mason and the local chief.⁴ Some of construction details would be recorded in biographies, others in chronicles especially if the process was a major politico-architectural statement such as the founding of Pilibhit, Rampur⁵ or Farrukhabad.⁶

I

RUHELA TOWNS

- 1 1 However, even as Farrukhabad was being built, the Ruhela Afghans had yet to settle down and, even after they had done so, they preferred to exploit the natural inputs to the limit before investing cash and labour in masonry forts. An outstanding example of how the economic, ecological and military resources were used to their advantage by the Ruhela leaders of the early confederacy is seen in the planting of rapidly-growing bamboo thickets around their habitations. The bush could get so thick and impenetrable that neither artillery nor infantry could be effective against them.⁷ For instance, when Ali Mohammad Khan began to acquire importance as an adversary in the eyes of the Mughal emperor (Mohammad Shah), the latter set out with a large force to discipline him. Ali Mohammad was able to hold out for several days inside the Bangarh fort because it was surrounded by a very thick bamboo "wall" which "even cannon could not pierce nor men cut down". In fact, the attackers were more vulnerable to firing from within by the defenders.⁸ This advantage, i.e. a natural "city wall" using thick bamboo bushes was also provided around Rampur, which became the Ruhela "capital" after 1774.⁹
- 1 2 Another Ruhela ability that found expression in the northern out-reaches of Rohilkhand was their use of mountains. Their military genius acquired through centuries of warfare in the hills of Afghanistan enabled them to establish mountain forts such as at Lal Dang in the Garhwal hills, or to use a hillock at Aonla to build their first capital in the Gangetic basin.¹⁰ Even when the English and their Awadh allies were chasing the remnants of the Ruhela forces in 1774-75, the latter were able to retreat to such an effective mountain fortress that Colonel Champion was forced to send in emissaries and conclude a more accommodating treaty with them than would otherwise have been needed.¹¹
- 1 3 Notwithstanding their utilisation of ecological factors, the various Ruhela chiefs also decided to establish, or revive, urban centres in Rohilkhand. The Ruhela decision to set up more permanent structures in the form of mosques, city walls, markets, bridges, wells and palaces was seen in the growth of Pilibhit under Hafiz Rehmat Khan in the 1760's. Well-protected *pakka* markets were built, merchants and bankers were ordered to settle there. As an incentive, they paid very low transit and market duties on their goods. Hafiz Rehmat Khan's military prowess also gave them a sense of security - a feeling difficult to entertain in other parts of North India at that time.¹²

- 1 4 Another such town which combined military functionality as well as commercial control was Najibabad. Najib Khan, the renegade Ruhela chief, who built this town in 1753-54, had found fame and fortune playing vital roles in the court politics of Delhi. By defending Delhi against the Marathas he became very close to the "emperor" and was given the title of "Najib-ud Daulah" (Protector of the Kingdom). Najib decided to establish a new town because he wished to have a refuge not far from Delhi. He also fortified his city so as to secure and to tax the traders who came down to Delhi from the Punjab, Kashmir, Afghanistan and the north. Najib was correct in his assessment and Najibabad grew because of the effort and money that Najib expended on its market building, residences, gardens and schools. He also made it obligatory upon each of his chiefs to build houses there, and all these factors obviously led to urban expansion.¹³
- 1 5 The separation of the civil functionality from the military is seen in an additional, purely military fort which was built contiguous to this town and named Najibagarh (a.k.a. Pathargarh). When the attack was serious, all women and children were moved into Pathargarh. Other military strongholds built by Najib were Ghausgarh near Saharanpur, and Sakkartal near Muzaffarnagar - the latter was a strong fort further up the Ganga river to which he would retreat, in the event of defeat or misfortune at Najibabad or Delhi.¹⁴ Najib Khan's son Zabita Khan too was so conscious of his role as protector of trade and agriculture, that he even fortified Meerut and Saharanpur.¹⁵
- 1 6 Such large scale town-building would not have been possible without the availability of settled manpower as well as the availability of canal irrigation in the lands being colonized. The Ruhelas used these factors well and enhanced their ability to provide work, all of which attracted labour. The cycles of famines in Mewat caused waves of immigration into Ruhela towns and their surroundings. At Pilibhit, Hafiz Rehmat Khan, who was building his capital in those days, decided to utilize this large work force to build a mud fortification around his town. It took two years for the immigrants to finish this mud wall, but when the work was over and when he saw that the people appeared quite prepared to stay on, he decided to have the mud wall demolished and replaced by brick fortification and gates. So confident was the Hafiz after these projects that he even built a mosque identical in design (though not in size), to that built by Shah Jahan in Delhi. The result was a mosque, which to this day, is the pride of the city. One flank of the courtyard characteristically houses a rather large temple too.¹⁶
- 1 7 As functions were added on to these "rurban" agglomerations, the morphology of the city, and the knowledge to manage the expansion, also underwent evolutionary change. Thus, while earlier, military functionality had been the sole criterion in the planning of the fortifications around towns, the need for sophistication was perceived and in some areas, implemented as the Ruhela state took shape. For example the Bareilly fort was "an irregular mass of buildings, destitute of elegance and strength", according to the traveller Tenant. But then it was built with local military resources in mind. Tenant adds

"However, it (this fort) may prove a useful check on an irregular army without a battering train. Like all other forts in India, it has not bastions for guns" ¹⁷ But such weakness of design did not go unnoticed by the later Ruhela elites and Pilibhit and Rampur are standing examples of urban sophistication. The Ruhelas had access to sizeable literature on town-planning, construction laws, calculation and estimation of materials required which had existed since Mughal times. Virtually every *Dastur-ul Amal* had a section on construction - related weights and measures, and calculation ¹⁸

- 1 8 Furthermore, once European expertise on fortification became available, and the Ruhela elites began realizing the deficiencies of their arrangements, they even sought expert advice from the Europeans. For example, Hafiz Rehmat Khan exchanged correspondence on details of fort construction with Antoine Polier, the Swiss "free lance" civil engineer ¹⁹ Though Hafiz Rehmat was killed soon after, his 'successor', Faizullah Khan and the Latter-day Rampur Nawabs embellished their capital with one of the largest red sandstone forts in northern India ²⁰
- 1 9 Maintenance was not neglected either. Documents such as orders for Pathan chiefs to take up the maintenance of forts in their areas in a proper way are extant in the National Archives, New Delhi. They stress that in the course of repairs fort commandants were not to force artisans into providing corvee (*begar*), nor charge the costs to the residents in the form of heavy cesses ²¹
- 1 10 Encouraging trade was an important motivating factor too. With most of the agrarian revenue alienated as salaries to the Ruhela warrior chiefs, controlling and taxing trade seem to have been a dominant source for financing the urbanization of Rohilkhand. This was not too difficult due to the high Banjara population in the Terai. These vital grain carriers were protected by the Ruhelas, and were able to service the region with foodgrains. Temporary markets grew at Nagina, Haldaur, Badli-Tanda, and Richha ²² Chandausi, one of the most important towns of Rohilkhand for the exchange of north Indian wheat and sugar with Rajasthani salt and iron, was established by Ibrahim Khan, a Ruhela chief in 1769 ²³ Other towns were developed because they lay in areas capable of yielding high - value crops such as rice, sugarcane, tobacco and wheat ²⁴ In 1789, the artists Thomas and William Daniel describe Najibabad as being an unusually opulent town with "tolerable trading activity, to which a variety of Metallic ores, gums, and spice are brought and disposed of in bazaars, of which there are several" ²⁵
- 1 11 If trade was the vital factor, another compulsion that led to the growth of towns was the compartmentalized, chief-based structure of Ruhela polity. Notable, when Ali Mohammad Khan died in 1749, the partitioning of "Kingdom" in Rohilkhand between his sons and his chiefs turned out to be a prudent and stabilizing step. Under such circumstances, the different groups of elites built their own capitals in Badaun, Bisauli, Attar Chhandi, Pilibhit, Usehat, Bareilly, Rampur and Shahabad. The most prominent examples of such patronage-led urban growth which we have described above were the political-commercial

towns such as Pilibhit and Bareilly. These cities grew because of trade, agriculture and craft production and also because they were centres of political command, and consumption of luxury goods²⁶

II

BANGASH FORTIFIED TOWNS

- 2.1 The other Afghan important group, the Bangash, was already in the decline when the Ruhelas began their state-building in c 1750. They were unable to stand up against the multiple pressures from Delhi, Awadh, the Marathas and even the Ruhelas, and hence unable to capitalize on their controlling position on the major river routes in the region. As a matter of fact Bangash strength too lay in their town and fort-building activities. Tieffenthaler in his survey of the forts in this part of the Gangetic plains in 1770's indicates as much and even provides clear drawings of the fortresses at Farrukhabad (built c 1714-1720), Fatehgarh, Qaimganj, Mainpuri, Makanpur, Shamsabad and other militarily important towns²⁷
- 2.2 Much effort and technical know-how had gone into the building of Farrukhabad - the Bangash capital begun by Muhammad Khan in 1714 and named after Farrukh Siyar, the reigning Mughal emperor. The highest point in the terrain was chosen for the citadel so that it commanded an excellent view of the countryside for miles in all directions. Like a good general Muhammad Khan made sure that the Ganga flowed at some distance from his walls so that a defence could be made before retreating into the walled city. Movement of traffic on the river Ganga was also commanded because it allowed the Bangash chiefs to control and protect the riverine trade. Shaikh Waliullah gives details, even dimensions of the walls, the moats, the gates, palaces, the various bazaars, the tradesmen's separate quarters and how the bankers and traders were housed safely in the city-centre protected by officers and *chelas* who lived along the outer fringes of the fortified town²⁸
- 2.3 Furthermore, the topsoil around Farrukhabad was fertile and the subsoil was hard and compact. This made it easy to dig cutcha wells which would not collapse every year, even the water they yielded was praised for its sweetness and coolness. Fortunately we also have evidence of the workmen's wages prevailing at that time. Whereas the ordinary labourer was paid 2 *fulus* (copper coins) per day, a *karigar mi'mar* (skilled mason) received 5 *fulus* per day. Ostensibly, the name of the master mason was Adam²⁹. The town grew as the Bangash polity became conscious of their own state-system and began building *havelis* (palaces), mosques, markets, serais, tombs, and gates and planting orchards in and around Farrukhabad³⁰. Muhammad Khan also established a fort at Mohammadabad and at Qaimganj
- 2.4 Unfortunately, this nascent state-system fell to the exigencies of the British East India Company's colonial policies in this region. When Count Valentia visited the town in 1803, he writes that it was being 'completed' under the

supervision of Grant, the English Commissioner Count Valentia's description is interesting, he wrote -

Farrukhabad is only 90 years old The Pathans being thorough soldiers have built it away from the river The nawab lives within the old fort on high ground *If finished*, the fort *would have been* very strong Mr Grant is raising the streets, which were already wide, and removing all nuisances out of the way Once the gates are repaired, the city will look pretty ³¹

His remark that "if finished" is significant Obviously the Bangash nawabs were unable to cope with the financial needs of their urbanization plans Unlike the Ruhelas who had prohibited the extraction of cesses and *begar* for repairing fortifications, the revenue manuals belonging to Bangash areas legitimise cesses such as the *abwab marammat'hai qila* (cess for the repair of forts) ³²

- 2 5 Nonetheless, the scale of fortified town and market building seems to have been prolific The Nawabs, though suspicious of other Afghan chiefs' town-building activities, did allow their eunuch slaves and *chelas* to build at will Thus Yaqut Khan, a Slave-Wazir of Mohammad Khan Bangash established no less than eleven pakka markets in the districts of Etah and Farrukhabad before he died in 1750 The biggest fort constructed by him was at Daryaganj on the Ganga - the only fort whose remains were visible to Irvine in the 1870's ³³ Nonetheless fortified market towns were a speciality of the Bangash Nawabs and this is evident from large number of towns bearing the suffix 'ganj' which were established in this period A military spy for the British East India Company, Ensign Davy, who toured this region in April 1774, reports that 'Sarai' Aliganj near Naurangabad, was a large square brick building with bastions and was much stronger than many forts had seen However, here too the decline was visible by 1774 because in the words of Ensign Davy, "Aliganj, like the equally-well fortified Sarai at Chhapra Ghat, was deserted and in disrepair" ³⁴ Finally by 1814, there were just a few small mud *garhis* left standing in the district of Farrukhabad ³⁵
- 2 6 What is remarkable about this Afghan-led urbanization of the mid-18th century is the extremely short lives that these centres enjoyed The Bangash townships that came up in 1720-50 were found to be in a state of disrepair by 1776 ³⁶ The prime reason for their rise had been their closer proximity to the centre of Mughal power, in particular the support of Sabit Khan, the Mughal *Faujdar* of Aligarh The latter's death in 1732 and the rise of the Marathas, the Jats, the Awadh Nawabs and lesser enemies hastened the end The process of decline accelerated once the Nawab of Awadh was began fighting 'proxy wars' for the British East India Company
- 2 7 The riverine trade on which the Bangash towns subsisted, suffered due to disruptions imposed on the flow of silver specie and the monopolistic trade

practices adopted further east by the English East India Company. The latter's aspirations can finally be seen in the establishment of a large military cantonment at Fatehgarh in 1802

- 28 On the other hand, Ruhela towns had grown only after a truce had been worked out with the Mughals in 1745-46. As their polity took shape, each chieftain established his own urban political, commercial base, and township multiplied. Good irrigation, soil and skilled cultivators ensured repeated harvests of sugarcane, rice, tobacco and wheat which also needed markets. Artisans skilled in the manufacture of arms and saddlery made these towns flourishing centres for military purchases.³⁷ The economic prosperity of the Ruhela regions declined once the entrepreneurial leadership of the Afghans was replaced by *ijaradari* of the Awadh Nawab after 1774. Rampur, the city state to which all the Ruhela elites withdrew after 1775, continued to be an island of urban growth until it was taken over by the British early in the 19th century

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- 2 Quoted in Najmul Ghani, *Akhbar-us Sanadid*, Lahore, 1906, pp 313-315.
- 3 Wm Francklin, *A History of the Reign of Shah Alum*, pp 58-59, see also Count Valentia, *Voyage*, I p 194.
- 4 The name of Adam, perhaps the master mason when Farrukhabad was built c 1714-19, is found inscribed over the *dehleez* of one of the 'palaces'. See Waliullah's *Tarikh-i Farrukhabad* (in Urdu) tr W Irvine, pp 31-32.
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- 7 See details in Sadat Khan, *Gul-i Rehmat*, p 138a. Ms No 155, KBOPL, Patna.
- 8 *Iqbalnama*, tr S H Askari, Patna, 1983, pp 227-230.
- 9 See details in *Gul-i Rehmat*, p 138, also see Heber, *Journey*, p 221.
- 10 *Tarikh-i Ruhela*, JNU Ms ff 10-12.
- 11 G W Forrest, ed *Selections from the State Papers*, Foreign Department, Vol I, pp 330-40.
- 12 Mustajab Khan, *Gulistan-i Rehmat*, p 35, passim.
- 13 See Collection of documents relating to the establishment of Najibabad in *Asnad-i Musawwidat Tarikh-i Najibabad*, Ms copy, A Salam Collection, AMU, Aligarh.
- 14 See details in S Nuruddin Husain, *Tarikh-i Najib-ud Daulah*, Ms, 24410, BL, See also translation by S A Rashid, Aligarh, 1952, pp 24-25, 137-142, see also description in

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- 15 W. Franclin, *Shah Alum*, p 41
 - 16 For a comparison of the two mosques, see *Gul-i Rehmat* Ms 155 KBOPL, Patna f 98-99, see also S. Altaf Ali Bareilvi, *Hayat-i Hafiz Rehmat Khan*, Badaun, 1933, pp 329-330, see also Mustajab Khan's *Gulistan-i Rehmat*, tr. Charles Elliot, London, 1831, p 51. For an early drawing c 1776, which shows the temple, see Mildred Archer, *Early Views*, Pl 47
 - 17 Tenant, *Recreations*, quoted by S. M. Moens, *Bareilly Settlement Report*, p 40
 - 18 The earliest details on construction are found in the *Ain-i Akbari*, vol II, See also comments on this craft in A. J. Qaisar, *Construction Technology in Mughal India*, OUP, New Delhi, 1989, passim. Among the contemporary classics is *Yadgar-i Bahaduri*, c 1830, Ms Add 1652 a-b BL, pp 720-30 (on house design), for measurement, see *Dastur-ul Amals* such as Ms Add 6598, f 13, Add 6599, and Ms 315-85, A. Salam Collection, Aligarh, ff 15-16, for definitions, see Yasin's Glossary, Ms 6603 BL, f 59, see also Iqbal Husain, "Calendar of Khairabad Documents", *Islamic Culture*, LXIII, p 92, on artisans, see Unidentified Manuscript, Ms Is 95, 1965, in the V & A Museum. On town planning, see description of Bangash towns in Orem Ms No 6, IOL, p 51, and Waliullah's *Tarikh-i Farrukhabad*, Ms Or 171 BL, ff 1-2 and descriptions of new towns by English travellers such as Twining, *Travels*, p 323, also see travel accounts of Heber, Archer to some a few
 - 19 See *Aijaz-i Arslani* (Polier's correspondence with Indian rulers), Ms No Sp 479, vol 1, ff 29v, 365, 402, also see vol II, f 320
 - 20 See layout map of Rampur, Ms copy, Raza Library, Rampur
 - 21 Acqd Document No 1492, NAI, New Delhi and others
 - 22 S. M. Moens, *Bareilly Settlement report*, 1874, pp 33-34, passim, for the high incidence of Banjara populations in the districts of Bareilly, Moradabad, Badaun, Shahjahanpur, i.e. Rohilkhand, see *Census of India*, 1891, Allahabad, 1894
 - 23 See "Report of the Possibility of laying a Railway Line in Southern Rohilkhan", in *Selections from the Records of the NWP Govt*, vol II
 - 24 Anand Ram Mukhlis, *Safarnama*, ed. S. Azhar Ali, Rampur, 1946
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 - 27 Tieffenthaler in Bernoulli, ed., *Description Historique et Geographique* Berlin, 1786, pp 195-202, 221, 233 & passim
 - 28 Waliullah, *Tarikh-i Farrukhabad* Ms Or 1718, British Library, London, ff 1-2, more details are available in Wm Irvine, *Tarikh-i Farrukhabad* (in Urdu), Fatehgarh, 1887, pp 31-40. See also *Tarikh-i Farrukhabad*, Ms No 954/1, Subhan Ullah Collection, A. M. U. Aligarh
 - 29 Wm Irvine, *Tarikh-i Farrukhabad*, (in Urdu), p 33
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 - 31 Court Valentia, *Travel*, vol I, p 194
 - 32 Chhatar Mal, *Diwan Pasand*, Ms, Or 2011, BL, see also translation of this manual by L. Dacosta, p 13
 - 33 Waliullah *Tarikh-i Farrukhabad*, quoted in Irvine, "The Bangash Nawabs" MSR 47, 1898, pp 275, 279, 343

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MIR ALI SHER THATTAVI'S LIFE AND CONTRIBUTIONS TO THE HISTORY AND CULTURE OF SIND

FATIMA ZAHRA BILGRAMI*

I

- 1 1 Mir Ali Sher Qaani was a man of outstanding ability - an accomplished scholar, a voluminous writer, a historian and a poet, he stands unsurpassed among the 18th century literary figures of Sind. His writings, which include historical works, Biographical accounts, sufistic tracts and poetical compositions contain much political and religious information suggesting that during the Kulhora period Thatta remained the centre of scholarship. We are particularly indebted to him for the vast and rich material which he left relating to the political and cultural History of Sind.
- 1 2 About Mir Ali's life, our information is scanty and largely based on his autobiographical statements in the *Tuhfat-ul Kiram*¹ and *Maqalat-us Shura*². There are besides a few other references pertaining to the author's ancestors and family background in the *Majalisat-ul Mominin*,³ *Habib-us Siyar*⁴ and *Tarikh-i Tahiri*⁵.
- 1 3 Mir Ali Sher Thattavi belonged to a respectable family of the Saiyids of Shiraz. His ancestor Saiyid Qazi Shukrullah Shirazi was the fifth lineal descendant of Mir Jamaluddin Ataullah.⁶ Mutual flow of scholars and men of Letters was frequent at that time. Many refugees and aristocratic families found their way into Sind and other parts of northern India. Qazi Saiyid Shukrullah too left

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Herat as a result of political confusion in Central Asia, that followed the death of Sultan Husain Baiqra⁷ and arrived at the court of the Arghun ruler, Shah Beg at Qandhar, a great patron of art and learning whose court was adorned by poets and scholars. When Shah Beg Arghun conquered Thatta (1519) Saiyid Shukrullah Shirazi, and his son Saiyid Zaheeruddin "Jadam", along with some *mashaikh*⁸ accompanied him to Thatta. A year after the occupation of Thatta, Shah Beg died (1520). His son and successor Shah Hasan Arghun (1520-55) remained devoted to Qazi Shurullah. He not only conferred upon him the office of *Shaikh-ul Islam* but also appointed him as Qazi of Thatta, because of his erudition and scholarship⁹. For years Qazi Shukrullah served as Qazi, but resigned from his post¹⁰.

- 1 4 Saiyid Shukrullah by marrying his son Saiyid Zaheeruddin "Jadam", established matrimonial alliance with a noble non-Saiyid family living close to his house at Thatta. Since that time the *Sadat-i Shirazi Shukrullahi*¹¹ became popular through out Sind. Mir Ali Sher, according to his own version, was the sixth descendent of Qazi Shukrullah and was born at Thatta in 1727. His father Mir Izzatullah had six sons¹². It was Mir Ali Sher, who attained reputation as a scholar and men of letters. It appears from the *farmans* and *sanads* relating to land grants that Ali Sher's family was prosperous. It enjoyed the confidence and favours of the rulers, being recipients of *jagirs*, pensions and land grants¹³.
- 1 5 Ali Sher spent his early life during the period that Mughal Empire underwent decline in the earlier part of the 18th century. Local tribes established their strong holds in various parts of Sind, till the emergence of the Kulhora clan under Mian Yar Muhammad¹⁴ (d 1719). During the reign of his successor Mian Nur Muhammad alias Khuda Yar Khan (1719-53), Mir Ali Sher witnessed the invasion of Nadir Shah (1739) whose troops plundered Sind¹⁵.
- 1 6 It is very creditable of Ali Sher that living in a period of political anarchy he devoted himself in academic pursuits and has left for us a voluminous literature. He had a rare collection of manuscripts, consisting of historical, sufistic and poetical works. We have no details about the exact number of his works, but from *Maqalat-us Shura*¹⁶ and Elliot's¹⁷ list of the Thatta Library, the number appears to be 42. Many manuscripts of his works, as he himself says remained incomplete¹⁸. It is not possible to discuss in detail all the works of Ali Sher Thattavi. The present study is confined only to the following works that are of historical importance:

- 1) *Maqalat-us Shura*, and
- 2) *Tuhfat-ul Kiram*

- 1 7 The *Maqalat-us Shura* (1761) is the best literary production of Ali Sher Thattavi. It is the first biography of Sindhi poets in Persian¹⁹. Besides the poets of Sind, he mentions the names of other poets who migrated to Sind from abroad and made various cities, towns and places of Sind as the theme of their poetry. Accounts of the poets are given alphabetically according to the names and poetic surnames along with the specimens of their verses. In the preface he writes that two *tazkiras*, the *ġāḍ-i baiza* of Ghulam Ali Azad²⁰ and

the *Kalimat-us Shura* of Sarkhush inspired him to write since these works do not provide sufficient information about Sindi poets,²¹ and there was no work at his disposal on this particular topic. He had undertaken the present compilation in 1756 and completed it in 1761. The date can be inferred from the numerical value of the title. Mir Ali was not only a biographer of poets but also a poet himself. He provides many details about his family and ancestors and largely quotes the extracts of his own prose and poetical works and the year of their compilations. Following works are known from his *Maqalat-us Shura*²² (A) *Diwan-i Ali Sher* (1740), (2) *Masnawi Shama as Qudarat-i Haq* (1752), (3) *Masnawi, Qaza-o Qadr* (1754), (4) *Masnawi Qissa-i Kamrup* (1756), (5) *Diwan-i Qal-i Gham*, (6) *Saqinama* (1760-61), (7) *Wakiat-i Hazrat-i Shan* (1761), (8) *Chahar Manzila* (1761), (9) *Ash-i ari-mutaffariqa* (1761), (10) *Zubdat-ul Manaqib* (1778), (11) *Tarikh-i Abbasi* (1762) *Bostan-i Bahar* or *Maklinama* (1761) and *Qasaid-i Qa'ani*²³

- 1 8 References to poets and scholars in the *Maqalat* show the author's deep familiarity with and his participation in the literary and cultural gatherings at Thatta. He mentions the names of a large number of distinguished figures, poets and scholars from whose company he benefitted. For instance of Akhwad Shafi (d 1754). We are told "He was a historian and poet and was honoured by the people of the city for his scholarly eminence" he taught the *Qasida-i Urfi* to Ali Sher"²⁴ Akwand Abul Hasan, taught Persian to Mir Ali and in his *Madrassa* the students of both the communities received education"²⁵ Mian Ni'matullah's (d 1756) *madrassa* too "unparalleled in the city"²⁶ and well attended at the time of the compilation of the *Maqalat-us Shura* (1761)
- 1 9 About Molvi Jafar we are told that, "Hearing the fame of his erudition and scholarship, Mian Nur Muhammad Kulhora invited him to his court and appointed him as his chief advisor. He was perfect in *Ilm-i Jufr* and compiled a tract entitled *Jufr-i Jami*, but the work remained incomplete due to his untimely death (1753)"²⁷
- 1 10 Shaikh Sa'ad-ullah Surti (d 1725) "was an accomplished scholar, perfect in esoteric and ritual sciences. He made a comparative study of different religion and was highly venerated by Aurangzeb who wrote letters to him" Mir Ali also notes the academic excellence of Sa'ad-ullah Surti, a voluminous writer and composer of the following treatises *Hashia-bar Hikmat*, *Risala Kashful Haq*, *Risala Subuti Mazhabi-Shia*, *Risala Tuhfat-ur Rasail*, *Risala Chehel bait Masnawi*,²⁸ etc. The renowned theologians, Makhdum Rahmatullah Thattavi (d 1662), an authority on Baizawi's and Rumi's *masnawi* was held in high esteem by Aurangzeb, who met him during his governorship of Sind.²⁹ While the reputed saint Mohd Moin Makhdum Tharo (1783-1748) composed many works on religion and philosophy, he was a great exponent of the thought of Ibn-i-Arabi and taught *Fusus-ul Hikam* in his house
- 1 11 Mir Haider Abu Turab Kamil (d 1751) the scholar, saint and poet had a *Diwan* consisted of Hindi, Sindi and Persian verses.³⁰ Aqa Raza Shirazi³¹ was praised because of his graceful manners and verbosity of his tongue

- 1 12 Mir Ali Sher undertook long journey to meet the renowned scholars and poets and visited such Indian cities as Surat, Junagarh, and Bhnj-nagar (Kutch) In the course of his travels he met Mohd Azam Thattavi (the author of *Tuhfat-ut Tahirin*) and poets like Mir Muhammad Aqil Junagarhi, Hashia Isphahani, Razai, Muflis and Muhammad Akram Thattavi, some of them accompanied him in his return to Thatta³² Among other illustrious poets whose biographies are given in the *Maqalat* are Mulla Abdul Hakim, Haidar Kalicha,³³ Tahir Nisyan (the author of *Tankh-i Tahiri*) Mir Ali not only quotes Tahir Nisyan's verses but also reproduces his account of some poets³⁴
- 1 13 The *Maqalat-us Shura* also contains reference to those scholarly families of Herat and Khurasan whose members migrated to Thatta in the 16th century and made significant contributions in the religious juristic and scientific fields³⁵ It shows Thatta as a great cultural centre, where (Arabic and Persian) learning flourished, dictionaries were compiled, chronograms composed and the prose works of classical writers versified³⁶
- 1 14 In his notices of the rulers in the *Maqalat-us Shura* and other works, Ali Sher pays attention to their intellectual attainments, poetical and musical talents and their skill in fine Arts For instance, Shah Hasan Arghun himself wrote in Persian and Turkish under the pen-name 'Sipahi'³⁷ Mirza Ghazi Beg was a man of learning and composed poetry under the nomde-plume 'Wiqari'³⁸ He was a good musician and fond of signing Mirza Isa's son Mirza Salih was a gifted poet³⁹ Mirza Jani Beg was fond of poetry and music as appears from the anecdotes in the *Maqalat-us Shura*⁴⁰ On one occasion it is said that Jani Beg had played and sung, Sindī music in Akbar's presence in *Sur-i marvi*⁴¹ Another story relates to the capture of Jani Beg⁴²
- 1 15 Thus, *Maqalat-us Shura* is not merely a collection of biographies of poets but a considerable store of historical, social and cultural information

II

- 2 1 The *Tuhfatul Kiram* is a major contribution of Mir Ali Sher to the history of Sind In the preface the author says that he had undertaken the present work at the age of forty (in 1767) Two chronograms at the end of the work bear the date of compilation (1767)⁴³ But the work seems to have been revised many times till 1775 as appears from reference to events of later dates⁴⁴ The scribe of one of the surviving manuscripts of the work was Mehr Ali Husaini, who wrote it for an Amir of Sind, Mir Murad Ali Khan Talpur in 1825⁴⁵ Extracts of the work were translated in English,⁴⁶ by Mirza Qalich Beg⁴⁷ and by Elliotts and Dowson⁴⁸ and in *Journal of Asiatic Society of Bengal*⁴⁹ The work has been published several times⁵⁰ Out of the three volumes, the first two are devoted to the general history of the period vol I, consists of a *muqaddimah*, comprising narratives of the prophets, Caliphs and rulers vol II contains a *muqaddimah* and seven sections treating of the seven 'climates' (*Haft Aqlim*) with the celebrated men of principal countries⁵⁷

- 2.2 Here we are concerned with the III volume which contains the history of Sind from pre-Arab times till the reign of Kulhoras Vol III, is further subdivided into three parts Part I deals with the political history of Sind, and consists of Twelve chapters⁵² and each chapter is devoted to a particular dynasty of Sind The work⁵³ begins with Rais and Brahmans till the advent of Muhammad bin Qasim in Sind Arab conquest is followed by Governors appointed at Sind under the Ummayyids Abbasids and the Delhi Sultans Then comes the account of the Sumrah's and Summah's Afterwards, Arghuns, Tarkhans and Mughals, their nobles and Governors The last chapter is entirely devoted to the Kulhoras, their origin, and the history of their rulers and covers the reign of Mian Sarfaraz Khan Kulhora (1774-75) Part II includes the description of cities and towns of Sind along with the notices of posts, scholars and saints, each beginning with Multan and ending on Thatta⁵⁴ Part III is a special history of Thatta, the greater portion of which consists of biographies of saints their disciples and the noble families of the Sadat-i Shirazi, Sadat-i Bukhari, Sadat-i Mashhadi, Sadat-i Amir Khani, Sadat-i Astari, and Sadat-i Hasani Separate sections are devoted to the jurists, mystics, saints and calligraphers of Thatta The same portion provides details on the lives of the saints of various orders which flourished between sixteenth and 18th centuries at Uch, Multan, Sukkar, Seistan, Nasrpur, Halakundi, Bukkar, Thatta and Makli
- 2.3 Treating the history of Sind, the author in his preface, mentions among the sources of his information the contemporary record of the Arab conquest which Ali bin Hamid bin Abi Bakr Kufi of Uch got from Qazi Ismail bin Ali in Arabic and translated it into Persian⁵⁵ This is, of course, the celebrated *Chachnama* He also utilized the histories of Mir Masum Bhakkari and Mir Muhammad Tahir Nisyan, the *Arghun Nama*, the *Tarkhan Nama*, and the *Belgarnama*⁵⁶ But a careful scrutiny of the *Tuhfat-ul Kiram* shows that Mir Ali is very modest about his sources in fact he consulted a variety of works on different themes — historical, sufistic, poetical, religious, etc The voluminous work is based on his extensive studies, as appears from his references of such works as the *Tarikh-i Rashidi*, *Muntakhab-ut Tawarikh*, *Tabaqat-i Ibn-i Saad*, *Tarikh-i Muhammadi*, *Tarikh-i Jalali*, *Jawahar-ul Auliya*, *Fawaid-i Bukhari*, *Shattahiat-i Rozbahan Baqli*, *Nafahat-i Abu Ali Sindi*, *Chachnama*, *Chanesar nama* and *Razwat-us Salatin*
- 2.4 Besides the above mentioned works, he also used folk tradition, eye witness accounts and personal information The *Tuhfat-ul Kiram's* evidence on Mughal Governors of Thatta is quite reliable Throughout this chapter, chronological sequence is preserved, the dates of their appointments, the duration of their term, duties, ranks, dates of death or transfers and important administrative measures,⁵⁷ are given Only a few escaped his notice⁵⁸ He also refers to their public works⁵⁹ such as erection of gardens, bridges, mosques, as well as their literary compositions⁶⁰ and poetic pen names⁶¹ *Tuhfat-ul Kiram* and *Maqalat-us Shura*, are our only source of information for some political incidents such as murder of Shah Inayat of Jhok, a sufi of the 11th century⁶²

- 25 Mir Ali vividly portrays the characters, irrespective of the persons, in accordance with the times and situations involved. For instance Mirza Bagi Tarkhan has been depicted in both, the *Tuhfat-ul Kiram* and *Maklinama* as cruel, blood thirsty, tyrant, who uprooted his own family.⁶³ Qazi Khamisa his *vakil* is described as devoid of learning, unworthy for this exalted office.⁶⁴ While Mirza Ghazi Beg's liberality and generosity made him poor often in want of money.⁶⁵ Mirza Painda Beg excelled in piety. About Nawab Amir Khan Abul Baqa, Qa'ani writes that he was a very learned and witty person. He is said to have stammered in pronouncing certain letters of the alphabet. But he was so clever that while speaking fluently he avoided words containing these letters and substituted other words of the same meaning in their place.⁶⁶ He praises Mirza Jani Beg's promptness and sagacity.⁶⁷
- 26 The last portion of the *Tuhfat-ul Kiram* contains a detailed description of the Kulhoras, their origin, ancestry and political history. Chapters on Mian Yar Muhammad, Mian Nur Muhammad, Mian Ghulam Shah and Mian Sarfaraz Khan are merely descriptive and chronologically arranged.⁶⁸ Writing on the Kulhoras Mir Ali says that he has treated them separately. In the *Maqalat-us Shura*,⁶⁹ he provides details about *Tarikh-i Abbasi* (1762)⁷⁰ a history on the Kulhoras. Both the works of Mir Ali, *Tuhtaul-Kiram* and *Maklinama*, provide useful information about the places, ports and rivers of 18th century Sind. The evidence on architectural monuments of Makli is highly illuminating. For instance, Jam Nizam uddin's tomb is depicted as the most magnificent structure on Makli Hill.⁷¹ Mirza Isa's tomb was thought by our author to be the greatest spectacle in the world.⁷² The author also refers to fairs, festivals, 'urs, ceremonies and religious assemblies. Mir Qaani also gives us information about the various tribes and castes.
- 27 The work is, however, not devoid of errors
- (1) In his preface to the third volume, relating to Sind after a brief description of the land, inhabitants and geographical features, the author abruptly brings his account by narrating superstitious practices, the art of tracking foot prints, taking good or bad omens with the flight of birds, the peculiar habits and rituals of Sindis, and liver-eating women.⁷³ He acknowledges that these practices were widespread among the people out of the ignorance. The work ends more abruptly with the description of strange-looking sights of Makli Hill.
 - (2) Chapters on early History of Sind, the Rais, Brahmans till the Arab conquest of Sind though extracted from *Chachnama* are marked by inaccuracies. In summarising the events, the author neglects order and precedence. Some times he confounds the names of the rulers with the name of the places, nor is he careful about the dates.
 - (3) In his treatment of the History of Summas, he largely quotes legendary tales, as Umar Marui, Laila Chancesar, Mummal Mendra, Sassvi and Phunnun, Badiul Jamal, which others may reject, though this account of folk tales are based on the *Tarikh-i Tahiri*.

- (4) His account of the Governors of Sind under the Ghaznavids and their successors though based on the *Tarikh-i Masumi*, is confusing, events are not properly arranged
- (5) The period of Mughal governorship of Thatta under Akbar and Jahangir, when Mirza Jani Beg Tarkhan was the *jagirdar* is largely based on *Tarikh-i Tahiri*
- (6) Mir Ali, wrongly attributes *Rawzat-us Salatin* to Shah Husain Takdari
- (7) The work shows the author's implicit faith in miracles, the lives of the saints are much mixed with the legend. He feels delight in recording the miraculous or supernatural powers of saints and half of the work is devoted to their biographies or the description of their tombs and *Dargahs*

- 2.8 In spite of these shortcomings the *Tuhfat-ul Kiram*, still constitutes an important source for the political and cultural history of 18th century Sind
- 2.9 On the closing years of Ali Sher's life, not much is known. Unfortunately no historian or writer of the period mentions the date of his death, nor does his grave bears any inscription. In the preface of his last work, *Mayar-i Salikan-i Tariqat* (1788)⁷⁴ he writes that in 1787 at the age of 63, he had written the *Shahjrah-i ahl-i bait* and *Tumar-i Salasil-i Gazidah*⁷⁵. Most probably he died in 1789 while he was 64 and buried at Makli in his ancestral graveyard

NOTES AND REFERENCES

- 1 Mir Ali Sher Thattavi, *Tuhfat-ul Kiram*, ed. Dr. Nabî Bakhsh Biloch and Amir Ahmad, Karachi, 1959, Urdu tr. Akhtar Rizvi, pp 591-95
- 2 Mir Ali Sher Thattavi, *Maqalat-us Shura*, ed. Pir Hussamuddin Rashidi, Karachi, 1957, pp 531-645
- 3 Nurullah Shustari, *Majalisat-ul Mominin*, MS, MAL, (Farsi Tazkira, University Collection, No 26), ff 254ab-255ab
- 4 Khwand Mir, *Habib-us Siyar*, 1957, vol III, Pt I, pp 60, 110, vol III, pp 335-36, 339-41, 345-49
- 5 Saiyid Muhammad Tahir Nisyanî, *Tarikh-i Tahiri*, ed. Dr. Nabî Bakhsh Khan Biloch, Sindi Adabi Board, 1964, pp 14-15, 279-80
- 6 For details, *Habib-us Siyar*, vol III, Pt III, pp 335-36; 339-41. *Majalisat-ul Momini*, vol III, Pt IV, f 119a-20b, Husamuddin Rashidi's article on "Sharah Hal-i Mir Ali Sher" in *Sindi Journal, Mehran*, 1956
- 7 Fakhri Harvi, *Tazkirat-Rawzat-us Salatin*, ed. , Husamuddin Rashidi, HYD, Sind, 1968, p 220-21
- 8 Saiyid Manba, Saiyid Kamal and Saiyid Abdullah. These were saints of the Qadiri order of sufis who emigrated to Thatta. See *Tuhfat-ul Kiram*, vol III, Pt III, pp 741-42. Muhammad Azam Thattavi, *Tuhfat-ul Tahiri*, ed. Badr-i Alam Durrani. Hyderabad (Sind), 1966, pp 146-47
- 9 *Tarikh-i Tahiri*, pp 14-15
- 10 For reasons of his resignation see, *Tarikh-i Tahiri*, p 15

- 11 *Tuhfat-ul Kiram*, III, pp 591-95, *Maqalat-us Shura*, p 571
- 12 *Maqalat-us Shura*, p 571 The sons were (1) Saiyid Fakhruddin (2) Saiyid Yar Muhammad (3) Saiyid Muhammad Amin (4) Saiyid Muhammad Saleh, (5) Saiyid Mir Ziauddin Zia (6) Mir Ali Sher
- 13 Pir Husamuddin Rashidi in his Introduction to *Tuhfat-ul Kiram* (Vol III, Pt , III, pp 30-34) had referred a collection of land grant documents in the possession of a certain gentlemen (Qazi Mohd Ali Thattvi) at Thatta The collection consists of *farmans*, *Parwanas*, *Asnads* issued to the family members of Ali Sher, by Arghuns, Tarkhans Mughals, Kulhora and Talpur rulers In his opinion these *farmans* were collected at Thatta soon after the arrival of British in order to revive land grants of Ali Sher's family
- 14 *Tuhfat-ul Kiram*, vol II, Pt I, pp 435-36
- 15 Mian Nur Muhammad, *Manshurul-Wasiyat wa Dasturul-Hukumat*, ed Husamuddin Rashidi, Hyderabad, Sind, 1964, pp 73-85, 102-7 *Tabsirat-un Nazirin* (a transcript) Habib Ganj Collection, A M U Library, Pt I, pp 149-154, *Tuhfat-ul Kiram*, vol III, Pt I, pp 444-49
- 16 *Maqalat-us Shura*, p 572
- 17 *A Catalogue of the Persian Manuscripts in the British Museum* ed Charles Rieu, vol III, London, 1883 or 2073
- 18 *Maqalat-us Shura*, p 572
- 19 He also describes the lives of nobles, princess, governors and their court poets It covers the period from the Arghun conquest of Sind till his own times The work was edited by Husamuddin Rashidi and published from Sindhi Adabi Board, Karachi, 1957
- 20 Mir Ali Sher mentions the name of Mir Abdul Jalil, Mir Saiyid Mohammad and Ghulam Ali Azad with great respect in his autobiographical statements of *Maqalat-us Shura*, pp 145, 158, 200, 252, 316
- 21 Though before him Fakhri wrote *Tazkirat Salatin-i Sind* but limited his account to Shah Beg Arghun and Shah Hasan
- 22 *Maqalat*, pp 531-641
- 23 *Masnaviat-o Qasaid-i Qani*, ed Husamuddin Rashidi, 1961
- 24 *Maqalat-us Shura*, p 339
- 25 *Ibid*, p 58
- 26 *Ibid*, p 817
- 27 *Ibid*, pp 1505-51
- 28 *Maqalat-us Shura*, pp 122-23
- 29 *Maqalat-us Shura*, pp 245-47
- 30 It is said that he entrusted the task of editing his Persian verses to his pupil Muhammad Pinda Raja, but the work is incomplete upto this date (1760-61) *Maqalat-us Shura*, pp 181-224, 571, 670-71
- 31 Mir Ali sought his company in 1753 and composed his *Masnavi Qaza-O Qadr*, *Maqalat-us Shura*, pp 819-20
- 32 *Maqalat-us Shura*, pp 48, 62, 254, 766
- 33 *Ibid*, pp 69, 151, 185-86, 676
- 34 *Ibid*, pp 342, 449-57, 774-836
- 35 See his notices of the Purani family Mirak-ibn Abu Said (d 1554), Mirak Abdul Wahab, Mirak Abdur Rahman (d 1583), Mirak Abdul Bagi (d 1576), *Maqalat-us Shura*, pp 429-30, . 1
- 36 *Maqalat*, pp 353, 418, 437-39, 702-3

- 37 *Ibid* , pp 271-280 *Tuhfat-ul Kiram*, vol III, Pt I, pp 129-30
- 38 It is said that among his contemporaries, there was a poet of Qandahar with same nomde-plume Ghazi Beg called him, gave him rich presents and requested him to leave that pen name and adopt another
- 39 *Maqalat*, p 362
- 40 *Ibid* , pp 140-44, 526-27, *Tarikh-i Tahiri*, 207-9
- 41 *Maqalat-us Shura*, pp 140-44 These stories are referred to by A Schimmel in *Makl Hill*, 1983, Karachi, p 17
- 42 *Maqalat-us Shura*, pp 526-27
- 43 Rieu, *A Catalogue of Persian Manuscripts in British Museum*, vol II, pp 846-47
- 44 *Tuhfat-ul Kiram*, vol III, pp 351, 727 The work received later additions for more recent dates mentioned is 1769 at one place and at another place the narrative is brought upto 1775, See also Storey, *A Catalogue of Arabic and Persian Manuscripts*, London, 1953, vol I, p 656
- 45 Rieu, *Catalogue of Persian Manuscripts in British Museum*, II, p 847
- 46 Sindi translation of the full text by Makhdum Amir Ahmad (1957) and Urdu translation by Zaheer Akhtar Rizvi is also published from Karachi
- 47 *History of Sind*, vol II, Karachi, 1902
- 48 *History of India as told by its own Historians*, Vol I, pp 327-35
- 49 Postans tr printed in *Journal of Royal Asiatic Society*, Bengal, vol VIII, 1838, Vol XV, 1845
- 50 Karachi (1957, 1971), Amritsar (1901), Lucknow (1866-67), Bombay and Delhi
- 51 For further details Rieu, II, pp 846-47, *Tuhfat-ul Kiram* (Introduction) pp 9-12
- 52 Rieu mentions only 9 *Tabaqat*, II, pp 846-47
- 53 This volume is edited by Husamuddin Rashidi, and published from Hyderabad, Sind, 1971
- 54 Mir Ali in his preface to Part II, humbly acknowledges that his descriptions of some places of Sind is partly based on authentic versions and partly on hearsay reports and being a human being he is liable for error and requests his readers to correct them *Tuhfat-ul Kiram*, vol III, Pt I, p 351
- 55 *Tuhfat-ul Kiram*, vol III, Pt I, pp 9-10
- 56 *Ibid* , p 10
- 57 *Tuhfat-ul Kiram*, vol III, Pt I, pp 314-75
- 58 *Badshahnama*, vol II, pp 303-341
- 59 *Tuhfat-ul Kiram*, vol III, pp 325, 28, 339
- 60 Two scholarly works are attributed to Nawab Amin Uddin Khan (1) *Malumat-ul Afaq* (2) *Rashhatul-Funun*, on 14 arts and sciences *Ibid*, pp 345-47 See *Maqalat*, p 384
- 61 *Ibid* , pp 354, 362
- 62 For further details see A Schimmel "Shah Inayat Shahid of Jhok, A Sindi mystic of the early 18th Century", in her recently published work, *Pearls from the Indus*, Jamshoro, Hyderabad 1986, pp 150-162
- 63 *Tuhfat-ul Kiram*, III, pt I, pp 138-398, *Maklinama*, Notes, p 618
- 64 *Tuhfat-ul Kiram*, p 212, *Maklinama*, p 817
- 65 *Tuhfat-ul Kiram*, III, Pt I, p 166
- 66 *Tuhfat-ul Kiram*, p 327
- 67 *Ibid*

- 68 *Tuhfat-ul Kiram*, pp 330-475, This portion is translated by Mirza Qalich Beg in *History of Sind*, Vol II, pp 135-65
- 69 *Maqalat-us Shura*, p 572
- 70 The work was undertaken at the order of Mirza Ghulam Shah Kulhora, who invited Ali Sher to write a book in prose and poetry about Kulhoras. At his request Mir Ali Sher left Thatta and came to his newly established capital Khuda'abad. It is not clear how much time he spent in the imperial court and why he did not complete the work and return to Thatta. The list of the Thatta Library in British Museum (Or 20731) shows that he was able to complete a larger portion of the work (*Maqalat-us Shura*, 572, Rieu, III, p 106)
- 71 *Tuhfat-ul Kiram*, p 165
- 72 *Tuhfat-ul Kiram*, p 137, *Maklnama*, pp 541-49
- 73 The description of Liver-eaters (Men and Women) is also given by Abul fazl in his account of Thatta (*Ain-i Akbari*, II, tr Jarret, Calcutta, 1949, p 340) and is also recorded by Mahmud bin Amir Balkhi *Bah-i-ul Asrar*, ed Riazul Islam, Karachi, 1980, p 84
- 74 The work (unpublished) was written by Mir Ali in 1788. It deals with the biographies of eminent persons from the time of the Prophet Muhammad upto the author's own times. The lives of the saints are given chronologically, in accordance with the dates and periods in which they lived. The accounts of those saints whose dates were not available are given at the end. Unlike *Tuhfat-ul Kiram*, Ali Sher is very careful about dates in this work. For details, *Mayar-i Salikan-i Tariqat*, MS, BM, Add 21, 589, ff 339a-447a
- 75 It is a small tract of 18th folios, and consists of the tables of spiritual succession of sufis of various orders, their disciples and descendants, orders and suborders in India. The only copy of this rare and unique manuscript in the handwriting of Mir Ali Sher is in the possession of Sindi Adabi Board. I am deeply grateful to the late Prof Husamuddin Rashidi who not only provided me an opportunity to read these two manuscripts but also allowed me to consult his personal library at Karachi.

EUROPEAN POLITICS AT THE CLOSE OF THE EIGHTEENTH CENTURY : INDIAN PERSPECTIVE OF THE WEST.

GULFISHAN KHAN*

I

- 1 1 The last quarter of the Eighteenth Century saw the establishment of British rule in the heartland of the Mughal Empire. In the wake of the British Political ascendancy gradual penetration of the Western ideas and influences began to be felt. This influence, though, strong was not all pervasive. This was confined to a particular segment of Society which came into contact the most with the new and alien culture. The literate class was both the victim as well as the beneficiary in this encounter. It saw in the western culture something different from what it was used to and hence it often attempted at comparisons. The Indian awareness of the Western civilisation can be seen as the result of the two mutually non-exclusive historical experiences colonial rule, and the contact with a totally different culture. Prior to the direct contact with the West the Persian literature of the sixteen and seventeenth centuries provides only sporadic information about the interest of the Indian elite in European civilization.¹

- 1 2 It was the period when all the three great empires the Mughals the Ottomans and the Safavides were threatened by the burgeoning Western hegemony. It led a few sensitive observers to discover the origins of the dominant political

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powers i.e. the Europe. They attempted to understand the reasons of European supremacy in wider historical perspective. One of the essential step in this regard was to delineate the historical geography of the continent of Europe and to place the historical evolution of its Politics. Prior to the knowledge of the European method of divided the world into continents, traditional geographical writings divided the inhabited globe into seven climates known as *Haft Iqlim*. This was a geographical classification without any cultural or political implications. From the late 18th century onward the Persian histo-geographical writing divided the inhabited globe into four continents called *Bakhsh* namely Europe, Asia, Africa and the new World (*alam-i nau, arz-i jadid*)²

- 1 3 The geo-political configuration of every continent (*Bakhsh*) was enumerated with exactitude. Europe was called *Farang Farangistan* and her people were called *Farangiyan* or *Ahl-i Farang*. The word *Farang* was originally applied to France, because in earlier period the French had close contacts with Iran and Turkey, moreover France also occupied predominant position among European nations. Consequently, entire Europe came to be called collectively as *Farank*, with the passage of time the word *Farank* became corrupted to *Farang* and was applied to the whole of Europe.
- 1 4 The countries of Europe, their circumference, territorial extent, capital, population, mode of Government, strength of army and extent of their colonial possessions in America, main industrial and agricultural products etc. were described⁴. Among all European nations Britain had been at their focal point. It was obvious given the fact that through the expansion of British rule in India in the second half of the eighteenth century contact with Europe came to be identified with contact with the British. The Indian experience of the European Civilisation was essentially an experience of British culture. It was the British Society and culture which was largely sought to be emulated and described. This process of cultural impact was intensified with the growing British political ascendancy during the post-Plassey phase. The British cultural impact synchronized with its political ascendancy. Culturally, Britain was an integral part of a much older political and cultural spectrum, i.e. Europe, as such it was thought essential to view Britain against this background. European continent and Britain was thought to represent similar civilization in general. All Europeans were Christians the word *ahl-i nasara* or *millat nasara* was applied to them indiscriminately. Politically, too, the British history could not be treated in isolation. Its historical development were inter-related with the entire continent of Europe, and also with America from the sixteenth century. More significantly it was not only British which was exercising political and commercial influence on India, other European countries, too had imperial designs in other Afro-Asian nations, for instance, the French occupation of Egypt (this was followed by Anglo-French rivalry in the region) and Russian aggression in Iran and Turkey. Other European nations- the Portuguese, the Dutch (*Wallandez*) and the French contested with Britain for Trade monopoly of India.

- 1 5 First of all in geographical terms, England was seen as insignificant remote and small island⁵ England (*Inglistan*) comprised of two islands (*Jazira*), England and Ireland. The Muslims called them large Britain (*Bartanya-i Akbar*) and small Britain (*Bartanya-i Asghar*) and Wales added as the third part later on. The heir-apparent or the eldest son of the British monarch took the title from this province and hence was known as the Prince of Wales⁶. Other historical names of the country was the "United Kingdom" (this is exactly as they put it) which dates back to the eighteenth century A.D. under the Anglo-Saxons who united the petty principalities. Scotland was not a part of England, it was an independent and separate Country with its own king, laws and customs. James I united Scotland with Britain.
- 1 6 The word employed to describe the British was mostly English (*English*) and sometimes *Angrez* and their country was designated by various names like *mulk-i Angrez* (the country of the British) and often *Inglad* or *Inglistan* parallel to *Farangistan* i.e. the Europe. Later, use of the terms *Angrez* and often *saheban-i angrez* or *angrez bahadur* became more frequent an indirect manifestation of the growing British colonial supremacy. The word *angrez bahadur* came to be employed for all British, irrespective of their English, Irish or Scottish origins. In fact for later writers it was the British (*Angrez*) culture and society which became their prime concern, and their differential perceptions eventually crystalized into one the *Angrez* and their land *Inglistan*.
- 1 7 Before the rise of the modern state system, England was thought to have been inhabited by various tribes with primitive organisations and institutions. They were barbarous, uncivilized and savage mostly dependent on animals for food and their skin for clothing. They worshipped idols, and they did not have any knowledge of the world around them. Each tribe had a leader whose duties and responsibilities were to protect the life and property of his people. They were constantly at war with each other on one pretext or the other, fighting with their crude weapons and methods⁷.
- 1 8 Structurally, in course of time, the British, society emerged out from its barbaric past to a sort of organised settlement moving towards an agro-pastoral society. Later, feudal structure developed and then through the successive changes the modern state system came into existence. This perception of evolutionary process on the part of the traditional literati is remarkable.
- 1 9 This England was successively ruled by foreign people, the Romans and Anglo-Saxons, the latter having permanently settled down. England at first was not unified and there was no powerful absolute ruler. It was a feudal society with petty chiefs (*muluk-ut tawarif*), presently British, inspite of being small, both in terms of surface area and population had been occupying position of intellectual pre-eminence. The people of Britain were distinguish from other nations on account of their wisdom, justice, equality and urban living⁸. This was seen a contribution of the philosophers (*hukama*) who rose in Britain along with scholars during the sixteenth century. This century was the seminal period of growth in the British history. Reformation during the Tudors and Glorious

Revolution during the stuart's were seen as land marks in British history by every writer⁹ The roots of Europe's present ascendancy could be traced to the renaissance when new discoveries were made with the help of compass Later, the Europeans embarked upon exploration of new countries and colonized some of them They perfected the art of navigation and organised their politics in efficient manner¹⁰ The British philosophers and the scientists (*uqala, hukama*) expressed their concern for common people in Britain and desired for a change in their social status through technological and material progress¹¹ Thus, the roots of British political ascendancy could be traced from Renaissance which continued unabated by the British intellectuals and philosophers

II

- 2.1 Next to Britain, France received the attention of the Indian Scholars, first as a commercial and political rival of the British in India Another reason of France being projected by the traditional literati, was the secret negotiations of Tipu with Napoleon to oust the British from India The French occupation of Egypt was to be used as base against the British in India to oust them from Bengal and Deccan The British had wrested the Cape of Good hope from the Dutch in 1795 as well as Ceylon¹² In India, the British succeeded in taking possessions of all the settlement of France, Dutch and the Danes¹³ The British also succeeded in expelling the French from the Egypt¹⁴
- 2.2 Another reason why France occupied significant positions in traditional writers perceptions of the Western politics was the French Revolution The French Revolution was interpreted as a revolt of French people against an autocratic monarch's oppressions in order to replace the traditional political institution and social structure by the British political system where royal power had been much reduced¹⁵ Later, the rebels upon their success and being well organised formed a Republic Abu Talib described the actual course of French Revolution (*inqalab*) which took place in France where the power fell into the hands of the people (*riaya*) and those who enjoyed this privilege in the past were left empty handed¹⁶ He saw it as a revolt of the French people (*ahle i France, riaya*) against the oppressions of their king and lethargic nobility (*Umara i ghafil*) leading to the establishment of Republic (*ahl-i shura*) Abu Talib has provided a literal description of the course of revolution and did not sympathise with either side But his appreciation of the British political system when superimposed on the desires of the people of France shows his inclination towards the revolutionaries but his perceptions were purely political These writers interpreted the French Revolution in political¹⁷ terms using political symbols like *inqalab* or *ahl-i balwa*, and the actors the King and the nobles (*Umra*) the outcome was a republic (*ahl-i shura*) etc Abu Talib's account of the course of French Revolution as well as post revolutionary France, leading to the rise of Napoleon, Anglo-French rivalry for colonial supremacy and trade monopolies in the Eastern world suggest a political interpretation of French Revolution

III

- 3 1 Concerning the rest of Europe, their knowledge was of general nature. It was mainly political geography of these countries which has been delineated. Geographically, Russia was deemed to be the largest European country encompassing Asia and Europe, but her population did not correspond to her size. Previous to the reforms of Peter, the Great it was a rough and backward country. Peter the Great's reforms turned Russia into a great military power. Peter went to Europe to study the military science, manufacture of Cannons and muskets. There was deep concern for Russian encroachments on the province of Georgia (*Gurjestan*) in Caucasian region which belonged to the Qajar realm of Iran. It was interpreted as Russia's growing military strength. The Muslim powers were under constant threat of the increasing European hegemony because of their own internal weakness, disorder, chaos and lack of unified action.¹⁸ It was implied in their concern that the Afro-Asian people need to develop their political and military potentialities to cope with the European aggression. The Europeans were successful in bringing these countries under their control because these lands were mismanaged and the people did not have any knowledge of the latest military technique which European powers were using against them.¹⁹
- 3 2 Among the other countries of Europe, Spain (*al-andalus*) which was ruled by Muslims until the Christians expelled them in the fifteenth century, it was remarkable on the map of Europe as she had sponsored the discovery of the world which was later colonized by Spain as well as by other Europeans.²⁰
- 3 3 Germany (*alman*), too, occupied position of respect among all European countries being the seat of Holy Roman Empire. Its people were superior in intellect and wisdom.²¹ In the context of Holland its mode of government was noted which was non-monarchical an oligarchy of wealth nobles. Territorially, it was a small country, nonetheless it boasted of a prosperous mercantile community. Even the nobility engaged in trade without any restriction or reservation.²²
- 3 4 Another country considered for its unique political system was Poland, which one formed part of the Ottoman empire when Sultan Salim conquered it. It was noted with apprehension that Prussia and Russia were having aggressive design to subjugate this part of Eastern Europe. Its partition was described as an act of aggression by the powerful against the weak contrary to the European code of conduct with regard to internal matter of the Continent.²³

NOTES AND REFERENCES

- 1 For the most quoted example of Indian encounter with the west during the seventeenth century See, F. Bernier, *Travels in the Mughal empire*, Eng. Translation A. Constable, pp 324-25, 339, 352-353 where Danishmand Khan, a Mughal noble's interest in Western Sciences are quoted.
- 2 In this respect pattern was set by Murtaza Hussain Bilgrami (1719-1795) author of the *Hadiqat-al Aqalim*, who also served as Munshi to Jonathen Scott, the Persian Secretary of

Warren Hastings Murtaza's observations about Europe were largely based on a Persian treatise written by Jonathen Scott, which Murtaza produced in his *Hadiqat-al Aqalim* See, Murtaza Hussain Bilgrami, *Hadiqat al Aqalim*, Nawal Kishore Press, Lucknow, 1879, pp 507-514

- 3 Abd-al Latif Shushtari, *Tuhfat-al Alam*, ed Saeed Muwaihhd Tehran, 1984, pp 243-244
- 4 *Hadiqat-al Aqalim*, pp 507-514
- 5 For the concept of Britain being an Island see, *Hudud-al Alam* V Minorsky (ed) London 1937)
- 6 Abu Talib Isfahani, *Masir-i Talibi*
- 7 Karim Khan, *Siyahatnama*, British Museum OR 2163 f 194b
- 8 *Tuhfat-al Alam*, p 259
- 9 A complete list of the kings-from the Roman period to George III-was provided See *Hadiqat-al Aqalim* pp 529-32
- 10 *Tuhfat al Alam*, p 24 and pp 242-246
- 11 *Masir-i Talibi*, pp 263-264
- 12 *Ibid* , p 294
- 13 *Ibid* , p 293
- 14 *Ibid* , p 295
- 15 *Ibid* , p 296 and p 288
- 16 *Ibid* , p 288
- 17 Professor Bernard Lewis is of the opinion that it was the secular nature of French Revolution which mainly attracted the Muslim attention because the secularism of the revolt freed France and her achievements and association with Christianity thus, making it possible for the Muslims, for the first time, to examine the West objectively "The Impact of French Revolution on Turkey Some notes on the Transmission of Ideas", *Journal of World History*, Paris, 1953, Vol I No 1, pp 105-115, He reiterated these views in his subsequent book " *The Emergence of Modern Turkey*, London 1961, p 54 His view has been contested by two Arab Writers, Serif Merdin, " *The Genesis of Young Ottoman Thought A Study of the Modernization of Turkish political Ideas*, Princeton, - 1962, pp 169-70 and Ibrahim Abu Leughod, *Arab Rediscovery of Europe A Study in Cultural Encounters*, Princeton 1963, p 134 and note dismissing Lewis'hypothesis, suggested that Muslim Arabs continued to look at France as a Christian Country He asserted that the Arab intellectuals were disturbed by the absence of religious fervour and the anti-religious bias of the French Revolution
- 18 *Tuhfat-al Alam*, p 336-339
- 19 *Ibid*
- 20 *Ibid* , p 333
- 21 *Ibid* , p 334
- 22 *Ibid* , p 335-336
- 23 *Masir-i Talibi*, p 289

MADAD-I M'AASH AND M'AAFI GRANTS IN GORAKHPUR DURING THE LATE EIGHTEENTH AND THE EARLY NINETEENTH CENTURY

MEENA BHARGAVA*

I

- 1 1 The attempt of this paper is to focus on the issue that in the eighteenth and the early nineteenth century the earlier medieval framework generally continued. But, it came face to face with a variety of institutions, which threatened to erode the foundations of erstwhile social and economic order. It is in this context that the study of *Madad-i Maash* and the *Maafi* grants in Gorakhpur during the late eighteenth and early nineteenth century is made. Most of these grants, made by the Mughal emperors, were continued by the Nawabs of Awadh. There were some instances of resumption of these grants by the early Nawabs but they were restored by Nawab Asaf-ud Daulah and the pattern remained the same as under the Mughals. At cession, the Company was in a dilemma regarding the nature of these grants. They often doubted their credibility, and resumed some grants but the ones exempted from resumption retained the same nature as under the Mughals and the Nawabs.
- 1 2 *Madad-i maash* grants have been theoretically described as an act of charity "for the maintenance of the poor and indigent (creatures) of God"¹ Abul Fazl

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suggested that these grants were generally given to four classes of persons. These included men of learning, religious devotees, 'destitute' persons, with no means of livelihood and persons of Nobel descent, who "out of ignorance" did not take to employment.² It appears that in practice, generally the grantees belonged to the first two categories of Abul Fazl. This seems possible owing to the frequent use of the term *a'imma** for *madad-i-maash grants*.³ Emperor Jehangir called these grantees *lashkar-i dua* or 'Army of Prayers'. The grantees praised the Mughal emperors in their scholarly work and prayed for the longevity of the empire.⁴

- 1 3 The *madad-i maash* or the *a'imma* grants were given either for the life-time of the grantee or in perpetuity. But no grant could be passed on to the heirs without the Imperial sanction.⁵ The grantees enjoyed the right to collect land-revenue and keep it, they were exempted from paying land-revenue to the government or the levies imposed by the officials.⁶
- 1 4 These grants continued to exist largely on the Mughal pattern under the Nawabs of Awadh.⁷ The *sanad* of the Nawabs, while bestowing such grants, often did not specify the rights and the privileges of the grantees. This was presumably because there was no change in the nature of these grants, as they existed under the Mughals. The Nawabs confirmed the hereditary nature of these grants. The Company, however, suspected the validity of these grants and expressed its reluctance to accept the grants as hereditary unless mentioned in the *sanads*.⁸ In absence of any specifications, they based themselves on the *qanungo* reports.⁹ Yet, they did not always follow these reports, leading to the uncertainty of tenure and resentment amongst the holders. The Company insisted that it would recognise only such grants, which were made by 'competent authority'. Moreover, all life grants were resumed, particularly if the grantee was dead.¹⁰
- 1 5 Being unconvinced by the nature of these grants, the Company began the process of resumption of these grants. This, however, did not deter the holders from presenting petitions for the restoration of their rights.¹¹ The Nawabs, on the other hand, had renewed the Mughal grants even after the demise of the original grantee. Besides, they had not paid much attention to whether the grant was hereditary or not initially.¹²

II

- 2 1 Two grants, which deserve mention during this period, were made to Mian Sahib of Gorakhpur and the Sabzposh family. Mian Sahib was a famous muslim saint of Gorakhpur. He belonged to a line of devotees, who hand down property and tradition from pupil to pupil.¹³ Raushan Ali Shah was the first Mian Sahib of Gorakhpur. Nawab Asaf-ud Daulah bestowed on him fifteen villages in *ta'alluqa* Peepraich or Koosmi in *pargana* Haveli as revenue-free tenures.¹⁴ This grant facilitated the erection and maintenance of Imambara at Gorakhpur by Mian Raushan Ali Shah.¹⁵ The grant was recognised by the Company in 1803 A D and later confirmed by a new *sanad* in 1834 A D. Raushan Ali Shah

was succeeded in 1816 A D by his pupil, Ahmad Ali Shah. For his loyal conduct during the mutiny, he was rewarded by a grant of money and several additional villages. He was also compensated for the damages to the Imambara during the mutiny.¹⁶ In 1865, after his demise, he was succeeded by Wajid Ali Shah.¹⁷

- 2 2 The family of the Sabzposh had enjoyed revenue-free hereditary grants since the time of the Mughals. It is believed that they migrated from Medina to Persia and then to India. Mir Sayyid Shah Ahmad settled at Ayodhya. Here his son, Mir Sayyid Musa Sultan-ul Ashiqin was employed by the Mughal emperor Babar, to build a mosque.¹⁸ His descendent, Mir Sayyid Shah Qayamuddin left Ayodhya and meditated in the forests of Gorakhpur. This family had received grants of revenue-free lands and *naqdi* from the Mughal emperors.¹⁹ These grants were resumed by the early Nawabs but were later restored by Nawab Asaf-ud Daulah. He granted a *sanad* to Mir Sayyid Shah Abdullah for Bhathat and other villages, to be held on a payment of Rs 970/- per annum.²⁰ Thus it needs to be noted that the grant though restored was not revenue-free. This may have been due to the financial constraints of the Nawab. The grant was continued after cession for the life-time of the three grandsons of Mir Sayyid Shah Ahmadullah.²¹ One of the grandsons, Shah Ghulam was given the surname of Sabzposh, when he visited the court of the Nawab Wazir.²²

III

- 3 1 There were resumptions of *a'imma* grants by the first two Nawabs of Awadh, Nawab Burhanul Mulk Saadat Ali Khan and Nawab Safdarjang. Ghulam Ali Azad Bilgiramī has criticised these Nawabs for depriving the *a'imma* holders of cash and land grants.²³ Bilgiramī argues that as a result of these resumptions, muslim learning had suffered in both Awadh and Allahabad provinces.²⁴ Since he does not attribute this explicitly to any sectarian motive,²⁵ it may be suggested that the resumptions were probably to deal with the financial crisis of the period. As a compensation for the resumptions, pensions were sanctioned in perpetuity either wholly or partially.²⁶ They were restored as property and the rights of the heir to it were recognised by the Company in 1802 A D.²⁷ Pensions were also granted by the Nawabs in lieu of the lands held under life tenure.²⁸ They were also restored by the Company in 1802 A D to the persons who were in receipt of them at cession. While restoring them, it was not important whether the grantees were original or their heir.²⁹
- 3 2 *Maafi* lands or revenue-free tenures had been granted by the Mughal emperors and subsequently by the Nawabs of Awadh. The fact that these grants guaranteed permanent, proprietary hereditary rights in the land is evident from the terminology of the *sanads*. The use of the terms *naslanbad-naslan* (generation after generation) and *batnam bad-batnam/atbun bad-abun* (progeny after progeny) in the *sanads* indicate that the *maafi* villages could

never be resumed or let in farm to another person³⁰ The Nawabs not only granted new *sanads* but also confirmed and renewed the *sanads* of the early Nawabs and the Mughal emperors³¹ The Nawabs through their *sanads*, also set aside any future attempts to demand annual renewal of the grant or a grant of a new *sanad* yearly³²

- 3 3 The *maafidars* enjoyed absolute rights on the produce of the villages and collected the revenue themselves³³ Even the *bazars* within the *maafi* villages were exempted from revenue The officials were prohibited from demanding any dues on account of *abkari*, *jaribana*, *muhsilana*, *namaksar*, *bhet*, *nazrana*, *taufah* or any other *faujdari* or '*amildari abwabs*'³⁴ Apart from this, the Nawabs while making *maafi* grants, relinquished the *nankar* villages of the area assigned as *maafi*, together with the fourth part of the *sair* duties and other *zamindari* dues including *jalkar* and *bankar* In addition, they sanctioned *nankar* money allowance, payable from the collections of the land revenue of the assigned *parganas*³⁵
- 3 4 The assets of the lands claimed to be held revenue-free formed a considerable portion of the district Their extent was vast The cultivation on these lands was in approximately 5,44,302 *bighas*³⁶ At cession, the Company, accused the Nawabs of 'false liberality' in granting revenue-free tenures They alleged that this policy had unjustly withheld the revenue from the government³⁷ Having assessed the value of these lands, the Company emphasized on the necessity of bringing these lands under *malguzari* The *maafi* holders, supported by the *qanungos* resisted the proposal³⁸ They argued that they held revenue-free lands either on the basis of the *sanads* from the Mughal emperors or from the Nawabs of Awadh The Company, on the other hand, claimed that there was no sufficient evidence or written documents to prove that these *sanads* had been confirmed by the former governments³⁹
- 3 5 In their inability to understand the nature of the *maafi* lands, the Company suspected the *sanads* of being either illegal or forgeries They apprehended that the *maafi* lands had been obtained in a surreptitious manner or granted by the '*amils* without the authority or the knowledge of the Nawabs'⁴⁰ The *amils* and the *zamindars* were permitted to grant *maafi* lands but only within their own jurisdiction Grants beyond that held no conviction according to customary norms⁴¹ The Company, thus, reckoned the resumption of *maafi* lands indispensable unless the grantees were old and infirm or had long been in possession or had no other means of subsistence⁴² These resumptions, they claimed, would add to government revenue and the *jama*'⁴³ They emphasized that the assets of the *maafi* lands should be seen as a part of the available resources of the district⁴⁴
- 3 6 The revenue-free lands were particularly numerous in the northern *parganas* especially Bansi and Rasulpur Ghous⁴⁵ The Company suspected that they were held under illegal deeds and were therefore liable for resumption⁴⁶ Since the Company was apprehensive of the *maafi* lands, they compelled the *maafidars* to avail the *gumnama*⁴⁷ or *mazruahnama*⁴⁸ as an evidence of the

lands claimed or held by them and their fathers and forefathers in virtue of the *Badshahi* grant ⁴⁹ The Company warned that there would be no respite from resumption unless the *maafidars* could prove that they and their ancestors possessed revenue-free lands without interruption for complete twelve years before cession ⁵⁰

- 3 7 There were some *maafi* lands which were exempted from resumption. But, it was necessary for the holders to possess *sanads* from either the Mughal emperors or the Nawabs of Awadh ⁵¹ In case of all those lands excluded from resumption, the Company conformed to the original *sanads* i.e. accepted the pattern of life tenures or hereditary tenures ⁵²
- 3 8 Thus, the study of the nature of the *madad-i maash* and the *maafi* grants in Gorakhpur during the said period indicate that the eighteenth and the early nineteenth century were a period of continuity and transition. While the Mughal empire declined, its institutions not only survived but continued to evolve even though in somewhat different shapes

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- 1 Irfan Habib, *The Agrarian System of Mughal India*, Bombay, 1963, p 307
- 2 *Ibid* *
- Aimma*, plural of *imam*, literally meant (religious) leaders (Irfan Habib, *Agrarian System*, p 298)
- 3 Irfan Habib, *Agrarian System*, p 308
- 4 Muzaffar Alam, *The Crisis of Empire in Mughal North India*, OUP Delhi, 1986, p 141
- 5 Irfan Habib, *Agrarian System*, pp 304-305
- 6 *Ibid* , p 299
- 7 A Ross to Charles Buller, 18th June 1804, Pre-Mutiny-Revenue, Collector's Officer Gorakhpur (henceforth Pm-R, COG), Revenue letters issued to the Bd of Commrs , Vol 114, Basta 16, March 1804-March 1805
- 8 *Ibid*
- 9 J Fombelle to Thomas Graham, 6th Dec 184, Pm-R, COG Revenue Circulars, Vol 194, Basta 30, 1802-1807
- 10 *Ibid*
- 11 Secy to the Bd of Rev to C G -in-Council, Marquis Wellesley (undated), Proceedings Board of Revenue-Fort William (henceforth Procs Bd Rev FW), Vol 9, Sept - Oct 1804
- 12 A Ross to Charles Buller, 18th June 1804, Pm-R, COG, Rev letters issued to the Bd of Commrs, Vol 114, Basta 16, March 1804-March 1805
- 13 H R Nevill, *District Gazetteers of the United Provinces of Agra and Oudh - Gorakhpur*, Vol XXXI (henceforth DG), p 120
- 14' *Ibid*
- 15 *Report on the Settlement of Goruckpore - Bustee District*, Vol I, Allahabad, 1871, p 200, para 44
- 16 DG, p 120
- 17 *Ibid*

- 18 *Ibid* , p 121
- 19 *Ibid*
- 20 *Ibid*
- 21 *Ibid*
- 22 *Ibid*
- 23 Ghulam Ali Azad Bilgrami, *Mathir-ul Kiram*, 1913, Kanpur, Vol I, pp 221-222, cf S Z H Jafri, 'Landed Properties of a A Sufi Establishment - A study of the 17th and 19th Century Documents from Salon in Awadh', Procs Indian History Congress, 47th Session, Kashmir, 1986, pp 433-424
- 24 *Ibid*
- 25 *Ibid*
- 26 Secy to Govt to Collrs of the Ceded Provinces, 8th June 1802, Procs Bd Rev F W , Vol 2, July-August 1803
- 27 *Ibid*
- 28 *Ibid*
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- 30 Petition of Sheikh Fyzullah, *maafeedar* of *mauza* Mukurhunt and inhabitants of the town of Gorakhpur, 13th Aug 1804, Enclosure in, Secy to Govt in the Dept of Ceded Provinces to Thomas Graham, 21st Sept 1804, Procs Bd Rev F W , Vol 9, Sept - Oct 1804
- 31 Translation of a Report from the *Canoongoes* of *pargana* Mahole, Enclosure in, Acting Collr Gorakhpur to Charles Buller, 24th Oct 1803, Procs Bd Rev F W , Vol II, Jan -Feb 1805
- 32 Copy of a *sunnud* granted by Nawab Asaf-ud Dowlah, 19th of Ramzan, 1202 *Hijri*, Procs Bd Rev F W , Vol 33, May 1807
- 33 Petition No 29-A, Enclosure in, T Brown to J E Colebrooke and J Deane, 13th Aug 1811, Proceedings Board of Commissioners - Ceded and Conquered Provinces (henceforth Procs Bd Com C C P), Vol 46, Aug 1811
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- 36 Bd of Commrs to J Lumsden, 31st Aug 1809, Procs Bd Com C C P , Vol 21, Aug 1809
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- 38 Collr Gorakhpur to Charles Buller, 17th July 1805, Procs Bd Rev F W , Vol 14, July 1805
- 39 *Ibid*
- 40 J Routledge to Henry Wellesley, 28th Oct 1802, G N Saitore (ed) *Henry Wellesley's Correspondence*, 1801-1803, p 40
- 41 J Routledge to Graeme Mercer, 24th Dec 1802, Pm-R, COG, Rev Letters issued to the Bd of Commrs, Vol 113, Basta 16, Dec 1802-Feb 1804
- 42 *Ibid*
- 43 *Ibid*
- 44 Collr Gorakhpur to Charges Buller, 17th July 1805, *op cit*

embracing, and with their charming embrace he drew all people towards him under one roof of universal brotherhood. This method laid emphasis on the chorus mode of singing with the help of cymbals which was known as '*Nam-Samkirtan*'

Thus, he gave a humanistic interpretation and approach to the traditional Vaishnav cult. Chaitanya's message laid emphasis on the message of faith and hope, love and brotherhood, harmony and peace, humility and tolerance, respectfulness to others on which is based his transformed Vaishnavism. He is, therefore, undoubtedly one of the greatest mystic saints of the medieval period in Bengal. He ushered in a new era and introduced a new zeal in Vaishnavism. For this reason he is a living force and reality even today.

DEVELOPMENT OF UNANI MEDICINE DURING THE REIGN OF BABUR (A.D.1526-1530)

SUMMARY

ALTAF AHMAD AZMI*

Mughal dynasty was established in India by Babur in A D 1526 It gave fresh impetus to the advancement of Unani medicine in the country Many Unani physicians came to India during the reign of Babur and settled down in the country, prominent being Hakim Mir Abul Baqa, Hakim Khwaja Nizamuddin 'Ali Khilifa, Hakim Mohammad Beg, Hakim Muhammad B Ashraf al-Hussayni and Haki Yusufi Emperor Babur had himself good knowledge about the Unani medicine

Hakim Abul Baqa and Hakim Khwaja 'Ali Khalifa were not only the experienced physicians of that period,¹ but they were also regarded as the most trusted men in the court of Babur²

Hakim Muhammad B Ashraf al-Hussayni was a man of great merit and was well-versed in different disciplines besides medicine (*tibb*) His chief interest was in natural sciences He had compiled a treatise on precious stone and other minerals but to the best of knowledge it is not extant any where now

Hakim Muhammad Beg was a prominent physician during the reign Babur and Humayun *Dastur al-Fasd* and *Khawas al-Ashiya'* are accredited to him³

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The most eminent physician of the court of Babur was Hakim Yusuf b-Muhammad al-Harwi ⁴ He, indeed, was a great physician, prolific writer and a good poet ⁵ He is the author of the following treatises

- 1 *Asl al-usul* (16th century)
- 2 *Dalai'l al-Bawl* (1535 A D)
- 3 *Dalai'l al-Nabd* (1535 A D)
- 4 *Fawai'd al-Akhyar* (1507 A D)
- 5 *Ilaj al-Amrad* (beginning of 16th century)
- 6 *Jami'al Fawai'd* (1508 A D)
- 7 *Qasidah Dar Hifzi Sahhat* (1503 A D)
- 8 *Risalah Makul wa Mashrub* (1500 A D)
- 9 *Riyad al-Adwiyah* (1540 A D)
- 10 *Sittah-i Daruriyah* (1538 A D)
- 11 *Amrad-i Chashm* (16th century)
- 12 *Bada'i 'al-Insha'* (1533 A D)
- 13 *Diwan'i Yusuff*⁶

From the foregoing discussion it becomes clear that Unani medicine had made significant progress especially in the field of medical treatment during the short reign of Babur, and had paved the way for further advancement in future

NOTES AND REFERENCES

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- 2 *Akbar Namah* vol I, p 119 (Abdul Fadl)
- 3 *Risalah Hakim*, cf A Rehman, *History of Science and Technology in India*, vol 8, p 114
- 4 He came to India alongwith Babur He was personal physician of the Emperor He has compiled a number of treatise on Unani medicine Bahrul Jawahir is very famous It is a medical dictionary
- 5 *Persian Literature*, vol 2, p 235 (C A Storey)
- 6 *Springer's Catalogue* (Ms No 549) See, *Mughals in India*, vol I, p 495 (D N Marshal)

ROLE OF SOME OF THE ROYAL WOMEN IN THE CAREER OF BABUR

SUMMARY

KIRAN PAWAR*

There has been a growing emphasis on the social, economic, political and cultural life of women in general, as well as that on royal women of the Mughal Period. The purpose of the present paper is to focus on some of the 'Royal' women of Babur's era, who though technically on the periphery of Indian History, are no less relevant. They may not have attracted Lane Poole's attention, but they too, provide in their own way 'a link between Central Asia and India' for not only playing a significant part in moulding the man and the monarch-Babur as the initiator of the Mughal Rule in India, but also foreshadow their more written about counterparts of the later Mughal Period.

On the basis of available evidence on the rights enjoyed by the 'Royal' Central Asiatic Women, this much can be gathered with fair amount of certainty that right of women to be sovereigns of kingdoms was familiar to the Persians, the Mongols as well as the Turkish royal women also did enjoy certain political and economic privileges. Babur's family which had assimilated the traditions of Chingez Khan and Timur, gave women tangible opportunities to participate in political affairs, but they were not conceded the right to sovereignty, despite the fact that the Persianized Turks in India had already accepted female right to sovereignty.

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However, the role of 'Royal' women like Aisan Daulat Begum, Qut-lug Nigar Khanam, Khanzada Begum, Ayesha Sultan Begum, Zaihab Sultan Begum, Mahan Begum and Bibi Mubarika - whether in nurturing the future initiator of Mughal Rule in India in the rich Turko-Mongol heritage or in counselling the boy king of Farghana and seeing him through in the early crisis in his political career, or in the saving of his life and forging peace whether with Shaibani or with Yusufzais, or efforts to create amity amongst warring royal camps within the family or in foiling the conspiracy against Babur's progeny in matters of succession - can hardly be underestimated. These royal women alongwith Babur, not only remain as much a link between central Asia and India, they also foreshadow the multifarious roles the royal ladies of the then forthcoming era of Mughal Period, were to play.

THE ROLE OF UJJAINIA CHIEFS OF BHOJPUR IN THE BATTLE OF SURAJGARHA (1530 A.D.)

SUMMARY

MUHAMMAD IFTEKHAR ALAM*

The Ujjainia Chiefs of Bhojpur by virtue of their unbounded bravery, indomitable nature and heroic exploits occupied an important place in the political history of medieval Bihar. They rendered valuable services in restoration of the second Afghan Empire i.e. took leading part in the Nuhanī- Afghan contest for supremacy in Bihar and also in the Mughal-Afghan contest to establish their strong hold in Bihar.

With the help of the MS of Bodhraj Pugal Bikaneri, transcribed copy available at O.P.L. Patna in conjunction with contemporary sources and the Persian papers of Dumraon Raj attempt has been made to analyse the role of Gajpati Ujjainia, a noted Bhojpur chief whose chivalry has been praised by Abul Fazl himself. He was a noted Raja of Bhojpur from the house of the Ujjainias who rendered valuable help to Sher Khan against Ibrahim Khan and Jalal Khan in the battle of Surajgarha, while Sher Khan was trying fortune for revival of the Afghan Empire and his kingdom in Bihar.

The MS of Bodhraj informs us about the strategy adopted by Sher Khan in the battle of Surajgarha and recorded the Ujjainia's assistance that Gajpati Ujjainia came to Sher Khan with 2000 chosen Ujjainia soldiers who were tested

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and trusted Sher Khan with the help of the combined forces was successful in over throwing the Nuhanis from Bihar. The war booty was distributed amongst the combined forces and Gajpati was accorded warm welcome and befitting reward. Buxar was conferred on him as *Jagir* and the latter remained loyal to him till Sher Khan was on road to conquest and expansion of the Afghan empire. Since the victory of Surajgarha proved a turning point in the career of Sher Khan and the end of the Hussaini dynasty of Bengal, so Sher Khan was very much obliged to the Ujjainias of Bhojpur for their sincere loyalty and help.

THE RELATION BETWEEN THE DUTCH EAST INDIA COMPANY AND THE KINGDOM OF PURAKKAD FROM 1642 TO 1663

SUMMARY

M.O. KOSHY*

The Dutch East India Company maintained friendly relations with the rulers of Kerala in the early decades of the seventeenth century. The ruler of Purakkad was one among the local rulers who entered into a commercial treaty with the company in 1642. The relations continued to be cordial until the Dutch came to Kerala as aggressors. The Dutch planned the conquest of the land famous for pepper trade after their conquest of Ceylon. The ruler of Purakkad assisted the Portuguese with men and materials during the Dutch assaults on Cochin in 1661 and 1662-63. He proved himself to be a staunch ally of the Portuguese.

After the fall of Cochin and Cannanore in 1663, the Dutch declared war against the ruler of Purakkad. The assistance extended to the Portuguese in the defence of Cochin gave the Dutch a good pretext to attack the kingdom. The cheap and abundant availability of pepper and cassia lignum also prompted the Dutch to attack the kingdom. Another factor that weighed heavily for the conquest of the small kingdom was the presence of the Englishmen in Purakkad.

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The Dutch expedition against the ruler of Purakkad met with no resistance from him. The ruler realized that his confrontation would result in heavy loss of men and materials. He was also aware of the fact that the Dutch had become a forceful factor to reckon with in Kerala politics. He knew that his kingdom was vulnerable and lay flat before the Dutch forces after the expulsion of the Portuguese from Kerala. Therefore, he gave up his former ally, the Portuguese and received the Dutch as his ally and protector of his kingdom. This paved the way for the signing of a treaty between the Dutch East India Company and the ruler of Purakkad on 16 March 1663. The agreement revealed the ruler's tact in befriending the Dutch to preserve his throne and kingdom from total destruction.

NORTH KANARA : ITS POLITICO-COMMERCIAL CONDITIONS DURING ADIL SHAHI PERIOD AND ADMINISTRATION UNDER SHIVAJI

SUMMARY

M.R. KANTAK*

North Kanara region in North Karnataka has played a vital role in the medieval history of the Deccan. Much is known about its conquest by Shivaji and its political history during the Peshwa period. However, little is known about its history under the Adil Shahi regime and its administrative set up under Shivaji. The present article attempts to describe politico-commercial conditions of North Kanara during 1580-1660 and its broad administrative divisions made by Shivaji.

The article is based on such published and unpublished historical sources as British East India Company's factory records, Old North Kanara District Gazetteer of 1883 and two original documents of early Peshwa period, one published and the other unpublished. The published one is a bilingual document in Persian and Marathi (Modi script) in the archival collection of Maratha History Museum of Deccan College, Pune. This document, known as *Jabita Swaraj*, is an official agreement of 1714-15 A.D. between Balaji Vishwanath Peshwa on behalf of Sahu Chhatrapati of Satara and Shankaraji Malhar, a Maharashtrian Brahmin in service of Sayyad Hussain, one of famous Sayyad brothers, on behalf of Farukh Siyar Badshah of

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Delhi. The other unpublished undated document in Modi script belongs to the collection of Pune Archives, Pune, formerly known as Peshwa Daftar. This document denotes annual revenue income of different *Subhas* or *Prants* of Shivaji's *Swaraaj*. Besides factory records and Marathi documents, travel accounts of European travellers like Phillip baldaeus and Buchanan have been utilised.

The article discusses the following points with the help of above sources: 1) Two geographical and political divisions of Kanara among Keladi and Adil Shahi rulers - South Kanara under the control of the former and North Kanara under the control of the latter. 2) Adil Shahi rule in North Kanara partly directly and partly through local Desais. 3) Establishment and growth of English trading factory at Karwar between 1638-65. 4) Internal coastal maritime trade of pepper, cardamoms, cassia and finest muzlins via the ports of Karwar and Mirjan. 5) Growth of cotton-weaving industry round about Karwar and Hubli. 6) Richness of Karwar in fishing industry. 7) Administrative divisions of North Kanara under Shivaji's rule and their respective annual revenue incomes.

The article attempts to show how North Kanara region was important to medieval Deccan rulers from military and commercial points of view.

DIPLOMACY OF THE TAI RULERS OF ASSAM

SUMMARY

I.S. MUMATAZA*

The Ahoms, who ruled the Brahmaputra valley from the beginning of the thirteenth century to the first quarter of the nineteenth century, initially settled in the eastern extremity of the valley. They covered ultimately the whole of the valley extending from the foothill of Pat-kai to the river Manaha and the Nagarbera hills on the east and the west, from the Northern hill range to the Naga hill on the north and the south. The Ahom rulers acquired this extensive area not only by subjugating the inhabiting tribes and fighting with the Mughals but also by using diplomatic devices.

The nature of diplomacy adopted by the Ahom rulers, though initially defensive, was aggressive from the sixteenth century in cases of the neighbourhood territories. With the Mughals, the Ahom rulers were normally guided by the political maxim that promises, made under extreme necessity, had no binding and waited for a favourable chance. In matters of seeking friendship with a foreign state diplomatic correspondence was very carefully couched in subtle terms so that such request did not convey the weakness or inferiority of the despatcher (the Ahom king). One of the significant characters of the diplomacy of the Ahom rulers was that whenever a ruler of a territory submitted to the Ahom monarch it was obligatory on the part of that ruler to offer a princess of his family, preferably his daughter or

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sister In continuing the diplomatic relations, the subordinate rulers should sent, in their mission to the Ahom court, at least five letters - for the ruler, three ministers and the governor through whose province they had to pass In return the Ahom ruler, his minister and the frontier governor should addressed to the subordinate rulers only

LITERATURE OF A DECLINING EMPIRE : URDU POETRY IN THE EIGHTEENTH CENTURY

SUMMARY

MOHAMMAD UMAR*

After the establishment of the Mughal Empire and its expansion and consolidation under Akbar, the popularity of Persian was on the increase and we come across Persian poets in every city and town. This was due to the patronage which the Timuride Emperors extended to the poetry and the poets coming to India from Iran and Central Asia. Abul Fazl and Badauni give a long list of immigrant Persian poets in *Ain-i Akbari* and *Muntakhab-ut Tawarikh*. Jahangir and Shah Jahan continued to extend patronage to the Persian poets. However, it is said that Aurangzeb was not interested in Persian poetry and showed complete indifference to it. Despite this indifference of the Emperor, there were several Persian poets not only in northern India but even in Delhi like Mirza Abdul Qadir Bedil and other Persian poets as is evident from Muhammad Afzal Sarkhush's *Tazkira-i Kalimatush Shu'ara*.

By the reign of the Emperor Muhammad Shah (1719-48), a new literary language came into being which in its developed form came to be known as Urdu. This language now became as a popular medium of expression. Persian began to lose much of its importance and charm especially in literary field in India. However, gradually Urdu gained ground in poetic composition and by the time of Ghulam Hamadani Mushafi (1750-1825), Urdu became so popular that the famous poets of

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Persian language under compelling circumstances began to compose verses in Urdu instead of Persian. Ghulam Hamadani Mushafi, for example, was basically a poet, who composed verses in Persian and had compiled two *diwans* of his poetry. He himself writes

“Due to the popular trend of the time, I now engage myself in composing poems in *rekhta* (Urdu) because the taste for Persian poetry as compared to Urdu, had declined in India. Urdu language now-a-days has attained the status of Persian and is regarded better than that.”

Consequently, most of the poets, who earlier composed verses in Persian switched over to Urdu. In course of time all sorts of people and members of every section of society, both Hindus and Muslims, began to compose verses in Urdu. By 1810, the number of Urdu poets had increased to about 800. The unexpected increase in the number of poets created a serious crisis in the literary circles, as appears from the elegies composed by leading poets bemoaning the decline in literary standards and values, because even the illiterates and vulgars had begun to compose verses according to their tastes, causing a blow to the prestige of the Classical poets like Mir Taqi Mir and Muhammad Rafi Sauda in the public eye.

It created mutual rivalries and jealousies among the poets. Hence lampoons criticising each other were composed which lowered the standard of the poetry. The mutual rivalries of Insha Allah Khan Insha and Azim Beg in Delhi and thereafter, the rivalries of Ghulam Hamadani Mushafi and Insha Allah Khan Insha at Lucknow are very famous. Thus, the poets of Lucknow became divided into two groups. Both sides composed lampoons against each other. The verses of those lampoons were often filthy and obscene. Thus, the people became more interested in obscene and sex-provoking poetry.

The crisis in the quality of Urdu poetry was due to the twin pressures of declining patronage and multiplication of poets as the language gained popularity. Much of Urdu poetry of the time is not worth to be mentioned in the history of the development of Urdu literature. It is a phenomenon one can deplore, but one must try to understand.

SOCIO-POLITICAL CONTEXT OF GURU NANAK'S THOUGHT

SUNITA PURI*

- 0 1 The origin and evolution of Sikh religious ethos as also the emergence of Sikh community as a remarkable socio-political phenomenon has evoked scholarly attention by historians and Indologists. The advent of Sikh religion represents a well marked and decisive development in the evolution of Indian religious consciousness. Guru Nanak, the founder of this religion and the chief exponent of the Bhakti movement in Punjab, appeared in the midst of several powerful religious currents related to the Bhakti cult. While he was, quite naturally, influenced by them and, in certain respects, his ideology has strong affinity with that of the Nirguna Bhakti cult of medieval India, he made a number of departures and formulated a specific and well defined religious ethos that extended far beyond his own times into the future. Though essentially the founder of a new faith, Guru Nanak was a prophet of singularly unique charisma, a saint in action, who saw much beyond religious and intellectual cognitions and polity as well. He underscored the spiritual foundations of human existence and through his utterances, Guru Nanak ushered in an era of spiritual and social awakening with far-reaching results.
- 0 2 What distinguished Guru Nanak from other saints was his practical social vision backed by positive action. Although Nirguna Bhaktas showed a deep insight into what was corroding Hindu society and emphasised on equality, fraternity, compassion humanism and concern for social justice to, the

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downtrodden they did not challenge the existing class structure or social set up. The social impact of their teachings did not envisage any major structural changes but visualised only modifications and adjustments within the framework of Hindu Varnashramadharma whatever be the radical parameters of the social ideology of the Nirguna saints, they fell short of projecting and effecting a definite social transformation or causing a dent in the citadel of Hindu orthodoxy. Guru Nanak's genius on the other hand lay in integrating the contemporary Bhakti-Sufi tradition of spiritual quest with the socio-political milieu in the totality of medieval Indian life. It was only the movement of Guru Nanak which effected major changes in and demarcation from the environing Hindu society and religion. Guru Nanak sought to organise a new society and build a new order on principles of justice and equality as alternative norms to caste or creed. While most of the other contemporaneous expressions of the medieval Bhakti movement in various parts of India were intine to come absorbed by the orthodox stream of Hinduism, it was only the Sikh movements of Guru Nanak that developed as an autonomous faith and which still retains a great deal of its original vitality and dynamism.

I

- 1.1 The social milieu that necessitated the commissioning of Guru Nanak's lofty mission represented a desperate scene.¹ A study of Nanak's utterances reveals the passions of a man highly sensitive to the contemporary social environment and he was convinced that social institutions, through which religious works, had ceased to provide for self preservation, continued evaluation and reconstruction. Infact, a change was needed, a change would not be of the kind that justified things as they were but of the kind that would pull down the tyrant and the exploiter from their seats and raise up the humble and the weak. For this purpose, he struck at the roots of the social system and provided do's and don'ts for his followers.
- 1.2 Guru Nanak's social vision, like his metaphysical vision, was comprehensive in nature, taking within its range the totality of society. All social problems, whatever their nature, came within the purview of his social philosophy. His verses bear an eloquent testimony of his concern over social discrimination, miscarriage of justice, evils of Brahmanical domination, cowardice of people and many other evils of the contemporary society. The teachings of Guru Nanak from which the Sikh religion derives its inspiration contain certain important concepts of social significance. Rejection of caste and a break-away from the caste system constituted a most fundamental departure which Guru Nanak made from the established social order of Hindu *varnashramadharma*. He was convinced that no spiritual and social progress could take place in a system of privileges which confirmed the monopoly of the higher castes and exploitation of the so-called lower castes. There are numerous pronouncements² by Guru Nanak, repudiating the ethical validity of caste, affirming the equality of human beings before God and projecting deeds rather than caste as the determining factor for one's true status. Further, it is not the

metaphysical utterances alone but the practical steps taken by Guru Nanak for the abolition of caste that helped to translate his message into a concrete reality. He provided a frame work for a vigorous egalitarian society through the creation of institutions like '*Sangat*' and '*Langar*' which constitute the original nucleus of the Sikh *Panth*, and both of which have been operating in the *Panth* ever since their inception.

- 1.3 Here a question might be raised as to what extent Guru Nanak's teachings were successful in eradicating the caste system amongst his followers. Infact, W H Mcleod has expressed the view that though the Sikh Gurus abolished the caste system in the religious sphere completely, they could minimise its significance and influence only partially on the social plane³. It has been expressed by some other scholars that Guru Nanak did not appear to conceive of equality in economic terms. For example, Niharranjan Ray stated that the Sikh Gurus did not enunciate any change in the productive system of the social organisation but accepted and adopted the same productive system as that of the Brahmanical *jati* system in which the socio-religious and socio-economic order of the production system were closely interwoven, and once the Sikh society fell into the same production organisation, they were also obliged to accept the inexorable operation of the Hindu Brahmanical *jati* hierarchy⁴.
- 1.4 While it is correct that economic factors do create social distinctions, it is necessary to take note of the social rigours which prevailed due to caste distinctions and also strengthened the tentacles of the caste system itself during the medieval period. It were the taboos of the caste that led to the perpetuation of untouchability, the greatest social evil. Economic factors, by themselves alone, do not exploit either the hereditary basis of the caste or exploitation arising out of it. Caste is much more than a mere economic differentiation and indicated a social status and, in any case, this was so in medieval India. Guru Nanak spoke mainly in terms of social justice which was denied to many on account of the caste system. The ethical code laid by him enjoined upon every member of the Sikh Community, both individually or collectively, not to make any distinction between one *jati* and another. Since it was one of the main social goals of Guru Nanak to set up the Sikh *Panth* as a casteless order, people from all castes unhesitatingly flocked to his *Panth*. Guru Nanak set up a social order in which low castes fraternised without any discrimination with other members drawn from Khatri, Jats and other classes. He had conceived the community of his disciples as forming a classless society. It can not be denied that, by and large, the expanding community of the Sikhs remained committed to this ideology. It may also be mentioned that no social movement, however strong it may be, can remain totally unaffected for long by its environmental limitations and since the overall objective reality in the country remained what it was, a few pernicious elements of the caste system reappeared among the Sikhs subsequently. However, the achievements of a social order cannot, in any case, be judged by an absolute criterion. The prevailing social conditions in which a movement is launched have also to be taken into account to judge its revolutionary purpose. From that stand

point it may be reasonably conceded that none of the medieval religious saints who spoke against the caste distinctions were able to achieve corrective results to the extent that Nanak did

- 1 5 Guru Nanak's rejection of social differences was further complimented by his affirmation of equality for women and his concept of society was free from taboos and prejudices born out of sex. Infact, Nanak stood out, in his own time, as a staunch advocate of women's proper place in society. It is, however, necessary to clarify that Nanak's concept of equality of sexes did not mean freedom for women in the sense it is projected by some in the present era. The image of ideal womanhood emerging from Nanak's teachings is not unconventional but this does not detract from the fact that, in the context of medieval India, Guru Nanak envisaged a revolutionary transformation of women and she was not only not inferior to man but had equal status and responsibility before God⁵
- 1 6 Next, I would draw attention to one of the most commendable aspect, from the social point of view, of Guru Nanak's percepts, which represents a combination of contemplation and service and which became popular in the form of a well known socio-economic formula - '*Kirat Karo, Wand Chhako, Nam Japo*'. It means (a) Thou shalt earn thy livelihood by honest creative labour, (b) Thou shalt share the fruits of thy labour with others, and (c) Thou shalt practice the discipline of '*Nam*'. The first of the commandments forbids parasitism in any form since stress is laid on '*Kirat*' i.e. honest productive labour. In the second, emphasis is laid on sharing the fruits of labour, while in the third part of the formula, contemplation is upheld, implying the avoidance of an imbalance that may be caused by an excessive interest in economic activity. While the modern revolutionary consciousness concerning the right of the working class to protect the fruits of their labour from the exploiting class, had not probably originated by then, it is clear that the Guru tried to protect an image of a society in which earning one's living by hard labour and giving part of it in charity were considered to be the highest virtues and in which there was to be no exploitation. Positively it consisted in acceptance of the dignity of labour. It is significant that the aforesaid three commandments meet the modern demands of a situation where evidently we protest against economic exploitation, advocate the meeting of social obligation by making donations for relief work and other noble causes and supporting the efforts of humanitarian institutions and insist on an enlightened balanced economic activity. Thus Guru Nanak seemed to be in favour of a system in which each individual is enabled to work with due regard for collective need.
- 1 7 Thus, over and above being a mystic, Guru Nanak was the harbinger of a new social order. As a result of his teachings, the organisational steps initiated by him, and under his direct leadership, a new brotherhood came into existence which, inspired by his radicalism, exhibited a progressive social outlook. In his very life time, Guru Nanak laid the foundation of a community having a self identity of its own, and his dynamic social vision and ideals acquired a more concrete form under the successor Gurus. It would be apt to record here that

ultimately it is not the greatness of a founder of a faith that matters but how much of what he preached, has become the way of life of his followers. To that extent it is a tribute to Guru Nanak that his message, which was based on the rejection of formalism and feudalistic values, coupled with the stance that philosophical enquiries are necessary for preparing the mind suitably towards the acceptance of an ideal socio-religious discipline, was destined to live through the centuries and continues to provide inspiration to the Sikh community established by him.

II

- 2.1 I shall now come to the subject of the political ramifications of Guru Nanak's faith. Diverse views have been expressed by various scholars and historians on this issue - ranging from those terming it as completely a political and exclusively religious on the one hand, to those perceiving it to be essentially political discerning in it at least the seeds of a political movement, on the other. To arrive at an objective and dispassionate stance in this regard, it would be necessary to assess Nanak's observations on the contemporary political scene as also to analyse those aspects of his teachings and philosophy which may reasonably be deemed to have some effect on the thinking of his followers in relation to socio-political problems and condition their mind and approach in tackling them and, in the process, impinge on the politics of the day.
- 2.2 At a time when the people were groaning under the heels of tyranny and injustice of the rulers and the spirit of freedom had been completely crushed in them, Nanak projected a faith the cardinal principles of which were the equality of all human beings and their right to be free from social and political oppression. Through his forthright and fearless denunciation of all forms of oppression and tyranny, he symbolised the right of man to freedom of expression. The most important act of Nanak in grooming the society lay in promoting the capacity for thinking freely and independently. Nanak also infused courage and moral strength among the people by upholding the divine law of justice and its ultimate supremacy in the form of establishment of a just order.
- 2.3 Prior to Nanak an accepted type of fatalistic attitude of life had been developed that prevented the emergence of necessary vision or power to grapple with socio-political problems that had been caused by the consolidated conquest of India by the Turks and Afghans. The political isolation of Indian society was further strengthened by passive doses of Bhakti temper which provided an ideological legitimisation to political isolation of medieval Hindu society. The mystical devotion through self-merger and self-surrender was often sought in a way which, in its socio-logical undertones, amounted to an "abject and absolute surrender to established authority, spiritual and temporal⁶. The excessive emotional fervour of medieval Bhakti ideology, at times ab-initio incapacitated man to rise and face socio-political challenges, for it sought to make spiritual communion with God as the requisite goal of life of a devotee.

Guru Nanak categorically switched to a spiritualist materialist philosophy in a new form and recognised the existential being of man as real as the creator himself and it is the recognition of life and world affirmation that provides ideational basis to the Sikh dynamism in the temporal domain⁷ It is this qualitative new vision that distinguishes the character of Guru Nanak's faith from medieval Bhakti movement in general. The new attitude consisted in the recognition that in the world of social relations the man of God must put up resistance to evil and induce in others the attitude of mind to do likewise

- 2.4 A significant feature of Guru Nanak's political awareness is the nature of the warnings held out by Nanak, in the name of Moral Law, of retribution which an inefficient, irresponsible, immoral and unjust ruler would have to suffer. He was of the view that God, in His anger, might chastise those kings who digressed from their functions, by depriving them of political power. Guru Nanak's assertions that only those were qualified to rule who were fit to do so and that those who conferred authority on the underserving were fools⁸, are suggestive of such a kind forfeiting his right to rule. Further, he hinted at God's will in the downfall of the wicked⁹. In a telling phrase Guru Nanak has referred to God as '*Asur Sanghar*' - destroyer of demons i.e., evil doers. This mode of apprehensions of the Divine is in a way unique in the history of medieval religious thought in India. It was guru Nanak who, with his prophetic vision of the stern realities operating on the human scene and the sovereignty of just retribution in the moral sphere, revived the ancient Indian concept of Divine justice overtaking evil doers. Guru Nanak, in a cosmic vision of the destruction of tyrants, enumerates Divine vengeance visiting each one of these in age after age of human history - "The beloved Lord created Krishna in the form of child hero and gave him strength to drag by the hair the tyrant Kansa. The proud tyrants shall inevitably be destroyed"¹⁰. It is in this context that Guru Nanak had reflected on the suffering of the Lodhis as the inevitable penalty for their misrule and high handedness¹¹. The fourth Guru Amar Das and the fifth Guru Arjun Dev spoke similarly of God's punishment befalling the immoral and tyrannical rulers. Guru Arjun Dev stated that 'anyone contemplating aggression on the weak and the poor shall, by the Lord, be consumed in the fire of His wrath'.
- 2.5 Guru Nanak, in his verse, also highlighted some of the qualities which a good ruler should possess. In consonance with his idea that the world is a spiritual and moral order, the State is also construed by Nanak as an indispensable part of the over all moral order. Hence, the affairs of the state must be so conducted as to subserve the ends of the moral order. The rulers and the administrators of justice are the physical embodiment of the supreme Moral Law and their actions have to conform to the requirements of this law. The rulers must perform their functions as a mandate from God. According to Guru Nanak, a true ruler is one who recognises truth. The mere fact of being the lord of any particular territory alone does not make a true ruler¹². Both the rulers and their subordinate officials were enjoined upon by Nanak to be dispensers of justice and not to exercise their authority arbitrarily. Nanak struck what, in modern connotation, would be termed as a democratic idea,

when he urged upon the monarch to rule with the help of the representatives of the people viz 'panchas', as this alone could make his rule long and lasting ¹³

- 2 6 Some of the points which emerge from the above discussion are (i) Guru Nanak was very vocal on the political situation of his time. Alongside his absorption in matters relating to the relationship of human self to the supreme being, he was also fully sensitive to man's suffering in the terrestrial life. He unmasked the evil of tyranny of the age, (ii) He upbraided the rulers of the time for their injustice and immorality and failure to provide a good and protective rule, (iii) He suggested the criteria which the rulers and their subordinates should adopt in wielding power, (iv) He warned the rulers of retribution and chastisement in the event of their failure to ensure a just and honest rule, and (v) He also made people conscious of their duty to secure a just government for themselves.
- 2 7 It is, however, necessary to underscore the point that while having made observations and projected concepts of considerable social and political import, Guru Nanak was primarily a religious teacher and preacher. Active politics was not his concern nor did he have any political mission as such. There is no documentary or other authentic evidence to support any such imputation. Guru Nanak's immediate purpose was to develop the potentialities of man so that he could qualify himself for succour from God at moments of crises in life. Yet as a true religious man, Guru Nanak felt deeply concerned about the disabilities of people and observed, with keen interest, the functioning of the government of his times. His socio-political concerns were the offshoot of the religion preached by him, and these were closely related to his ideal of a society which need be organised on the basis of justice, liberty, equality, freedom from fear, eradication of dogmatism and, above all, on the foundation of rationalism. This was indeed his vision and it subsequently found vindication both in the conviction and practice of his followers.
- 2 8 In sum, it can be stated that the essence of religion, according to Guru Nanak, consisted in its being a force for emancipating mankind from all religious and social evils and injustices. Even though God remained the first and the last word in Guru Nanak's hymns, his teachings, in the final analysis, were meant to serve as instruments for human welfare and social justice. The religion which Guru Nanak founded was not to remain content with the salvation of the individual alone, but aimed, more than that, at the upliftment of the society. Wide humanism constituted an integral part of his ethical vision. Taking a positive and purposive view of human life, Nanak's major concern was to seek a new orientation of relationship between man and God, man and society, man and polity and their inter-relatedness was the core of religio-social discipline of Nanak's creed. The correlation of transcendental and the phenomenal self implied, at the sociological level, the active unity of the spiritual and the societal aspects of man whereby society becomes a means or a field for cultivation values of creative humanism and presupposes a concept of society which is progressive and dynamic.

- 29 The central theme emerging from an objective study and analysis of some of the important aspects of the basic philosophy of Guru Nanak is his bid to emancipate people from the shackles of ignorance, superstition, conventionalism and an unauthentic living and to awaken the consciousness of people in favour of a rational existence, and thus sow the seeds for sprouting of a rational and fearless approach towards religious, social and political affairs. Through his utterances, Guru Nanak aimed at preparing the ground for moral regeneration which could stimulate man's capacity for self assertion and would such a human being as would not countenance inequality, injustice, and slavery. In this context, it would, hence, be apt to recognise the politically educative values, even though nebulous or incipient, in the teachings of Guru Nanak. In fact, it is generally recognised that the latter reaction by the followers of Guru Nanak could not possibly be in a vacuum of ideological convictions about the imperative need of a moral and just political order.

NOTES AND REFERENCES

- 1 See Bhai Gurdas, Var 1, Pauris 17-18
- 2 *Adi Granth* - Sri Rag ps 15, 53, 62, and Rag Asa ps 349, 358
- 3 W H Mcleod - *Evolution of the Sikh Community* (Oxford, 1975), pg 87
- 4 Niharranjan Ray - *The Sikh Gurus and Sikh Society* (1970 ed), p 22
- 5 *Adi Granth* - Rag Telang - p 722
- 6 Niharranjan Ray - *op cit*, p 23
- 7 *Adi Granth* - Rag Maru, p 1039
- 8 *Ibid*, p 128
- 9 *Ibid*, Rag Gauri, p 224
- 10 *Ibid*, p 606
- 11 *Ibid*, p 417-18
- 12 *Adi Granth*, p 1088
- 13 *Ibid*, p 992

LAND REVENUE SETTLEMENT UNDER THE NIZAM SHAHIS (1489-1636)

- WITH SPECIAL REFERENCE TO MALIK AMBAR
- A PRELIMINARY STUDY

G.T. KULKARNI*

- 0 1 About the Agrarian system under the Medieval rulers in India, and particularly under the Mughals, there are two well known works viz *Agrarian System of Moslem India* (1920), by W H Moreland and *Agrarian System of Mughal India* (1963), Irfan Habib. Both these authors have dealt with largely the systems existed under these rulers of Northern India. The discussion of the subject concerning the systems practiced and followed by the Deccani rulers in Medieval period, in these works, give us a few scanty details only. Among the historians of Maharashtra, S N Joshi in his book on the Study of Administration of the Marathas (in Marathi) discusses at length the land revenue system under Shivaji and traces its origin to Nizam Shahi rulers or more particularly to Malik Ambar.
- 0 2 Here an attempt has been made to understand the growth and shaping of the Land Revenue System under the Nizam Shahis, with the help of Persian as well as Marathi sources. Beginning with the types of land revenue system which frequently occur, the methods of assessment, the intermediaries etc.

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I

- 1 1 Our study of the land revenue system of the Nizam Shahis should begin with a survey of the extent of the cultivated area. But unfortunately, there are no specific survey reports or statistical accounts giving the necessary information which have survived upto our times. Statistical records of measured areas and number of villages under the kingdom in any given period would have certainly provided us with a surer ground to attempt, an estimate of land revenue system. For example, for most of the Mughal empire, 'Account of Twelve Provinces' in Abul Fazi's *Ain-i Akbari* contains detailed area statistics for all North India provinces. But unfortunately, For Deccan either under the Bahamanis or the Nizam Shahis, no court historian or a contemporary official has produced a work comparable with the *Ain*. Therefore, our studies of the period are handicapped for want of such systematic and methodical information.
- 1 2 For a detailed and comparative study of the period, it would be essential to know the boundaries of the territorial units of the Nizam Shahis. They can be laid down very roughly in this way. In 1485, Ahmad Nizam Shah Bahri founded the Nizam Shahi kingdom. There were twelve rulers in succession. The last amongst them was Hussain Nizam Shah III. They ruled for a period of almost one hundred and fifty years.
- 1 3 The boundaries of the Nizam Shahi State could be defined as, on the West it was bounded by the Arabian Sea, on the Eastern side were the boundaries of Bahamani kingdom, in the South it touched the neighbouring state of Adil Shahis and in the North-west its boundaries touched Gujarat and Khandesh. It was further sub-divided into the following regions and territories.
- 1 4 The kingdom was broadly divided into various *Sarkars*, *Mamlats*, *Tarfs*, *Mahals* and *Deh* (villages), etc. Capital of the state was city of Ahmadnagar for a considerably long period. The following were the administrative divisions.

Sarkar	Pargana
Ahmadnagar	Nevasa, Nandura, Pargana, Shegaon, Chaubhargonda, Pedgaon, Rasin, Parinda etc
Junnar	Tarf Haveli, Otur, Ale, Narayangaon, Ghodegaon, Mahals, Sinver, Parner, Vhakan, Pune, Saswad, Supe, Baramati, Indapur etc about 351 villages
Daulatabad	Aurangabad (Khadki) formed by Malik Ambar (under the Mughals referred to as <i>suba</i> Aurangabad). It was also same time capital of Nizam Shahis. Under it were <i>Mahals</i> Khandala, Jategaon, Chalisgaon, Antur, Kannad, Phulambri, Takli, Ellora etc
Paithan	There were 3 <i>parganas</i> under it

Sangamner	11 <i>mahals</i> , Dindori, Chandor, Patoda, nasik-trimbak, Sinner and Bela etc
Jawahar	Ramnagar, part of Kalyan, Dharur, and Tarapur, (later on in the Portuguese possession)

Talkonkon - is described as a tract of land along the coast including the ports of Chaul and Dabhol and containing in parts hills, passes, rocky wastes and forests. It included Western Ghat range. It is commonly referred to by contemporary writers as Talkonkan-i Nizam Shahi or Mulkonkan. Some parts of *Sarkar Junnar* were included in it. Kalyan and Bhivandi were also part of it. Other *mahals* forming part of it were Murbad, Kolaba etc. Besides the above, in South east, Fathad (Dharur) Kandhar (bordering Tilangana), Bir and Jalnapur touching the borders of Bahmani Kingdom, formed part of the Nizam Shahi kingdom.

- 1 5 This will perhaps give us some idea about the extent of the kingdom falling under Nizam Shahi rulers, the places and their names with which we are mostly familiar. But all the same it should be born in mind that the *sarkar*, *pargana* and *mahal* as reflected in the works of eighteenth century authors have been gleaned here. In a similar way, due to the constant warfare the Nizam Shahi rulers were subjected to, firstly with their neighbouring states and secondly with the Mughals, their boundaries kept on repeatedly changing. Under Shah Jahan, i.e. the fag end of the Nizam Shahi rule, Aurangabad is designated as *suba* and Ahmadnagar the capital of the Nizam Shahis as *sarkar* only. In respect of *suba* of Aurangabad we have the following statistics available regarding measured land

Total number of villages	- 8263
Unmeasured villages	- 718
Measured villages	- 7545
Measured area in <i>bigha</i>	- 2,34,73,295

- 1 6 These figures when compared with the statistics compiled in 1891, stand to be correct or say they are almost the same. The measured villages amounted to over nine-tenths of the total, but the measured area was only about two-third of the cultivable area reported in 1920-21.
- 1 7 After the fall of the Nizam Shahi rule, Junnar and Poona regions were annexed to the mughal *suba* of Aurangabad. Subsequent to the treaty of Purandhar, lands falling under prant Poona were measured by Safi Khan, the *bakhshi* of the Deccan. On his orders, the land was measured by rope, from the border of one village to another. Out of the total area, surveyed areas forming rivers, rivulets and cattle grazing grounds were deducted from it. Thus we have total area of *sarkar* Poona

9404¼ *chavars* = 11,28511 *bighas*

Balance cultivable land area = 8,73,090 *bighas*

These figures, though represent 1665-66, it is our guess that they could not have been much at variance, say thirty or forty years earlier, i.e. during Malik Ambar. But unfortunately, similar statistical figures are not available in respect of other provinces under the Nizam Shahis in the 16th and the 17th centuries.

II

- 2.1 In medieval India the central feature of the agrarian system, particularly under Muslim rulers was the alienation from the peasant of his surplus produce, took largely the form of land revenue (*mal*) exacted on behalf of the state. Moreland quoting a contemporary source says 'peasant cannot earn more than their subsistence'.¹ They are left so little he adds, that their share is usually consumed before it is gathered'.² According to Pelsaert, while speaking of the land-revenue assignment, declares that so much is wrong from the peasants that even dry bread is scarcely left to fill their stomachs.³ In fact, a large number of documents of Shivaji's period make very conspicuous reference to the assessment rate introduced by Malik Ambar in the early part of the 17th century. We often come across such expressions as *malikambari dhara*, *malikambari kathi*, i.e., Malik Ambar's land tax and measuring rod in these documents. In fact, when we wish to know the land revenue system under the Nizam shahis, it is the name of Malik Ambar which the whole system appears to have been symbolised. Further, in a way it is also true, that Malik Ambar in his short and very busy career, did attend to the problem of land revenue settlement, which in earlier days was not in a proper shape, due to the existence of a large number of intermediaries. But more eloquent fact is that beyond Malik Ambar, we do not get any source material to assess the earlier systems, that existed in the entire 16th century.
- 2.2 We have no means of knowing what the average rate of surplus produce i.e. in terms of total produce was under the Nizam Shahis. Owing to the productivity of the soil and also climatic and social conditions that determined the minimum levels of subsistence. The Nizam Shahi kingdom was spread over from hilly region of Sahyadri ranges to the sea coast i.e. Painghat and Talkonkan, where the rainfall was in extreme, but the productivity of the land was poor. In the *desh* region, for example the area surrounding our present district of Ahmadnagar, there was great scarcity of rain and the farmers had to depend on its mercy for good harvest. But by and large, this factor of climate, rainfall and the type of soil always affected the crop yield in any season. The principles underlying the share that could be taken out of a peasant's produce without destroying his chances of survival, was identically did not exceed the surplus produce, as the rates appear to have been so formulated as either to approximate established local rates or to remain below them. There are several statements, particularly portion of the total produce. These statements could be examined in the light of land revenue rates introduced by Malik Ambar.
- 2.3 Before doing so let us understand, the practice prevalent in the 17th century. In early part of Aurangzeb's reign, the land revenue assessment system

appears to be what is described in the preamble to the *farman* issued to Rasikdas in the 8th regnal year. It states "the assessor of the *pargana* of the imperial dominions assess the *jama* of most of the villages of the *pargana* in the beginning of the year, keeping in view the revenue (*hasil*) of the *sal-i-kamal*, and the previous year and the cultivable area and the capacity of the peasantry and other peculiarities and if the peasants of some of the village do not agree to this procedure (*amal*) They assess the *jama* at the time of ripening of the crops by the method of *janb* or *kankut*. And in some of the villages, whose cultivators and peasants they know to be in distress and indigent, they enforce the method of Crop-Sharing at half or third part or two fifth or more or less (as revenue)" ⁴ A similar statement is also made by Murshid Quli Khan who was deputed to carry out land revenue reforms in the Deccan during Shah Jahan's reign (1652) ⁵ And this takes us closer in understanding the land revenue system introduced by Malik Ambar.

- 2.4 But before we examine the land revenue system of Malik Ambar, it would be worth while taking note of some of the contemporary writers who have passed some remarks about the revenue system that existed in the Deccan.
- 2.5 Abul Fazl in his *Ain* provides us with no relevant information except for saying that Berar was under Nasaq. Sadiq Khan opines that in the Deccan, neither measurement nor Crop-Sharing had been followed 'since ancient times'. On the contrary he says, 'the established practice was that each of the villagers and peasants tilled as much land as he could with a plough and pair of oxen and grew what crop he liked, whether grains or pot-herbs and paid to the authorities (*sarkar*) a little money on each plough, varying with the territory and the *pargana* and there was no (further) enquiry about or regard paid to the quantity of the crop" ⁶ Nothing could have been far from truth than this statement. There were definite systems of assessment of land revenue under the Nizam Shahis. Prior to Malik Ambar's reforms of land revenue system, broadly, the following methods were in vogue.
- 2.6 The land was measured by rope (*zabt*) which provided wide scope for officials to play foul with the peasants as well as the state. The revenue was settled by *nasaq* or *kommula*. This consisted of applying customary rates to the number of ploughs in a village, without reference to the land cultivated or the actual harvest. There were no distinctive surveys carried out in respect of *zirayati* and *baghaiti* lands. On an average, almost fifty percent of the yield was taken away by the govt. And this collection was done by ruthless methods of employing the services of many intermediaries, of which at the village level *patils* were the prominent ones. Thus the farmers were being thoroughly exploited and were deprived of their legitimate possession.
- 2.7 Beyond these details we do not get more close information on the subject for the period of the Nizam Shahi rulers, earlier than Malik Ambar's assumption of office of Wazir (1595). The span of Nizam Shahi dynasty has been spread over a period of one hundred and fifty years but there are hardly any documents which are extant to-day, which could have possibly helped us in

throwing some light on such important aspects like ownership of the land as well as the land taxes exacted from the peasants. Similar is the story about Malik Amber also. But fortunately, the Marathi documents of Shivaji's period very clearly associate the name of Malik Amber, whenever, they speak of imposition of land revenue by Shivaji's officers like Dadoji Kond-Dev, Morotmal and Annaji Datto.

- 2.8 The thirty years period of Malik Amber's *Wizarat* (1595-1626) is a period of politically unstable and adverse conditions, Malik Ambar managed to devote his attention to the problem of land reforms and taxation. Major Jervis, who was deputed to carry on the survey on Konkan in 1820, draws precise picture of the conditions, a farmer was subjected to in those days. According to him prior to Malik Amber's introduction of land revenue reforms, 'heavy taxation structure, inequality in the rates of commutation and uncertainty in the assessment were the main features'.
- 2.9 It is said that it was Malik Amber, who for the first time surveyed the land and introduced strict measure of land in place of traditional rope measurement. Unfortunately, no statistics of such land surveys have survived up to our times. But however, I would like to draw your attention to survey sheet (*yaddasht*), a document which was prepared in respect of mughal *suba* of Aurangabad in 1642. This is particularly helpful to us for two reasons, firstly the territory falling under *suba* of Aurangabad as mentioned in the document, formed the part of Nizam Shahi Kingdom just a ten years earlier. Secondly, the survey has been carried out on similar lines as that of Malik Ambar. It is memorandum dt. 1642-43, regarding land measured in Aurangabad *suba*. This gives details of total area of cultivable land with its break up for arable lands *zirayat* and *baghat* etc. Here I have taken up the *pargana* which in earlier days formed part of the Nizam Shahi Kingdom.
- 2.10 Under the Mughal *suba* of Aurangabad, there were 21 *pargana* and under each *pargana* there were several *mahal* and under each *mahal* there were several *qasba* or *deh* or villages, wadis etc. According to the said memorandum, the total cultivable land was 1,90,006 *bigha* 13 *biswa*. The relevant information is tabulated below.

Pargana Sangamber

Cultivable land - 15,600 *bigha*

Arable lands - Not shown

pargana Gulshanabad (Nasik)

Cultivable land - 250 *chavar*, 3000 *bigha*

pargana Dhandarphal

Cultivable land - 1820 *bigha*

pargana Ankola - 4197 *bigha* & 7 *biswa*

Cultivable land - 4187 *bigha* & 17 *biswa*

Garden land (*Baghat*) - 9 *bigha* & 10 *biswa*

<i>qasba</i> Jategaon	- 1208 <i>bigha</i> & 17 <i>biswa</i>
<i>pargana</i> Khandala	
Cultivable land	- 6464 <i>bigha</i> & 2 <i>biswa</i>
Garden land	- 16 <i>bigha</i> & 4 <i>biswa</i>
<i>pargana</i> Vaijapur	- 23348 <i>bigha</i> & 14 <i>biswa</i>
<i>pargana</i> Gandapur	- 26257 <i>bigha</i>
Garden land (<i>baghat</i>)	- 13 <i>bigha</i>
<i>qasba</i> Khardi	- 1022 <i>bigha</i> & 13 <i>biswa</i>
<i>qasba</i> Kanher	- 13232 <i>bigha</i> & 16 <i>biswa</i>
<i>pargana</i> pangal	- 5275 <i>bigha</i> & 8 <i>biswa</i>
<i>pargana</i> Sultanpur	- 3032 <i>bigha</i> & 5 <i>biswa</i>
<i>pargana</i> Ellora	- 7912 <i>bigha</i> & 7 <i>biswa</i>
<i>pargana</i> Harsul	- 8937 <i>bigha</i> & 2 <i>biswa</i>
<i>pargana</i> Khanapur	- 3201 <i>bigha</i> & 16 <i>biswa</i>
<i>pargana</i> Haveli Daultabad	- 1318 <i>bigha</i> & 2 <i>biswa</i>
Garden land	- 56 <i>bigha</i>
<i>pargana</i> Satara	- 2497 <i>bigha</i> & 14 <i>biswa</i>
Garden land	- 97 <i>bigha</i>
<i>pargana</i> Aurangabad	- 4637 <i>bigha</i> & 10 <i>biswa</i>
Cultivable land	- 1577 <i>bigha</i> & 12 <i>biswa</i>
Garden land	- 3058 <i>bigha</i> & 18 <i>biswa</i>

These statistical figures are useful in knowing the increased area of land brought under cultivation than the past. Obviously this must have also increased the revenues of the state also. But unfortunately, we do not get more statistical information regarding other regions, which would have certainly enabled us to make a fair estimate of total yield of land revenue under Malik Ambar.

- 2 11 During Aurangabad's second viceroyalty of the Deccan, Murshad Quli Khan and Multafit Khan surveyed all the villages in khandesh, Berar and the Nizam Shahi territories annexed to the Mughal Empire.⁷ In a similar way Shivaji's officers also carried out surveys of land, and almost with an identical aim as that of Malik Ambar.
- 2 12 The measurement of land gave confidence to the peasants and farmers and an exact idea about the total area in the possession of each farmer. The tax was determined on the basis of yield per *bigha* in place of *nasaq* or what is referred to in the Marathi documents as '*nazr pahani*'. Curiously enough, the Adil Shahis continued with the old custom only and never introduced more beneficial system of assessment by measurement of *bigha* in their territories. This method of assessment under Malik Ambar, contemplated more accurate knowledge of *zirayati* and *baghati* lands.

- 2 13 Malik Ambar formulated his land revenue reforms in three stages, viz fixation of limits of cultivable lands, and preparation of proper records of such lands In the second stage the land was assessed for its quality and yield According to Major Jervis, there about twelve different types of cultivable lands After the cultivable lands were classified, they were assessed for the purposes of crop Attention was paid to such details as fallow land, then the lands to be nearly brought under cultivation with such remarks as *tajwiz-i hal* 'proposed currently', which means they were being added to the area assigned previously⁸ In the third stage the land tax was determined by physical verification of the likely yield/crop
- 2 14 The crop consisted of *rabi* and *kharif* yearly, or two crops a year depending on *zirayati* and *baghati* lands The *baghati* land was further divided into land irrigated by well water and land irrigated by channels and canal water respectively
- 2 15 The above classification of the land would give a general idea to the assessing officer (*amils*) as well as to the people of the concerned village that so much cultivable land was available for taxation purposes The assessment of the land taxes was done in the following way The first stage consisted of measuring the exact number of *bigha* under cultivation and assessing the return of produce in these lands The fixation of number of *bigha* under cultivation was considered essential as it gave a rough idea of approximate land under cultivation in the limits of a particular village The proportions in which the revenue was to be collected under it were based on a differential scale One third of the produce was to be taken from crops raised from rainfall alone⁹ Two thirds was allotted to the *royt* In the case of crops irrigated from well or canal waters the rate was higher i e 2/5th The rates in respect of each crops like sugar cane, grapes, bananas, poppy seeds, figs, Isabghol etc were still different keeping in view the expenses incurred on watering the plants till the time of their fruit bearing stage
- 2 16 The *patils* (Patels), the *khots*, the *kulkarnis* and the others were strictly prohibited from interfering with the govt officers beyond the duties and strictly enjoined in their *sanad* Thus, the above system gave confidence to the peasants and farmers an exact idea about the total area in the possession of each farmer And also the knowledge of amount of taxes he would be required to pay to the state during a particular season But his more important reform was removal of all the intermediaries, the various agents who were appointed to collect land revenue which had been gradually usurping the character of the farming system There can not be a better tribute than this that in respect of settlement of land revenue, Shivaji, the first Maratha ruler, followed closely the system introduced by Malik Ambar
- 2 17 However, the above system was not without its defects The most prominent was the revenue officers who were so appointed made most of it in the name of the govt from the illiterate subjects and drew grievous exactions from the farmers not shown in the govt records of revenue and made *royt* believe that

not they but the govt was responsible for exactions, plunder and oppressive recoveries¹⁰ But from the govt's point of view the dues were collected with minimum botheration Therefore, perhaps this was the reason, that Malik Ambar did not interfere with rights of occupancy or private property, *mirasdari* or hereditary tenure

2 18 Another reform that Malik Ambar introduced was bringing fallow land under cultivations This was done in stages The farmers were given the assurances that the land would remain partially taxed for a period of four to twelve years This system of bringing the fallow land under cultivation and charging the rent by stages was called *Istawa* The Maratha government under Shivaji followed this system very closely and introduced further improvements in it¹¹

2 19 Thus, to conclude, it could be stated that Malik Ambar had put in practice, a definite system of revenue assessment with a very clear idea of the share of the state, which invariably did not exceed one-third of the total yields on an average land The success of Malik Ambar's land revenue settlement was so enormous that the posterity ever remembered him, while associating his name with land revenue system, inspite of a very severe famine followed immediately after the death of Malik Ambar

NOTES AND REFERENCES

- 1 Moreland, *Journal of Indian History*, IV pp 78-79
- 2 Irfan Habib, *Agrarian System of Mughal India*, p 190
- 3 *Ibid*, p 190
- 4 *Ibid*, p 222
- 5 In 1652 Aurangzeb was sent for second time as Viceroy of the Deccan, he was asked to improve the land revenue system This task was carried out by Murshid Quli Khan, assisted from some time by Multafat Khan In the beginning Murshid Quli Khan was the diwan of Balaghat & Multafit Khan of Panighat Murshid Quli Khan, subsequently became diwan of whole of Mughal Suba of Deccan
- 6 Irfan Habib, *ASME*, p 226
- 7 *Selected Documents of Aurangzeb's Reign*, pp 101-9
- 8 *Ibid*
- 9 This is well supported by the records of Shivaji's period, under Annaji Datto, the revenue recovered was 2/5 The two fifth revenue was in excess by about 7% than that was charged during Malik Ambar's time SCS Vol VII No 54 & 67 dt Feb 1671 Document No 67 supports the assessment rates stated above in respect of Junnar, which definitely formed part of Nizam Shahi territory for long, till it was taken over by the Mughals
- 10 Jerris T B Report *Historical and Geographical Account of the Western Coast of India, Revenue & Land Tenures* (1840)
- 11 SCS Vol VII, No 50, dt 1664-1665

THE NATURE OF HANDGUNS IN MUGHAL INDIA: 16TH AND 17TH CENTURIES

IQTIDAR ALAM KHAN*

- 0 1 The earliest type of firearm capable of throwing projectiles up to long distances with the help of energy created by igniting gunpowder inside a barrel, invented in China and Europe independently during the 14th century, was the cannon or the artillery piece worked with gunpowder.¹ This weapon basically consisted of a barrel made of wrought iron through the process of forging one end of which was sealed. Near the sealed end was provided a touch-hole for igniting the gunpowder charge inside the barrel.
- 0 2 The Early handgun, possibly, had its origin in the light cannon resembling the *narnai* of Abul Fazl's description that could be carried by a single man.² It was only after this light artillery piece came to be fitted with the stock (a component copied from crossbow) and a priming-pan near the touch-hole that it became an entirely new weapon of immense possibilities. This new weapon, a handgun, seems to have first appeared in Europe towards the end of the 14th or the beginning of the 15th century.³ From there it was later (during the 15th century) introduced in Asia and Africa.
- 0 3 When first introduced in Europe, the handgun came to be called "arquebus" (a corruption of archaic 'harquebus') literally meaning a "hook-gun" which was an allusion to "the early portable cannon that was supported on a rest by a hook of iron fastened to the barrel".⁴ Some time towards the middle of the 15th century European handgun came to be fitted with a gun-lock, a mechanism providing for putting the burning match to the priming-pan by pressing a trigger. The gunlock with a trigger was also copied from the cross-bow.

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Handguns fitted with this mechanism came to be called matchlocks. Some time in the second decade of the 16th century, the European handguns began to be fitted with locks facilitating the ignition of the charges inside the barrels without using burning matches. These were wheellock guns in which small, hardened and serrated steel wheel was rotated against some hard material to produce sparks. And finally, in the beginning of the 17th century flints came to be attached to the cock of the gunlock for producing sparks by making them strike against a small steel-plates ("freezen") placed just above the priming-pan. This new and more sophisticated European handgun came to be called a flintlock or firelock.⁵

- 0 4 The early handguns or arquebuses, when introduced in the Ottoman empire (beginning of 15th century) and from there to other parts of Asia and Africa, came to be generally named in the Islamic lands as well as South Asia as *tufang*, or *tufak* (a term originally denoting crossbow) and *banduq* (Arabic term for shots). During the subsequent four centuries, all the different types of European handguns - matchlocks, wheellocks, flintlocks/firelocks - that came to be introduced in this part of the world were in most cases vaguely called *tufans* or *banduqs*.

I

- 1 1 As to when were the handguns first introduced in South Asia, is not known with any measure of certainty. Numerous references in the Persian chronicles written in India during the late 16th and 17th centuries (e.g. Nizamuddin Ahmad's *Tabaqat-i Akbari*, Sikandar bin Manjhu's *Mirat-i Sikandari* and Abul Qasim Firishta's *Tarikh-i Firishta*) to the use of *tup-o-tufang* during the 14th and 15th centuries do tend to give the impression of firearms, including handguns, being in vogue in the whole of South Asia from the second half of the 14th century onwards. There is some basis for imagining that these references to the use of firearms in South Asia before the 16th century are not entirely unreliable. Irrefutable contemporary evidence can be cited to prove the wide use of a primitive type of gunpowder based artillery, in the whole of South Asia as early as the middle of the 15th century. But similar evidence for the handguns is not very strong.⁶
- 1 2 It is not certain as to whether the *tufangs* mentioned by Nizamuddin Ahmad, Sikandar bin Manjhu, and Abul Qasim Firishta as being present in the Deccan, Malwa, Gujarat and Kashmir during the 15th century, were proper handguns or mere crossbows. This uncertainty seems to arise from overlapping nomenclatures that were in vogue during the 15th century for firearms and different types of crossbows and mangonels. A notice on the term *tufak/tufang* given in a Persian dictionary compiled at Jaunpur in A.D. 1419-20, suggests that till the time of its writing this term simply denoted a crossbow.⁷ Apparently, the term *tufak/tufang* had not yet come to be applied in North India to a firearm. Considering this, one cannot for example be too sure whether the mention by Abul Qasim Firishta of the use of *tufang* by the Vijayanagar forces in A.D. 1423

or of *tufang's* introduction in Kashmir and Malwa by Zainul Abidin (A D 1422-72) and Ghiyasuddin Khalji (A D 1467-99) respectively are references to handguns and not to crossbows Nizamuddin Ahmad's and Abul Qasim Firishta's testimony that *tufang* was introduced in Kashmir by an *atishbaz* [an expert of pyrotechny] in the service of Sultan Zainul Abidin does tend to give an impression of its being a firearm But this evidence is not strong enough for assuming that the handgun, like the gunpowder based artillery, had already come into vogue in South Asia by the middle of the 15th century ⁸

- 1 3 There are, however, a few scattered pieces of contemporary evidence vaguely suggesting the possibility of the handgun reaching different parts of South Asia at one or the other point of time during the 15th century This evidence deserves to be examined here One such very significant piece of evidence is a statement by Clavijo to the effect that Timur had brought to Samarqand "gunsmiths" from "Turkey" who "make the arquebus" ⁹ This would mean that the early handgun developed in Europe towards the end of 14th century or beginning of the 15th century was already known at Samarqand in the beginning of the 15th century Likelihood of its beginning introduced in Kashmir during A D 1422-77 by a migrating artisan thus cannot be entirely ruled out The above statement of Clavijo, therefore, tends to indirectly suggest that Nizamuddin Ahmad's story regarding the introduction of the *tufang* in Kashmir by Habib Atishbaz could have been a reference to the introduction of a proper arquebus
- 1 4 There is another seemingly contemporary evidence suggesting that already by A D 1475, the handgun was a weapon familiar enough to coastal Gujarat to be depicted by an artist of the region in one of his illustrations This is the depiction of human figures carrying handguns in the border details on one of the folios of an illustrated manuscript of *Kalapasutra* and *Kalakacharya* preserved in the *Devasano Pado Bhandar*, Ahmedabad ¹⁰ On stylistic grounds, Karl Khandalavala and Moti Chandra hold that the date of writing this manuscript "could hardly be later than A D 1575" It is true that one cannot be too sure regarding this date suggested vaguely on stylistic grounds But the alternative timing (some time after 1514) suggested by Basil Grey is still less dependable Basil Grey's entire argument in this connection hinges on the not very safe assumption that handguns became common in the coastal Gujarat only after A D 1514 ¹¹ One, therefore, may not be far wrong in relying on Karl Khandalavala's and Moti Chandra's broad surmise that stylistically the illustrations of this manuscript dates back generally to the 15th century and also in imagining that the early type of handguns was already a familiar object on the Western coast of India before the end of the 15th century This impression is also supported by a description of Vasco da Gama's reception at Calicut in A D 1498 penned by a European observer According to this record in the procession that set out to receive the European visitors "one of the Nayers carried a caliver (culverin?) which he fired at intervals" ¹²
- 1 5 That handguns might have come to Gujarat and Calicut at this early stage (end of 15th century) from the Mamluk Kingdom (who controlled the Red Sea ports at this time) is an obvious guess The earliest known date for the use

of handguns in the Mamluk kingdom according to Ayolan, is A D 1490¹³ From there it could have easily reached the western Indian coast before the end of the 15th century In view of the frequent trade contacts that existed between the two regions during this time, it would, in fact, have been very surprising that once this new firearm was introduced in the Mamluk kingdom it should not have soon travelled from there to Gujarat and Calicut This surmise carries a significant implication for the nature of the early handguns that were, possibly, present in Gujarat and Calicut prior to A D 1500 In all probability, these were the second hand copies of the early European handguns, the arquebuses, transmitted to these places through Ottomans and Mamluks It would further imply that the early handgun present in Gujarat and Calicut before A D 1500 was not an indigenously developed weapon nor is there much likelihood of its being of Chinese origin

- 1 6 The first unambiguous reference to the presence of arquebus in Gujarat and its possible use in the open battles, however, dates back to A D 1518 Durate Barbosa, who visited Gujarat in that year, notes, that in the Gujarati army three or four men sitting in the "wooden castles on the elephants' backs", would be armed with "bows, arrows, arquebuse and other weapons"¹⁴ From this statement, however, it is also obvious that, till this time, arquebus was not assigned a distinctly significant role in the open battles It was at best treated at par with "arrows" and "other weapons" of infantrymen going into battle precariously perched on the backs of the elephants But the same weapon could perhaps be used much more effectively in the siege operations where the infantrymen wielding arquebuses could shoot in unison from the ground without running the risk of being rushed by the cavalry Effective use of handguns by Babur's *tufangchis* at Bajaur (A D 1519) and by Vijayanagar forces at Raichur (A D 1520) may be cited as the illustrations of important role that handguns had come to play in the siege operations in South Asia during the first quarter of the sixteenth century¹⁵ But from an opposite stand point it may be argued that the better performance of the handguns at Bajaur and Raichur could be attributed to the use of more advanced type of handguns, the matchlocks, which were already in vogue in Europe from the middle of the 15th century While the nature of Babur's *tufang* at Bajaur is difficult to guess, one might imagine that "espingards"¹⁶ [a term used indifferently, according to Sanjay Subrahmanyam, by the contemporaries for the matchlocks and harquebus] used by the Portuguese under Christovao de Figueiredo at Raichur were proper European matchlocks Fernao Nunes' comments that the "Moors" at Raichur fired upon by Christovao de Figueiredo's men were "careless and free from fear, as men who up to then had never seen men killed with firearms nor with other such weapons" This goes to strongly suggest 'Bijapuri troops' lack of familiarity with the striking power and accuracy of the handguns used against them
- 1 7 Babur's description of the siege of Bajaur goes to suggest that, as late as A D 1519, handgun, which was already being used widely in Gujarat, the Deccan, and the Vijayanagar, was not a generally familiar firearm in the North-Western

parts of South Asia. This comes out from the initial response of the Bajauris to the use of *tufang* by Babur's troops. "As the Bajauris had never before seen *tufang*", says Babur, "they at first took no care about them, indeed they made fun when they heard the report and answered it with unseemly gestures". In this light it would not be far wrong to say that in many places in the North-Western parts of South Asia, handguns were introduced only by Babur during A.D. 1519-26.

- 18 The problem of using firearms-cannons as well as handguns effectively in an open battle was solved in South Asia for the first time by Babur in the First Battle of Panipat (A.D. 1526) when he adopted what he calls the Battle plan of the "Ghazis of Rum". The central feature of the plan was the deployment of *tufang* and artillery in such a manner that these were provided the protection of fortifications without hampering the free movement of cavalry. Through this arrangement it could be possible for Babur to break the charge of the vastly more numerous Afghan cavalry mainly with the help of incessant firing by his *tufangchi*. It is significant that in the second half of the 16th century one does not come across any mention of *tufangchi* participating in an open battle from the backs of the elephants. Subsequently, throughout the sixteenth century, a *tufangchi* firing his handgun would always stand or kneel on the ground supporting his handgun on a fork, a mantelet, a cart, a sitting camel, or an earthwork (which incidentally also provided a limited measure of protection from the sudden rush of the enemy's cavalry). The firepower of the handguns used by the *tufangchi* standing on the ground could increase considerably by adopting the "volley technique". That such a technique was attempted by Babur in A.D. 1528 [70 years before it was introduced in the Dutch army by Counts Maurice and William Louice in 1590s] is vaguely testified by his statement wherein *tufangchi* are described as making "a carpet (*qalin*) of discharges".¹⁷ The greater effectiveness of the *tufangchi* in combat resulting the possible adoption of the "volley technique" would have been an additional factor ensuring their protection in an open battle.
- 19 That the *tufangchi* participating in the open battles in this manner were considered very useful is borne by the increasing strength of this category of troops in the service of the Mughals as well as Surs during the subsequent twenty years. While Babur had with him only 1200 *tufangchi* at Panipat, even after the defeat at Chausa, Humayun still had with him, on the eve of the Battle of Kannauj (A.D. 1540), 5000 *tufangchis*. On Abbas Khan Sarwani's testimony it is known that Sher Shah (A.D. 1540-45) had in his service 25000 *tufangchis* who were evenly distributed to man the important strongholds in the empire.

II

- 21 The exact nature of the *tufang* of this period (A.D. 1526-56) is difficult to guess. One can only speculate that these were some kind of matchlocks superior in performance as compared to the arquebuses already present in the coastal regions, like Gujarat and Calicut prior to the establishment of the

Mughal rule in North India. It is, however, certain that by the time the illustrations of *Hamzanama* came to be prepared, during A.D. 1560-1575, on Akbar's orders¹⁸ the standard handgun used in the Mughal empire and, possibly, in the Deccan as well was a matchlock of the type then in vogue among the Ottomans. This is borne clearly by the depiction of handguns in some of the *Hamzanama* paintings. For example, in one of the paintings of this album there are depicted three handguns leaning against each other while their butts rest on the ground. The cocks of these guns are clearly visible.¹⁹ It should identify them conclusively as matchlocks.

- 2.2 But it is true that the matchlocks that were apparently, already being used in the whole of South Asia during the sixties of the 16th century were much inferior to the muskets used by the Portuguese on the Western coast of India. This is highlighted by the contemporary Portuguese accounts of an attack in A.D. 1571 by the Sultan of Gujarat on Chaul then controlled by the Portuguese. According to an estimate based on archaeological and historical evidence, at this time, the superior Portuguese muskets fired "one ounce shot over 400 meters while Indian infantrymen could send a half ounce shot for about half that distance."²⁰ Such a great difference in the performance of the Indian and Portuguese matchlocks might suggest that the handgun technology brought to South Asia from Europe from contact with the *Mamluks/nortals* and the Ottomans was stagnating even at this early stage while it was continuously developing and improving in Europe.
- 2.3 In the light of *Hamzanama's* conclusive evidence on the presence of matchlocks in the Mughal empire during the sixties of the 16th century, the real import of Abul Fazl's much discussed statement in the *Ain-i Akbari* giving credit to Akbar for introducing a new type of handgun may not appear so puzzling. This new gun in which "the fire is kindled without *fatila* [only] with a slight movement of the *masha* [trigger] and *tir* [pillet] is discharged" would obviously be identified with a handgun which was not a matchlock.²¹ Abul Fazl's above description unmistakably points to its being the wheellock which was invented in Europe in the beginning of the 16th century.
- 2.4 The above surmise is supported by another significant piece of literary evidence pointing to an anonymous Mughal author's familiarity in A.H. 940/A.D. 1630 with the wheellock. He perceives this weapon as a very rare and costly firearm. This evidence is represented by a passage in a spurious version of Jahangir's *Memoir* (Royal Asiatic Society, MS p. 122 *Tarikh-i Jahangir Nama-i Salimi*) penned by an anonymous author in A.H. 940/A.D. 1630. The author was, possibly, himself a petty official in the Mughal service. The English translation of the relevant passage reads:
- "I [i.e. Jahangir in first person] sent a communication [*farman*] to Mirza Rustam [enquiring] 'What is the technique [*hunar*] and excellence [*khubi*] of the *tufang* for which you had given twelve thousand rupees and ten heads of horses to its owner but he took airs and did not accept [the offer]. Presently, that *tufang* is before me [You] state in detail its excellence [and] I give you that *tufang* as a gift." In

reply [he] wrote 'First quality of that *tufang* is that [even] if they shoot hundred bullets, it is not heated at all. It gets ignited on its own [*az khud atish bar midarad*] Its shot is never missed and [the *tufang*] takes a shot weighing five *mithqal*. In spite of these qualities, I sent that *tufang* to him [i.e. to Mirza Rustam]" ²²

- 25 It is now known as to exactly when the flintlock reached South Asia. As Irfan Habib points out, Pietro Della Valle's account suggests that a handgun fitted "with a flintlock after the English fashion" was an object of curiosity for Zamorin of Calicut in A.D. 1623. According to him, a flintlock was "a thing unknown to them [i.e. people at Calicut], for their gun have only mathces" ²³. There is, however, some basis for inferring the presence of flintlocks/firelocks in the Mughal empire during the second half of the seventeenth century. This is suggested by a specimen description of a handgun [*chehra-i banduq*] reproduced in *syahnama*, a *dastur-amal*, compiled by Munshi Nand Ram Kayasth Shrivastava in A.D. 1694-6 ²⁴. In this description in addition to attachments and items relating to a *banduq* such as *nal-i ahni* [iron barrel], *fandagh* [ball], *sozan-i ahni* [iron pricker], *qabza* [stock], *surb* [lead], *zanjakdan* [container for priming powder], *piyala-i ahni* [priming-pan made of iron], a *Chaqmaq-i ahni* (iron flint) is also mentioned. On the other hand from this list *fatila* [matchcord] is conspicuously absent. On the strength of the above contents of this *Chehra-i banduq* it may be safely assumed that it actually pertains to a handgun in which burning *fatila* was not used but a piece of flint was one of its attachments. That such a handgun could easily be identified as flintlock/firelock goes without saying.
- 26 It is, therefore, not at all surprising that some of 18th century texts mention the presence of a large number of *banduq-i Chaqmaq* in the Mughal empire. Irvine's reservations regarding this evidence are rather misplaced. One finds it difficult to agree with his assumption that as late as A.D. 1759 the possession of flintlocks/firelocks by the Indian princes not in direct contact with the European powers is not plausible ²⁵. He seems to have totally ruled out the possibility of flintlock/firelock being present in the Mughal empire during the 17th century.
- 27 While highlighting the evidence suggesting that the wheellock and flintlock were present in the Mughal empire during the 17th century, one should also point out that these more sophisticated and advanced type of handguns could never replace the matchlock in the armies of the Mughal empire as the most favoured firearms of personal combat. The reasons for the Mughals' not switching over to the more efficient flintlocks/firelocks on any appreciable scale needs to be enquired into. It is possible that the silent resistance of the communities specialising in the use of *tufangs* in Mughal India against such a switch over contributed to this situation. These groups must have learnt the skills required for handling *tufangs* fitted with matchlocks as early as the first half of the 16th century when these were first introduced in South Asia on a wide scale. During the 17th century, when the wheellock and flintlock were introduced in the Mughal empire, the idea of a switch over to these latest weapons would have naturally been not liked by the Buxarias, Narnaulis,

Bahalias, Bundelas and such other communities manning the Mughal corps of *banduqchi*. They would have feared that such a change would render the skill possessed by them partly obsolete. Their reaction to flintlock/firelock would have been similar to that of the sepoys of the Bengal Army to the introduction of a new musket with a rifled bore in the first half of the 19th century. The sepoys called this new musket *adharmi* [in popular Urdu usage "the faithless one"]

NOTES AND REFERENCES

- 1 The earliest representation of a European cannon is in the MS of Walter de Milemete, Chaplain to Edward III, dated A D 1326, now at Christ Church, Oxford. While the earliest date, for the Chinese cannons are A D 1356 and A D 1377. Cf J J Souder, *The History of the Mongol Conquests*, London, 1971, p 199 nos 16 and 17, see also A R Hall in *History of Technology* (ed Charles Sangers and others), vol II, Oxford, 1967, p 226
- 2 The earliest European hand cannon found under the debris of a castle at Hesse dates back to A D 1399. The literary evidence suggests that weapons of this type did not appear in Europe until mid-14th century, Cf Jaroslav Lugs, *Firearms Past and Present*, vol I (original, Prague, 1959), London, 1973, p 13. For Abul Fazl's description of *narnal* as a light cannon which could be carried by a single man see *Ain-i Akbari*, Nawal Kishore, p 82. Irvine's identification (*The Army of the Indian Mughals*, reprint, New Delhi, 1962, p 135) of *narnal* as a matchlock is obviously a slip. He fails to note that Abul Fazl mentions *narnal* in the description of *topkhana* and not in that of *tufang's*
- 3 See Jaroslav Lugs, *Firearms Past and Present*, vol I, pp 13-14
- 4 See the Compact Edition of the *Oxford English Dictionary*, Oxford, 1971, under "arquebus"
- 5 See Jaroslav Lugs, *Firearm Past and Present*, vol I, pp 15-16, p 19, 25
- 6 For a detailed discussion of the references in the texts written during the 15th century to the artillery pieces worked with gunpowder (*kaman-i r'ad*) see my paper, "Early Use of Cannon and Musket in India", *JESHO*, Vol XXIV, Part II, Leiden, pp 146-64
- 7 See *Adat-ul Fuzala*, MS, Maulana Azad Library (Aligarh), University Collection, *Farhang-Lughat*, no 5, under *tufak*
- 8 Compare, *Tabaqat-i Akbari*, Vol III, edited by B De and Muhammad Hidayat Husain, Published by Asiatic Society of Bengal, p 439 and *Tarikh-i Firishhta*, Vol II, Nawal Kishore, pp 251, 255, 321
- 9 Don Ruy Gonzalez de Clavijo, *Embassy to Tamerlane*, 1403-1406, tr G Le Strange, London, 1928, p 288. In the light of the categorical statement of a contemporary writer, Z Zygulski's contention in *Pollard's History of Firearms*, 1983, p 429, that firearms made their appearance in "Turkey" as early as the end of the 15th century loses its relevance. From Clavijo's above statement one knows that already in the beginning of the 15th century there were present in "Turkey" gunsmiths who could make *aruqbuses*, some of whom were brought by Timur to Samarqand
- 10 Karl J Khanoalavala and Moti Chandra, *New Documents of Indian Painting*, Bombay, 1969, pp 29-30 and Plate 62. Panjak Kumar Datta was the first to notice the significance of these illustrations in the context of the study of the history of firearms in India. Compare Figs Nos 23 and 24 in his paper "Cannon in India During the Mughal Days", *Bulletin of the Victoria Memorial*, volume III-IV, Calcutta, 1969-70. See also Plate 1 of this paper
- 11 For a summary of Basil Gray's argument in *The Art of India and Pakistan*, see *New Documents of Indian Painting*, p 30

- 12 Kerr's Collection of Voyages, vol II, p 36 cited from Panjak Dutta, "Guns in Mughal India", *Bulletin of Victoria Memorial*, Vol II, 1968, p 30
- 13 David Ayolan, *Gunpowder and Firearms in the Mamluk Kingdom*, London, 1978 (first edition, in 1956), p 67
- 14 *The Book of Durate Barbosa*, The Hakluyt Society, Vol 44, p 118
- 15 *Baburnama*, tr by A S Beveridge, reprint, London, 1969, p 368 and Fernao Nunes in Robert Sewell, *A Forgotten Empire*, First Indian Edition, Delhi, 1962, p 327
- 16 Cf Fernao Nunes reproduced in David Lopes, ed *Chronica dos Reis de Bisnaga*, Lisbon (Impresa Nacional), 1897, p 39 cited by Sanjay Sumbrahmanyam, "The Kagemusha Effect The Portuguese, Firearms and the State in Early Modern South India", *Moyen Orient & Ocean*, Indien, IV (A D 1987) According to Sanjay Subrahmanyam the translation of Fernao Nunes by Robert Sewell is defective, the term "espingards" does not occur in Sewell's translation He refers to Christova de Figueiredo's handgun as "musquet"
- 17 *Baburnama*, pp 599-600 For the introduction of "volley technique" in the Dutch army see Geoffrey Parker, *The Military Revolution, Military Innovation and the Rise of the West, 1500-1800*, Cambridge, 1988, p 19
- 18 For the date [A D 1560-1575] of *Hamzanama* illustrations worked out on the strength of a statement of Abdul Qadar Badauni see S P Verma, *Art and Material Culture in the Paintings of Akbar's Court*, New Delhi, 1978, Introduction, p XIV
- 19 See Plates 2, 3, and 4 where are reproduced depictions of guns in Codices Selecti Phototypiece impressi Facsimile vol LII/1 & 2, Akdemische Druck-u Verlagsanstalt, Garz 1974, [Plate V 21, V 24, V & A 24] For a contrary view on this evidence see S P Verma, "Firearms in Sixteenth Century India", *Islamic Culture*, Vol LVII, no 1, Hyderabad, January 1983, p 64n where he makes the categorical statement that "the depiction of matchlock is totally absent" from *Hamzanama*
- 20 R O W Goertz cited in Geoffrey Parker, *op cit*, p 131, n 51
- 21 See *Ain-i Akbari*, vol I, Nawal Kishore, p 83 For the different interpretations of this passage, cf Irfan Habib, "The Technology and Economy of Mughal India", *IESHR*, vol XVII, no I, p 17 and "Changes in Technology in Medieval India", *Studies in History*, vol II, no 1, p 36 where he first identified this new handgun as wheellock and then in next paper as a matchlock See also S P Verma, "Fire-Arms in Sixteenth Century India", *Islamic Culture*, vol LVII, no 1, Hyderabad, January 1983, p 64 fn 12, who has pointed out the above dichotomy in Irfan Habib's interpretation of this passage In my paper, "The coming of Gunpowder and the Response of Indian Polity" presented at the Centre for Studies in Social Sciences, Calcutta, circulated by the Centre as its Occasional Paper No 35 I had identified the handgun alluded to by Abul Fazl in this passage as a flint-lock which was a slip In the light of Jaroslav Lugs' detailed research (*Firearms Past and Present*, vol I, p 25) it is obvious that at the time of the compilation of *Ain-i Akbari* (A D 1594) the flintlock had not appeared even in Europe As already noticed, it first appeared in Europe only in the beginning of the 17th century
- 22 My attention was directed to this passage by a reference in Pankaj K Dutta's "Guns in Mughal India", *Bulletin of Victoria Memorial*, vol II, Calcutta, 1968, pp 31, to a similar passage in Price's 'Autobiographical Memoirs of Jahangir' (in the *Journal of the Royal Asiatic Society*, London, 1829) which was based on Royal Asiatic Society Ms, Nos p 114(2) The MS used by price is in Ms No P 212 which carries the date A H 940/A D 1630 and from where I have taken the above passage
- 23 *Travels of Pietro Della Valle in India*, tr, Edward Grey, London, 1989, pp 371-72 Compare Irfan Habib, Dev Raj Channa Lecture, cyclostyled, 1970, p 23
- 24 Munshi Nand Ram Kayastha Shrivastava, *Siyaqnama*, [A D 1696], Nawal Kishore, Lucknow, 1879, p 154

- 25 Cf Critical comments on the mention of the use of flintlocks/firelocks [*banduq-i chaqmaq*] in the Mughal territories by the 18th century writers, Muhammad Bakhsh Ashob and Khairuddin Allahabadi in William Irvine, *The Army of the Indian Mughals*, reprint, Delhi, 1962, pp 105, 106



PLATE—I



PLATE—II



PLATE—III



PLATE—IV

UNPUBLISHED DOCUMENTS RELATING TO ENGLISH EAST INDIA COMPANY'S TRADE IN GUJARAT, 1669-82

IFTIKHAR AHMAD KHAN*

- 0 1 As is well known the great series of English East India Company's records in India, the *Letters Received* and *English Factories in India*, the first mainly and the second exclusively edited by William Foster reproduced or summarised documents that still constitute an immensely rich source, that one can again and again quarry for new information. But the volumes of Foster's *English Factories* closes with 1669, and his successor Fawcett in the new series ceased to discuss individual documents in the way of which Foster was master. A number of important letters from and to the English Factories at Surat during 1669 and post-1669 period have remained unpublished.
- 0 2 I have, therefore, thought that it might be useful to decipher and present to this Congress some of these letters hitherto unpublished, extant in India office Library (photocopies in the Library of C A S in History, Aligarh).

I

- 1 1 The Surat Factory, the earliest transactional main agency of the East India Company on the Western Coast of India was established in 1612 with its subordinate agencies at Gogha, Ahmadabad, Broach and (later) Bombay and oversea at Gombroon (Bandar Abbas) and (sometimes) Basra.

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- 1 2 By the period to which the present documents relate (1669-82) had attained considerable significance in the development of the Company's internal and external trade with further establishment of smaller 'factories' in the extensive interior of India such as the hinterland of Surat, Malabar and the Coromandel Coast. The Company's ships carried goods from the Indian ports to Mokha, Jedda, Persia, south-east Asia and China. Their consignments to England mainly consisted of Indian textiles, indigo and species.
- 1 3 About the same time the Company's plan led to the development of Bombay (1668-1669). However during the years of our documents, Surat was still the main factory of the English in Western India, and their major point of commercial expansion. And factories were re-established at Broach, Ankalesvar (Uncl-esseer), Dabhol (a distance of about 30 miles from Broach), Baroda, Nariad, Ahmadabad & Dholka with the view to supervise cloth investments there. Aungier also re-established factories at Dharamgaon in 1674 and at Rajpur in 1675.²
- 1 4 About transaction of indigenous commodities as like overseas transactions was executed mainly by the factors of subordinate agencies through the Indian brokers for the Company's investments at Ahmadabad, Broach, Baroda, Nariad and other places. The Dutch and the French too employed Indian brokers. Following Oxenden's death in July 1669, when Aungier succeeded him as the President of the Surat Factory, the East India Company's chief broker was Bhimji Parakh. He was described by Oxenden as a rich merchant.³ Bhimji's valuable services to the Company won him reputation among the Factory's factors who reposed their confidence in his integrity and ability. Once in 1669 on charges of partiality to brokers the company reserved the discretion of dismissing Bhimji subsequently, however, he escaped his dismissal. Bhimji Parakh, who appears prominently in the documents here presented, was the chief among the five eminent *banyas* who had submitted petition to Gerald Aungier against the atrocities of the Mughal authorities at Surat and expressed strong desire to settle at Bombay under the company's protection.⁵ Brokers at Surat and in subordinate factories were of no consequence so long there was an English man. They had to seek the consent of the English man.⁶
- 1 5 Bhimji and Kalyan both were brothers and their father Tulsi Das Parakh also was broker to East India company. It is worth to note that a Surat letter of 9 January 1671 to the Company reported an offer from Bhimji to defray the wages of a printer to be sent to Bombay to put some of the ancient Brahmanical writings in print, and one was sent out accordingly three years later. In a resolution in 1683 the Company announced the present of a medal to Bhimji and a chain of gold to the value of £ 50 in recognition of his services.
- 1 6 The East India Company seems to regularly borrow money through brokers. Bhimji's report of 15 November 1674 evidently speaks of non-availability of money in the market and, therefore, Rs 12,000 had to be borrowed on special terms.⁸ The normal rate of interest was now not very high. At Bombay in 1672, on loans was 12% a year.⁹ But by 1682, as we see from the letter of the Company to Surat dated 5 July 1682, here presented the interest at 4% per annum, the fall being attributed to amplitude of money supplied from England.

Bhimji Parakh was then suspected of possessing a property of £ 1 million. But the dull market often would impose pressure on brokers who borrowed on their own for the Company's purchases. Such a situation arose at the Surat in 1677 when Bhimji came under heavy pressure of the creditors who had advanced money for the Company's business. There was also a loss of 8% on gold. Silver, however, fetched 2% chance increase simply because of the revocation of duty on minting by Aurangzeb ¹⁰

- 1 7 The present documents give interesting details of how the English factors dealt with brokers at Broach and Baroda and other places, and sought to purchase goods strictly to specifications. The Broach letter of 6 August 1673, presented here contains a number of such details. Unfortunately a few parts of it could not be deciphered.
- 1 8 The Company's letter of 5 July 1682, presented here, has this very important passage on the commercial greatness of Surat at that time

" We have had some discourse with Mr Penning and others who inform us that about sixty junks do yearly load from Surat for Mocha, Judda, Persia and Bussorah, most of whose loading consist of Ealicoes, drugs and Ahmadabad silks bought in the bazar of Surat"

APPENDIX

1. Factory Records, Surat 24 December 1669, vol 3, p. 13.

Consultation in Surat the 24th December 1669 where present Gerald Aungier President & Mr

Whereas on the 31st day of August last we made a contract with Suddarrung and his Pheroo Brothers, for an Investment of cloath to be made in Agra for Acctt (of) the Honble Company and thereupon paid him in hand Rupees twelve thousand on ordering the residue to what moneys shall be due on said acctt to be taken up by them there, on hypothecation on the goods, finding it to be a cheaper way then a continued interest. But since we are informed by said Siddarung Pheroo viz that they can not procure money on said Accott by reason of the jealousies and suspitions etc the Banias have of the Moores which causes those that have moneys to be very reserved those how they disposed of it, choosing rather to lett it bye dead in their house, then lett it out at interest or otherwise, therefore we do mutually agree ti's lye Company's advantage to lett Phiroo & co have 12000 Rupees more in ready money on account of said investment

2. Factory Records, Surat 24 Dec 1669 Vol 3, p.

Our Respected Friends Captain George Ervin Captain Robert Medford

Captain Henry young being intend to be his passage for England on one of your ships we do freely learn it to his own choyce good wherefore those are

to desire you or either of your That you receive him on bord together which his Lumber and that you treat him with all ciuility during the time he shall continue with you for which you will have our further order

Gerald Aungier

Suratt the 23rd December 1669

Straubsgan Master
Charles James

3. Factory Record, Surrat 24 December 1669, vol. 3

Consultation in Suratt the 2nd January 1669 where at present-

Gerald Aungier President, Strainsham Master and Alooe Prigois

There being a in the by reason of Mr Rolis departure for Persia and Capt Henry young's going for England to answer the charge lays against him by james Adam to the law, those of authority hath him to sit council

The President propounded the in Mr Alexander Prigobic to supply that want"-

4. Factory Record, Surat 24 December 1669? vol. 3

Suratt the 10th May 1670

The Councill having all time advised for thing the provision of Puschoch for Bantam were given to understand that at Brampore it was to be procured under 4 rupees i.e the maen whereas the price at Suratt was 5 rup 6 whereupon they ordered Phoroo suddarung to write to his correspondent to provide 80 bales thererof each Bale for 7 monds In case it was to be procured at said rate and to take care that it be sent downe with all speed, otherwise not to buy any but send them downe a Master sample

5. Factory Record, Suratt 24 December 1669 vol. 3

Surrat the 15th may 1670

The Councill being mett considere of the Company's order provision of 400 Bales Indico Ahmadavad which they hitherto suspended by reason of some abuses putt on them by the customer of said Towne in exacting extraordinary duties from them, and being advised by Muddun Hussage the Compy's broker there that prices were reasonable and would come under the Company's rate of 1 M a per was given to Binjee Parrack for the provision of 400 bales half flat and half round/Musters also of a small parcell Mandrabad narrow Baftas were brought in by Sungasa and being found good and cheap oruer was given him to buy se (the?) said / parcell

Musters of Mirch were likewise brought in word being approved of and it proving cheap the councell enordere procury 170 Me (maunds)

6. Factory Record, Suratt 24 December 1669, vol. 3

Consultation in Suratt May the 26th 1670 where are present Gerald Aungier, Strainsham Master & Charles James

The President having conveene his councell acquainted them with the advice he had received from Ahmadabad of the dangerousness of the ways occasioned by the frequent robberies of the collys in so much that the broker there temurrous in the sending downe the Indico provided as per law without an immediate order from hence wherefore after mature debate and deliberate consideration It was unanimously resolved, that - In regard of the extraordinary want of that commodity to lade on the first shipp bound home (by God's - permission) in September next, the said broker should be an order to dispeed as much as to have allready - procure so as it might arrive here before the raynes Insuring the one halfe of what he should so send - as accustomed, and this (beside the aforementioned - of lading it home per the first-shipp) was deemed the secured course the council having just grounds to believe the Intermne trouble will rather increase then decrease or cease

The President having likewise received notice that monyye were to be procured at easier rate in Cambays then at this place acquainted the Councell therewith, who unanimously resolved with him to

7. Worshipfull etc Broach 6th August 1673

Our last to your was on the p 3 Instant by the same person that brought us the money, who being in such haste to be gone, could not then give answer to your worship the Letter of the 29th (ditto) which we now doe (did) last then promised by the convenience

As to the Brodera Broker we advised your worship etc that in ourself 26 Vle that upon receipt of yours we immediately wrote him to goe forward the worship Broad daptells it being formerly on ordere by your worships to doe so

We in ours of the 30th volt advised your worship of the death of Arab Collah (though by a mistake we wrote it Devidas Parrack) our Uncleseer Broker, when desired your worship the pleasure, who should succeed him in that imployment many persons hath been at us for a Recommendation to your woship but we have denyed all having them to you, we have spared them 500 rupees more, but are not willing to trust them to much at a time untill doe heare who shall supply that place

As to what your worships etc writes concerning vetcherage and Vittull & y disputes they have about their domestic affaire, we never took any notice thereof, we being not concerned therein

158/ The 20 Corge of sovaguzzes that lie at Uncleseer we had thereof sent us, which are course and deare, where up we gave that they were not for our turne, which at the end of the year I can doe perceive that they be no body's money but ours if should occasion there of do believe they will come much under the (persons?) now they be at,/

As to us your worship writes us concerning lamusa (Jamsbusar) Indico by earlier Experience that we have therein, we thinke it is good an compared (with), some Musters of Ahmadavad flatt, which were sent for the purpose (?) to compare there which we thinke it not to be deare, & actually, seeing soe much raise had fallen in these parts of late yt

Cheaper, when doe gather new crop, but as in this so in all shall submit to your worship etc & better judgements

We have advised our Brokers every where to take heed (not to) - (truced) dementions & that if their cloth holde out their (true) it will fall on them, concerning which we answere from some (that, will?) not take their cloth, we shall not be able to gett in their (investment?) in due time, that are prescribed them, to which we do defer (prompt?) answere until receive advice from your worship & thereon /

We note wt (= what) your worship, and say as a Dutch Investments as here of an Investment and nothing more to which, we answere (that) it can not be, for if soe, they would not take in soe much understand they doe, they sometimes take in 4, and sometimes 6, (earn?) a day, but the, chieftest is for dyeing into Blew /

We have delivered out (what?) browne cloth we have in (the) house washers, being 4500 pieces and persuing of the Daboy cloth we find it (that?) to be of the same goodness and Musters are of, besides, we finde a good part of short of their lengths and Breadth they should be, which shall acquaint the Broker with, what there is on it, we have put to washing up itself, we intend one of us this week to go over the Uncleseer, to put that cloth to whitening when we shall acquaint your worship what, needful concerning it, But for the Brodera cloth you shall not see it, before it be put out to the washers by reason they are so bad that there is no travelling for a conch, at the time of the year

Our washers be at us for a higher for washing, by rason the cloth is longer than formerly used to be, to whom we have given no answers, nor shall we till do hear what yours more or no, in which we desire your worship's advice

We take notice that our Bill was paid, & your worship's order that when we want more money to draw it, as yet we do not, but when it shall be drawing high we shall order our Brokers to look out for such persons, that shall want money at Surat, of which we have advised them at such times as shall have occation

We have received a letter from our Dulka Broker, whiles us taht hath a 100 corge of cloth in house, but what sorts he doth (not) mention, he desires 4000 rupees more which your worship etc may please to give order to be sent by the first opportunity, he being in want there of to go on with that Investment, quantity of clothe he is to provide we know not Your worship etc, not mentioning any thing there of, in our Instructions, no more but that had ha 1000 rupees & he in his letter acknowledges the receipt of 7000 rupees

Bauder Chaune Here is lately arrived a person from Chaune (Khan) who brings news for a certain that this Governor is removing and that another is coming to succeed him, who will be here within these 10 or 12 daies

Herewith, we send you our house Expenses amount to mas (maudis?) 195 1 1/4 piece in which is included pne peons wages, which we have the rather done, that you may better know what charges we be monthly, we can not etc to winde at present but with due respects we remaine

Yours worshipful
& humble servants

Issac renardson
William Crawley

8. Despatch Book 5 July 1682, vol. 90, paras 3-5

Surrat Genrall

President and Council
At Surrat

London 5th July 1682

Per Berklay Cartle

1 The foregoing are copies of our latest letters to you, some whereof, we doubt reached not the Barkley Castle in the Downe time enough to go by her, and some for half were signed only by the Governor order in his absent, all which we do thereby confirme

2 Since which we have had some discourse with Mr Penning and others who informe us that about sixty junks do yearly loade from Surrat for Mocha, Judda, Persia and Bussorah, most of whose loading consist of Callicoes, drugs and Ahmadabad silks bought in the Bazar of Surrat

3 The said Mr Penning (Perming?) likewise informed us that our sending lately such large stock that made such a fall of Interest there that person of good credit could take up money at 4 p cent and that our old Broker Pringer Parrack was arrived at to wait on estate as to be compute worth one million of pounds sterling which gives us cause to suspect that he hath made too great advantage of us in the former course of our Business, and that may be one cause that our goods have come to measne formerly, of which you may

remember, we have made frequent complaints and altho's we are unwilling wholly to part with him, our and his relation having been so long and well acquainted with our business, yes you may tell him that after all his prodegeous gains We hope he will think himself bound in conscience to surve us moe to our advantage for the future, especially at this time - while we are striving with Interlopers which must necessarily cause - some diminution of our profite

4 We do likewise for the reasons aforesaid leave it to our President's discussion if he finds it for our service to employ some other Broker either in providing part of our goods at Agra, Ahmadabad, Dungs(?) , Surrat, as also for selling off part of our Europe goods, if he can find an advantage to us thereby

5 But that which to the Principall cause of this addition to you is, that considering Interstet of money is low with you, and that we do resolve to send your continually such large supplies of shipping till we have all— ruined the trade of all Interlopers, we do think it for our service, & do — according order you not withstanding the provision you make for our Investments in the country as usuall, that you do continually Peep (keep?) buying up of all sorts of goods in the Bazar as well before our ships came up to you from East of Mallabar as after they are sailed from — Surrat from Ewards, untill the last of aprill Whether you have ships — to take them in or not, for we had rather have 50 or 90 tone of Bale-goods (beside gruff goods by you) than have 5 tone of dead freight

6 We know very well that the goods you must buy in the Bazar will not be exactly of our length and breadth & some of them it may be difficult sorts from those we commonly write for but dottt not decree us from this resolution, let it be your care in all the goods' you to speak, to have them exact according to our directions and for such as you buy in the Bazar, see they be good Penniword and for their dimensions and sorte, we are content to take chinte, this market will carry off almost any kind of callicoes and times ye most novel, and as such as we have not usually received, do if they be well brought there best to account here, but in ye generall as neare as you can lett what you buy in ye Bazzar be of ye sorts wee usually write for Guf when they are not to be had or that you have an opportunity of very good penny worth of other sorts confined buying such as you came for their lying by you at 5 or 6 p ct Interst till our ships arrive, wee can not be prejudicially to our stock

7 We shall send our two shipes this winter to loade cowrees at ye Maldivie and thence to your port to loade home, wee hope the cowrees being cheape and ye quantity 1000 supporters about 600 tonnes may be of use of you for for our ships homeward bound

8 Let all the Drugs you buy for us be of ye very best for such as ordinary and bad will not sell at all, when Europe is soe stocked with them as it is likely to be for at least two or three years ensuing

9 We are in dayly expectation of our Suratt ships because we thinke these were Early dispatched from you adn ye winds here have been faire this six weeks or two months but we are tould by some lately come from the freights that at sea they have been contrary which we doe suppose may be ye cause wee have not yett heard of them

10 We all the dilligence immaginaetz to supply us constant with lignum and Cardamums this and every year success

11 We perceive by Mr Raks letter the money he takes up for our account at Surrat is by ye month and not be ye year vize at P C mensen which is very well done of him because upon arrival of our stock you may immediately pay off ye debt and discharge us of that growing Interest which we hope you will be carefull to doe, but since we have ordered you here to be constantly buying goods for us in ye buzzar wee apprehend it would be noe defriment to us if Binjee Parack would take 4 P cent for interest of money that you doe take up to ye value of 50 or 50,000 of or of any other and engage to continue it for 2 or 3 years throughout at that rate which when you have done, giving us notice of it and of ye Price time you are to pay it in wee can order our affairs here accordingly

Pray send away the enclosed to our Agent & at ye effort, In the Bay and at Persia, By the first opportunity

Wee have not else to and but commending you and our affairs under you manage to ye closing and proteccion of ye Almighty wee remaine sent herewith copies of the comp govt

Your loving friends

&

1st of May

26 of May 1682

22 of June

21 of Jan

Joseph Henre

Rich Mounteney

Edward Rudge

Iere Sambrooke

Wm Seawick

Fra Typen

James Ward

Josia Child Gover

Berkeley

Joseph Ashe

John Banks

John Creed

Tho Dovall

Hutchinson

NOTES AND REFERENCES

- 1 Charles Fawcett (ed), *The English Factories in India (1670-1677)*, p 232
- 2 *Ibid*, op cit, P 110
- 3 *The English Factories in India, 1670-1677*, Introduction

- 4 Foster (ed), *English Factories in India (1668-1669)*, p 196
- 5 *Ibid*
- 6 *English Factories in India, 1668-1669*, p 196
- 7 *English Factories in India, 1668-1669*, p 85n
- 8 *Ibid* , 1670-1677, *op cit* , p 238-39
- 9 *English Factories in India, 1670-1677*, p 208
- 10 *Ibid* , p 282

**TRAVAILS OF A MERCANTILE
COMMUNITY - ASPECTS OF SOCIAL LIFE
AT THE PORT OF SURAT
(EARLIER HALF OF THE 17TH CENTURY)**

SHIREEN MOOSVI*

- 0 1 Surat was the main port of the Mughal empire during the seventeenth century. It was not only the focal point of almost the entire over-sea trade of Mughal India to the Red Sea and the Persian Gulf and Europe via the Cape of Good Hope, it also maintained a brisk trade with southeast Asia, and considerable commerce down the western coast. Oversea commerce naturally dominated the town, and to the needs and problems generated by this dominance, both administration and law had to respond. The Mughal Imperial government recognising the special status of the place, permitted modifications in the local administration by appointing particular officials or by assigning special duties to certain officials such as *mutasaddi* of Surat and the *Shahbandar*.¹
- 0 2 Contemporary sources, particularly the records of the European Companies are quite rich in supplying information on life in 17th-century Surat. This has been explored by Ashin Das Gupta, B G Gokhale, Surendra Gopal and M J Mehta.² A very vivid picture of the "Blessed Port of the Mughals" has been reconstructed by Ashin Das Gupta from the Dutch sources.³
- 0 3 The European material needs to be supplemented by the Persian, which, if not so extensive as the European, is not altogether insignificant. There is an important collection of Persian documents, mainly relating to Surat, collected together by an anonymous Mughal official about the middle of the 17th century.

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now preserved at Bibliotheque Nationale, Paris,⁴ this has much that is of interest for any historian of the port

- 0 4 Besides a number of documents relating to the administration and commerce at Surat this collection contains documents that shed light on the social life of the town, concerning marriages, master/servant relations and disposal of property. We have here three marriage contracts, one claim of marriage-dower, one divorce settlement and two claims of inheritance by women (Translations of all these documents are given in the **Appendix**)
- 0 5 These documents assume further importance because besides providing information on Surat they shed light on a rather obscure aspect of Mughal Indian society namely, the position of urban middle and lower-middle class women and their rights (and plight) as wives ⁵

I

- 1 1 Since marriage is a contract in Islamic law and as such is customarily evidenced by a written agreement duly signed and witnessed, surviving copies of *nikahnama* (marriage contracts) from the 17th and 18th centuries are not rare ⁶ But these marriage agreements coming from Surat seem quite different from the standard *nikahnama*, which merely give names of the groom and bride and the dower (*mihr*) payable to the bride. The marriage agreements from Surat lay down certain other conditions in detail that the wives imposed on their husbands. Three of these four agreements besides spelling out the amount of marriage-dower (*mihr*), that incidentally appear to be quite substantial in amount in all the three cases, set out four conditions the husbands were to follow. These four conditions were most probably quite commonplace among middle class Muslims in Surat. Doc I (dated 1639) indeed characterises them as "commonly prevalent among the Muslims" and Doc III (of 1639) without spelling them out simply says "the four conditions that are well known among theologians"
- 1 2 One of these conditions, mentioned as the first one in the agreements imposes monogamy on the husband by denying him the right of a second marriage while married to the present wife. By another condition the wife was spared from severe beating, with sticks, at least to the extent that no marks should be left on her body, Wife-bashing thus appears to be not an uncommon practice and was not objected to even in the case of women of some status ⁷ However, Doc 1 permits even severe beating if the wife commits "embezzlement", i.e. misuses her husband's money
- 1 3 Another condition has manifestly been introduced to provide redress to the wife for long duration without making provision for her maintenance. This problem seems to be typical for a place where quite a few persons were obliged to leave their homes on long and distant voyages. Taking the wife or family along was not always practical (see Kamran Beg's advice to his servant Muhammad Beg, Doc no VIII), though this was not totally rare. Fatima's father took his wife and daughter along to Achin (Doc no VII) and Muhammed Beg did send his wife from Hyderabad to Surat with a caravan of merchants (Doc

no VIII) All the four agreements impose the condition that the husband would not leave the wife and fail to provide her maintenance for more than a particular period, varying from six solar months (Doc no II, probably pre-1637) to one lunar year (Doc nos III & IV, the latter dated 1619)

- 1 4 All these conditions were to be followed so stringently that violation of anyone of these entitled the wife to automatic divorce or annulment of marriage
- 1 5 These marriage-agreements suggests that the practice of maintaining a slave-girl as a concubine was quite common. One of the four conditions imposed were the husband in three of the four contracts seeks to provide with protection to the wife against the induction of a concubine. The husband was required not to keep a slave-girl as a concubine. But if he committed breach of contract in this respect, it was not considered serious enough to entitle the wife for automatic annulment of marriage. She was, however entitled, upon discovery of her husband's maintenance a concubine, to take the slave-girl away from her husband and sell her and keep the proceeds in part payment of her *mihr*, she could also deny the slave girl to her husband by gifting her to some one or manumitting her⁸ or marriage her off (Doc I). The husband had no right to prevent his wife from taking any of these action
- 1 6 Out of these four conditions, three were palpably applicable in the case of women belonging to middle class only. These appear in the marriage agreements of 'Lady' Habiba whose *mihr* was fixed at three thousand silver rupees of Surat mintage and one gold *dinar* of Mecca (Doc no I), of a 'lady' whose *mihr* has been stated as five thousand silver rupees and one gold *dinar* of Mecca (Doc no II) and another 'lady' the actual amount of whose *mihr* is not stated but the currency mentioned is gold *asharfi* and the titles used for the husband suggest some status (Doc no III). But in the case of Mariyam, wife of Muhammed Jiu, whose daily subsistence allowance was fixed at one *tanka-i muradi* only⁹ and two *sari* a year, suggesting a lower middle class circumstances, the only condition in the marriage agreement was that her husband would not leave her for more than a year and also not fail to provide her the maintenance allowance specified above. She was not provided any protection against the possible second wife or the acquisition of a concubine by her husband (these were probably not likely events) or against severe beating. The privileges of women thus seem to vary according to their class. One may argue that in the case of Mariyam whose husband Muhammed failed to provide even such a small amount of maintenance to her the two conditions relating to second marriage and concubine were superfluous. However, the women of Mariyam's class were expected to submit to any level of violence by their husband
- 1 7 Interestingly enough while the *qazi* after satisfying himself about the failure of Muhammed Jiu to keep the terms of contract and give maintenance to his wife gave his verdict in Mariyam's favour, she seems to have still agreed to remain his wife because we find two years after the above verdict a person called Ibrahim is taking surety before the *qazi* on behalf of Muhammed Jiu for payment of maintenance (one *tanka-i muraid* daily and two *sari* and two *kanchli* a year) (Doc no IV A of 1621). Perhaps to find a suitable and

dependable husband was not so easy for Mariyam and women of her class and thus the theoretical safeguards provided in the marriage agreements could be of little use. It is also significant that if a husband violated the conditions of contract and divorce ensued, he seems to have been under no obligation to pay *mihr*. On the other hand, if a woman sought divorce from her husband, she could receive it by paying him money — seventy silver *mahmudi* being paid in one case in front of the *qazi* (Doc VI of 1628).

- 1 8 In the case of people of substance the terms of marriage had value when Bi Aiysha daughter of Aqa Ahmed widow of Haji Abdi Qirman, proved before the *qazi* the claim of her *mihr* of one thousand Ibrahimi; he did not hesitate to give her the full rather unrestrained right to realise her claim from the property left behind by her husband, wherever that might be found (Doc no V dated 1613). It appears that the claim of *mihr* had primacy over other claims. The practice of giving *mihr* among Gujarat merchants was prevalent that even Hindu merchants gave marriage dower to their wives.¹⁰
- 1 9 However, all the widows even of substance were not fortunate as Bi Aiysha, some women faced grave problems after the death of their husbands, the widow of a merchant suffered at the hand of her husband's senior slave when her husband died at Achin (Doc VII). Since Gujarati commerce with Achin seems to have ceased about 1615, with a brief revival in 1618 only,¹¹ the merchant must have died in the early years of Jahangir's reign. His slave (who was apparently his main business servant) fraudulently took the widow in marriage to himself, against her knowledge or will, so much so that she even tried to commit suicide by taking opium. Even though the king of Achin wished to punish the slave the community of Gujarati merchants at Achin sided with him and coerced the widow to yield. However, back at Surat, her daughter Fatima on reaching majority persistently asserted her claim to the property of her father against the slave & his two sons; the decision on the claim is unfortunately not known but the vigour with which she fought her case and the support she enjoyed from number of people who testified on her behalf is noteworthy.
- 1 10 Another interesting case involving a widow's claim to property is set out in Document VIII (undated). The complainant here was the widow of Muhammed Beg, a trusted servant of the merchant Kamran Beg. The woman originally belonged to Hyderabad. She protests against the action of a slave of Kamran Beg who forcibly took into his possession and charge not only the male slaves and slave-girls, and other property of Kamran Beg which had been left with her husband at Surat by Kamran Beg on his departure for Arabia but her husband's effects left to her against her claim of *mihr*.
- 1 11 In this document, the problem of custody of an absent merchant's property, and the rights of his factors is presented to us alongside the claim of a widow for *mihr* and succession to her husband's obligations.
- 1 12 What these documents disclose to us is a little of mercantile social history and a little of "women's history". Altogether they add interesting touches to the reconstruction of the personality of 17th-century Surat. They bring to us the instability and inscrutability of oversea commerce for the humbler individuals, of that great port, whom, like so much flotsam and jetsam, it held in thrall.

APPENDIX

Document No I
ff 291b - 202a

Agreement of Marriage

Statement Whereas the honourable 'Abdullah, son of Haji Mubarak, sought and took in marriage as wife the chaste, virtuous lady Habiba, daughter of X in lieu of the marriage dowr (*mihr*) of three thousand rupees of Surat mintage, and one *dinar* of gold, by the weight of Mecca, one third to be paid forthwith and two third deferred With four conditions that are commonly prevalent among Muslims The first condition that beside the said wife he shall not marry another the second condition that the husband shall not beat the wife without her committing any legal embezzlement, in rage and fury so as to leave marks of the stick visible on any part of her body Third condition that the husband shall not leave the wife without her concern continuously for a lunar year during which period he shall (not only) provide maintenance allowance, clothing to his wife (but also) live with her In the event of anyone of the three things contemplated coming to pass from her husband's side, she shall consider herself by this (agreement), as if by a single act of divorce forbidden to the said husband the fourth condition (is) that (if) the said husband keeps a slave girl as a concubine according the practice of concubinage whatever be the manner in which the aforesaid fact occurs, the aforesaid wife shall be the agent (*wakila*) on behalf of the said husband (entitled) to sell that slave girl and take the proceeds in lieu of her marriage dower (*mihr*) and if she so desires make that slave girl forbidden for the said husband by manumitting her or by marrying her off or by giving her in gift the said husband accepts all the conditions in the presence of witnesses The agent [on behalf of the wife being Y, son of Z The witnesses of the authorisation of the agent A, son of A and C, son of D Witnesses as present in the assembly E, son of F [etc], written dated 18 Rajab 1039 (=3 March 1630) [or 18 Rajab 1049 (=14 November 1639)]

Document No II
ff 217-b

Agreement of Marriage

Sought and took in marriage the Hon'ble (titles indication some status), X, son of Y, the chaste lady A, daughter of B, in lieu of marriage-dower (*mihr*) worth so many current *asharfis*, the conditions of the aforesaid (marriage-contract) being as follows The first condition that the husband shall not take in fresh marriage another women while married to the said wife Second that he shall not keep a slave girl as concubine Third that without a legitimate reason he shall not hit his wife in such a manner that the traces of the stick-blow appear on her body Fourth that he shall not let pass six solar (*ilahi*) months without providing food and maintenance to her In case of anything contemplated in these conditions coming to pass, except for the condition relating to concubinage, the right to divorce shall vest with the lady aforesaid

As for the slave girl who is maintained as a concubine, the wife shall have the right to sell her and keep the proceeds as part of her *mīhr*. The husband has no right or authority to prohibit her dated such and such and such and such month

[Since the year mentioned in the text is solar (*ilahi*), the documents should be pre-1637]

Document No III
ff 198a-b

Agreement of Marriage

Whereas on 29 Safar 1049 (1 July 1639) X, son of Y according to the Quranic verse sought in marriage Lady A, daughter of B and the amount in lieu of marriage dower shall be five thousand rupees current coins of Surat and one *dīnār* of gold by the weight of Mecca, whereas a third shall be paid forthwith and two-thirds shall be deferred on the four conditions of law that are well known among the theologians Dated 29 Safar 1049 - 1 July 1639

Document No IV
ff 206b - 207a

Agreement in the Presence of People Assembled

Whereas Muhammed Jiu, son of Miyan Jiu, came to the court of the blessed town of the port of Surat and brought with him his wife, the lady Mariyam, daughter of Musa Jiu, son of Ibrahim, and alleged "My wife, for a long time hates me and does not come to my house" When Muhammed Jiu's allegation was put to his wife in the presence of the people assembled, she revealed a written statement of a group of Muslims containing the agreement of Muhammed Jiu to the following effect "I will give to my wife Mariyam, daily one *tanka-i Muradī* for her food and every year two *Sarī* for her clothing. If I fail to provide this and I leave her for a period of one year during which she does not receive her maintenance and clothing she shall become a divorcee (automatically) by this act of divorce and the aforesaid Muhammed Jiu will have no access to her" (She then said) "About four, five years passed and I did not receive maintenance and clothing from him, I have thus become divorced from him" Thereafter Mariyam was asked to submit a written statement in accordance with her oral assertion. She brought it and submitted it. Yaqub, son of Walī Bohra and Hasan Jiu son of Mam Jiu Nassaj (carpenter) and others came and in conformity with that written statement gave evidence in the presence of the aforesaid witnesses it is established that the evidence is in favour of the separation (*tafriq*) of the said wife written in the presence of the people assembled so that it may be used on occasion of need. Dated, close to the month of Rabī I 1028 - 17 March 1619

Document No IV A
ff 207a-b

Agreement of Surety

Whereas Ibrahim, son of Muhammed Jiu, son of Pir Muhammed, presented himself at the court of the blessed town of the port of Surat, gave a surety on behalf of Muhammad Jiu, son of Miyan Jiu that 'if he does not deliver to his wife the lady Maryam, daughter of Musa, one *tanka-i muradi* daily for diet and two *saris* and two *kanchlis* for clothing every year I will, as surety give the allowance for daily food and yearly clothing (If) after this statement, aforesaid Muhammad Jiu is unable to provide maintenance and clothing and two months pass, he shall surely make his wife his authorised representative (*wakila*) to state the facts before the court and have given the evidence of the absence or receipt of maintenance and clothing, make herself released (from her marriage)

Written dated 2 Zilhij 1030 (=18 October 1621)

Document No V
ff 207b

Legal Agreement

Whereas 'Abdul Latif, son of Malik Pir Muhammad, Chand Jiu, son of Malik Jiu, and 'Abdul Ghani, son of Shaikh Chand, came to the Qazi's court of the Port of Surat, before officer of the Law, and stated that we are witness of and solemnly testify to the fact that Bi Aiysha, daughter of Aqa Ahmad was married to Haji Abdi Qarmani deceased, in lieu of one thousand Ibrahimi of gold that half of which in actual is five hundred Ibrahimi, in our presence After hearing the testimony of the above mentioned independent persons the Qazi ordered that whatever be the property of Haji Abdi deceased, the said wife should levy and realise her claim from it Such is the record of proceedings, written, dated 9 Zilhij 1021 = 31 January 1613

Document No VI
f 194a

Agreement of whereby a wife is released from her contract by paying some amount to the husband

Whereas X, son of Y alias Z came to the court of the town of the blessed Port of Surat and by the custom of his community and tribe gave up his turban after tearing it up after receiving the sum of seventy silver *mahmudis Akbari*, half of which is thirty five mahmudi as release money from his wife the lady A, daughter of B, and by this divorce made her a

divorcee and made access to her person forbidden to himself It is thus settled that after this date the aforesaid X has no conjugal relationship with the aforesaid lady A If any claim of conjugal relationship is now made, it shall not be entertained and shall be invalid These few sentences have been written by way of attestation that may be used on occasion of need, Dated 12 Muharram 1038 (=9 September 1628)

Document No VII
ff 226a-b

Agreement of Assistance.

What is the opinion of the scholars of the religion of Muhammad and theologians of the blessed Law in the matter that lady Fatima lays before them When I was a child my father died in the port of Achin and from amongst his slaves the senior slave by fraud and falsehood without informing my mother took her in marriage himself When my mother came to know that such and such slave has taken her in marriage she wailed and wept and even took opium [to kill herself] When this matter reached the ears of the king of Achin, the above mentioned slave was given harsh punishment and put into prison Afterwards the merchants persuaded My mother (to relent) by threats and temptations, and the slave was also released from prison by the king at the request of the merchants After that the aforesaid slave brought me and my mother alongwith all the effects and goods (of my father) from Achin to the port of Surat Time and again that slave while in full possession of his senses repeatedly admitted before the assembly of Muslims that "the entire effects in cash and kind that are in my possession and control belong to Fatima and I too am her slave After sometime my mother died When I grew up and reached majority I took the slave to the *qazi* and *hakim* of the town and claimed that this slave had against the *Hanafi* law taken my mother in marriage and at present he is in possession and control of the property of my father and mother Whatever cash my mother had given me that too he has seized by force from me and is withholding it from me The *qazi* and the *hakim* placing that slave under the rigour of the law told him, "whatever effects of the deceased you have are the property of Fatima You must give these to her" The said slave agreed to hand property over to me Soon after I fell ill, and the matter remained in obedience Fate willed that slave also died Since that slave left two sons, I brought those two before the *qazi*, and claimed that this much is the original property and whatever effects are left behind by that slave belong to my father, and asked that they be made to give these to me The *qazi* demanded a written statement I took a number of Muslims before the *qazi* and all of them unanimously, in letter and meaning testified that whatever effects the said slave had not been manumitted Now whether these effects are those of Fatima or not, may be inscribed by them here, so that they may be rewarded by God and thanked by people, undated

Document No VIII
ff 185a-186b

Representation.

I, destitute old widow, X (by name), submit to his highness, official of (Begum) Saheba (Princess Jahan Ara) that Muhammad Beg, my lawful husband was a trusted servant of the honourable Kamran Beg. As willed by fate, they came in pursuit of their mercantile activities to Hyderabad and at that place by the will of God, my marriage with Muhammad Beg took place. When this news reached the ears of the honourable Kamran Beg, he said to Muhammad Beg that "my relationship with you is not that of servant [and master], but of brother, I have heard that you have established a relationship and got married. We are merchants today we are in this town, tomorrow we will go to some other place. Where shall we carry around the family?" He (Muhammad Beg) did not listen to him and married me. Since a caravan in the meanwhile was leaving for Surat, he entrusted me to one of his acquaintances and sent me here. After some time he came to this port alongwith Kamran Beg. Since Kamran Beg was preparing to leave for the *Khair-ul Balad* (Mecca?), he insisted that Muhammad Beg should accompany him. The latter did not agree and wished to leave his service. Kamran Beg realised that he would leave his company. He therefore told him. Some ____ (undeciphered), slave-girls and male slaves whom I cannot take in this voyage, I am leaving here and entrust them to you. He (Muhammad Beg) declined even to do so, but I persuaded him and he agreed. At this place he kept custody of the belongings of Kamran Beg. In the season, Mushtaq, a slave of Kamran Beg, came from Arabia and for five-six months kept paying visits to Ahmad [Muhammad?] Beg. When fate willed Ahmad [Muhammad] Beg's death, and he lay ill, he realised that he would not survive this illness, he invited the representatives of the *qazi*, the *kotwal* and the *diwan*. Whatever the effects and belongings of Kamran Beg he prepared an inventory thereof and stored at one place and affixed his own seal thereon. Whatever were his own effects he gave those to me and said "these are yours although this do not fully cover claim of marriage dower (*mihr*) you should stay in this house after me and as I have guarded and taken care of the belongings of my master and of those whom he left behind, you do the likewise. I am hopeful that when my master Kamran Beg comes back he will make further provision for you." I acted according to the will of my deceased husband and took custody of the effects. After a few days the same slave Mushtaq imposed his presence upon me and took away the *mihr-nama* and (my husband's) will from me and whatever were the effects of my husband that belong to me he seized and threw into the store and told me, "You have no right to them." This was the kind of cruelty the slave inflicted upon me after the death of my husband. I have no one in this town except your highness to whom I can go for redress. For the sake of God, for of salvation, please have mercy upon my distress and deprivation, and give me redress, for there will be reward from God and from the Prophet. At the time of the making of the will and recording of effects (by my husband), the representative of the *qazi* was present. You may please call

him to your presence and enquire what settlement the deceased made in the presence of the representatives of the *hakim* and the *diwan*. If you consider that I am right, please have my share that he has seized restored to me and let me be in that house so that till the arrival of Mirza Kamran Beg I should perform the same service that my husband was engaged in. If you do not trust me, please employ some one from the men of the town and place him at the house and the persons [left behind by Kamran Beg] so that he should keep watch day and night till the arrival of Mirza Kamran Beg. After the aforesaid Mirza arrives, and deems my share to be worthy of restoration, let him give it to me, otherwise it is a matter for him to decide. At present that this slave claims authorisation or justification — you may please give this much attention so as to ensure that the right of none is usurped or destroyed since this was obligatory for me, I have made my representation

NOTES AND REFERENCES

- 1 Ali Muhammad Khan, *Mirat-i Ahmadi*, supp. ed. Nawab Ali, Baroda, 1930, pp. 194, 222, also *Ibid.*, I, 260-62. See also Ashin Das Gupta, *Indian Merchants and the Decline of Surat c. 1700-1750*, Wiesbaden, 1978, pp. 24-28.
- 2 A. Dasgupta, *op cit.*, B. G. Gokhale, *Surat in the Seventeenth Century*, Bombay, 1978, Surendra Gopal, *Commerce and Crafts in Gujarat, 16th and 17th centuries*, N. Delhi, 1975, M. J. Mehta, 'Some Aspects of Surat as a Trading Centre in the 17th century', *IHR*, vol. I, No. 2, 1974, pp. 247-261.
- 3 Ashin Das Gupta, *op cit.*, pp. 20-93.
- 4 MS Blochet, Supp. Pres. 482. Some of these documents relating to administration of Surat have been translated and analysed by Farhat Hasan. *PIHC*, Golden Jubilee Session, 1989, pp. 284-93, relating to the Dutch by Jawed Akhtar, *Ibid.* 48th Session, 1987, pp. , and relating to Mughal Imperial shipping by us, *Ibid.*, 51st Session, 1990, pp. 308-20.
- 5 Rekha Misra, *Women in Mughal India, 1526-1748*, Delhi, 1967 devotes a chapter to 'position of Middle and lower class women, pp. 129-48 but the information available to her is too sketchy.
- 6 For a specimen *nikahnama*, see *Insha-i Faiq*, ed. Mirza Mahdi Ali, Lucknow, 1268 AH, p. 31.
- 7 Wife-bashing was also common in medieval France where according to Ladurie even the women of the aristocracy forming no exception. (Emmanuel Le Roy Ladurie, *Montaillou*, tr. B. Bray, New York, 1979, pp. 92-93).
- 8 Interestingly enough, in the same collection of documents there is a copy of letter of Manumission where one lady Mariam Ji daughter of Ahmad and wife of Hasan Muhammad has manumitted a slave-girl of wheatish complexion (ff. 194a-b).
- 9 We may remind ourselves that the lowest wage at the Camp under Akbar was 2-3 *dam* a day and according to Pelsaert 5 or 6 'tackas' a day at Agra during 1620s. Moreland and Geyl, *Jahangir's India*, Cambridge, 1925, p. 60. A *tanka-i muradi* was a copper coin equivalent to a *dam* or at best a double *dam*.
- 10 Sundar Das Baqqal (Banya) son of Mathura Das purchased a house in Cambay at a price of 701 Alamgiri rupees in 1686 to give it in payment of *mihr* to his wife Sundar Bai, daughter of Gokul Baqqal (Cambay Documents, National Archives, Item no. III-5, Doc. no. 8).
- 11 Ashin Dasgupta, in *CEHI*, I, Cambridge, 1982, p. 431.

PIRACY IN INDIAN WATERS IN THE SEVENTEENTH CENTURY

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- 0 1 During the seventeenth century piracy in Indian Ocean was common, taking forms according to the social and political context. Within the complex warp and weft of Asian maritime trade, this phenomenon has to be understood as a matter of shadings rather than clear distinctions. For a long time the subject has been de-emphasised or passed over lightly by most historians as tales of freebooters and buccaneers. But recently interest has been focussed on piracy, both separately and as part of the debate on the relations between the existing Asian trade and European penetration in Asia in the pre-colonial phase.
- 0 2 The aim of this paper is to underline and examine some of the facets of piracy in the Western Indian Ocean, especially as it emerges from the evidence of the Surat Factory Records¹. Among the usual staid reports and placid narratives, a refrain of piracy is discernible. Two significant aspects are to do with the Malabar 'pirates'², and Indian shipping at the port of Surat. Both were interwoven into the system of protection and coercion introduced into the Indian waters by European maritime powers. Effort has been made in this paper to keep away from an Eurocentric paradigm as well as a drastic reaction to it.

I

- 1 1 Piracy has been called "an occupational disease of commerce"³. In this period and area, piratical operations manifested themselves variedly and widely. It was rife in the China seas, especially in the period of the Ming dynasty. The

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dreaded Wako pirates, based in Japan, operated freely along the Gulf of Siam and China's southern and eastern coastline. In the Arabian Sea, the Yarubi navy emerged as a powerful force. By 1650 Muscat fell to them and in the next fifteen years they swept the Portuguese out of all east African settlements except Mozambique. Bombay, Diu and Bassein were plundered by them.⁴ Matters were further complicated by the incursion of European buccaneers who made Madagascar and the Comoro Islands their base and preyed on Indian shipping, their main intent was the plunder of specie and spices. While riverine Bengal faced the depredations of Portuguese freebooters along with the Maghs of Arakan, west coast shipping was harassed by the pirates of north-west Kathiawar. Many merchants were on the pirate fringe. European private merchants and 'Interlopers' were among those who indulged in piracy if the opportunity presented itself. This period witnessed the rise of new nuclei of naval power in western Indian waters, such as the respective navies of the Zamorin of Calicut, Angre and the Sidi of Janjira.

- 1 2 The sixteenth century was a watershed between peaceful trading and armed trading in the Indian Ocean. The Portuguese had the dubious distinction of introducing politics into the Ocean. From the very beginning the Portuguese discovery of the Cape route to India was accompanied by a determination to place coercive methods before those of normal peaceful commerce. Pedro Alvarez Cabral's instructions in 1500 were that if ships trading with Calicut were encountered he would take possession of them, 'of their merchandise and property and also of the Moors who are in the ships'.⁵ Every Indian ship had to buy a *cartaz* if it was to avoid seizure and confiscation of its cargo. The revenue earned through this redistributive enterprise was substantial, and made the *Estado da India* a piratical state⁶ or in Braudel's terms, simply 'customs officials'.⁷
- 3 The violent overture of the Portuguese was taken up by the English and the Dutch, continuing the undisguised use of sea power and payment for protection en route. In the seventeenth century, indigenous shipping in the Indian Ocean would be equipped in many instances with passes from several European nations. The Surat Factory Records contain clear references to the capture of Indian vessels without English passes,⁸ and the organisation of *kafilas* or convoys with an aim at control. By 1630 the English fleet at Surat was trying to protect Indian ships plying the Red Sea trade, such as the *Shahi*, after richly laden ships like the *Musahi* had been seized by the Portuguese.⁹ Forty years later, the English continued to escort Indian vessels in this area, particularly Aurangzeb's Mocha 'junks'.¹⁰
- 1 4 Convoys were organised with a dual purpose: to protect against pirates, but more to ensure that the protected ships traded according to their conditions. Thus the cost of the pass was sheer unreciprocal extortion, first by the Portuguese, then the Dutch and the English. Protection and coercion were contradictory, yet two sides of the same coin. Both were exercised in ample measure, and the play of free trade and open competition vs domination and operation of monopolies makes for a significant study.¹¹

- 1 5 Important implications lie in the forms of resistance offered against the passes, i.e. a monopolistic system. A challenge on a combative level emanated from the 'Malabaris', who were skilled and determined enough to avoid this control. This is the traditional maritime group mentioned most often in the Factory Records. Throughout the sixteenth century the Portuguese had treated ships from Calicut, which they called 'Malavares', as pirates and attacked them on sight. The Kunjalis were the 'corsairs' or *corsario* of the Portuguese records. The Malabaris were described by Careri as the most ferocious of pirates, consisting of men from 'nationalities' like "the Moors, Gentiles, Jews and Christians"¹². Mostly they were undefined to their contemporary European observers and projected as a monolithic group. In functional terms some were pirates, some guerrilla warriors and many inoffensive traders.
- 1 6 Most of the Malabaris belonged to the seafaring merchant community of Moplahs. Heads of powerful Moplah families armed their own fleets, among them was Muhammad Marakkar who received the title of Kunjali from Zamorin. Becoming his naval auxiliaries, the Moplah Kunjalis clearly did take part in politics at sea. But documentation about them is insufficient.
- 1 7 Their area of operations was centered at the northernmost part of Malabar, ruled by the Kolattiri Raja with his power base at Cannanore. From the Kottakal river to Cranganore stretched the lands of Zamorin with his port at Calicut. The coastal creeks, lagoons and estuaries of these two domains harboured the Malabar 'pirates'. Porakkad, Ponnani, Kappatt, Pantalayini, Kollam and Chaliyam offered sites for clandestine activities. Malabar's main export was pepper, which the Portuguese wished to monopolise. The Moplahs had no choice but resistance, at which they were remarkably successful. Huge amounts of pepper were transported outside the Portuguese system by local traders. In Malabar and Canara, in the first decade of the seventeenth century only about 1/10 of the total production went to Lisbon¹³. Armed ships carried cargoes of pepper, cardamom and cinnamon to Gujarat, the Persian Gulf and the Red Sea, the Maldivian Islands and Sri Lanka and to the Coromandel - with or without *cartazes*. Rice was traded by sea, up and down the west coast of India. Surat had old ties with Mangalore, Calicut, Cannanore and other Malabar ports. In the mid-seventeenth century, it was the major exporting point for Malabar pepper to Mocha, Muscat and Basra.
- 1 8 The Malabar's naval strength showed an increased vigour in direct challenges to European naval power in the seventeenth century. In fact, some historians hold that the Portuguese were exhausted by the naval war waged against them¹⁴. *Sambuks* and *almadias* sailed the length of the west coast, escorted by Malabar *paraos*. These were fast small galleys of approx. 60 tons, manned on each side by 20-30 oarsmen, they could carry 3 or 4 pieces of artillery and more than 100 archers or arquebusiers. They were open decked and lateen rigged, with one or two masts. The Malabar sailors who were intrepid seamen could outmanoeuvre bigger vessels, their common mode of attack to throw 'fire pots' on the deck of the enemy ship.

- 1 9 To the English factors the Malabaris continued to be a tangible threat and obstructive presence. This was seized as an excuse for condoning or even initiating seizure of Indian merchant vessels and freebooting on the high seas. As an incentive to the freighted English ships for this kind of activity, the Company servants offered 1/6 of the loot to the commander and crew. President Matthew Andrewes implicitly instructed the commander of the *American Frigate*, "The Mallabars that you may encounter, we desire you if possible not to let escape, but to seize on the vessels, empty the goods, and then fire them, setting the men on shore the next land you can conveniently come at. For your so doing, 1/6th part is yours, and the ship's Company's share."¹⁵
- 1 10 Increasing European piracy in the Arabian Sea became a source of recurring conflict with the Mughal authorities, the most prominent example of which was the capture of Aurangzeb's ship *Ganj-i Sawai* by the English pirate Henry Every. It was commonly believed in Surat that the servants of the English factory had dealings with English pirates.¹⁶ The Emperor's retaliative measures against the English factors highlight a system of balance of threats.

II

- 2 1 In about 1650 the merchant navy of Surat contained 50 ships, large and well-built. By 1701 the number of sea-going ships in Surat was at least 112.¹⁷ Much of the Indian shipping at Surat belonged to the aristocracy, the large princely ship declining in importance only in the later seventeenth century.¹⁸ In respect of freight traffic, the Mughals realizing the potential of the westward trade financed the building of ships. This reduced Indian dependence on foreign vessels but also made them vulnerable at sea and more reliant on European naval escorts. The number of vessels captured commensurately pushed up the cost of protection. However, this protection was not really adequate. Exasperated at the breakdown of protection on the pilgrimage route, Aurangzeb ordered Sir John Gayer, the 'old' Governor and his fellow servants to be thrown into prison, an episode taken advantage of by the 'new' Company's Governor Sir Nicholas Waite (1700-08).¹⁹ At Masulipatam also, Aurangzeb's demand to Sir William Norris was to give protection to Mughal shipping. Whenever a dispute broke out between one of the trading companies and the Mughal authorities, the first step taken by the latter was to cut-off the supplies. The reply of the factors was to make prizes of Indian vessels. There were many instances of such a policy of brinkmanship. In so far as the European factories until they developed into fortified settlements- were at the mercy of the Mughal, there was a balance of threats.
- 2 2 In a discussion on piracy the driving forces behind certain questions have to be examined. European efforts at monopoly, increased piracy in Indian waters, as traders whom they dispossessed 'were forced to use this alternative'.²⁰ But only certain groups like the Malabar put forward resistance, and that too, in particular form, while others structured a *modus vivendi* of indirect partnerships with Europeans officials or merchants. Piracy was also a

natural outgrowth of European rivalries. Ships of one nation waylaid another, even if they were not in a state of war, or had an official commission

- 2 3 Piracy itself was an outcome of a vast improvement in naval and military techniques in the ships operating in the Indian Ocean. Satish Chandra has argued that the corsairs could only succeed where their ships could outmanoeuvre or outgun an ordinary ship²¹. In this context K N Chaudhuri's reference to "a clear naval Portuguese superiority over Asian ships"²² has to be re-examined. The Vasco da Gama period in Asian history, as Steensgaard names it, was not a uniform period of European naval superiority. Asian naval techniques and strategies were neither backward nor passive. Portuguese ships were not necessarily bigger than Asian, but they did carry cannon as a matter of course, while at first Asian ships did not. Also, big was not always better. The slow and bulky Portuguese carracks had to give way to the naval superiority of English and Dutch fleets.
- 2 4 The Europeans tried to manipulate Asian commerce by *cartazes* and armed trade. But the maritime activities of Indian merchants could not really be controlled²³. The English issue of passes was even less effective than that of the Portuguese. It was only by the mid-eighteenth century that they were able to take over or direct Indian Ocean trade. Transport was obviously the weakest link in the far lung network of oceanic trade. The passes system did interfere with its regular mechanism and reveal the insecurity of maritime routes. Piracy, whether as a manifestation of individual greed, ubiquitous brigandage or political strategy, was in the end an exercise of brute force and extortion.

NOTES AND REFERENCES

- 1 My Ph.D. Thesis, *A Critical Analysis of Surat Factory Records, 1630-68*, to be published soon under an I.C.H.R. grant
- 2 Holden Furber puts the term in inverted commas, describing them as unorganised swarms in his *Rival Empires of Trade in the Orient, 1600-1800*, O.U.P. 1976, p. 93
- 3 Juna Cabal, *Piracy and Pirates*, tr. James Clenagh, London 1957, p. 14
- 4 In 1710 the Surat merchant Abdul Ghafur's richly laden ship was lost to them
- 5 Pedro Alvares Cabral, *The Voyages of Pedro Alvares Cabral to Brazil and India*, tr. W.B. Greenlee, London 1938, p. 180
- 6 A view questioned by J.C. Van Leur and C.R. Boxer
- 7 Fernand Braudel, *The Mediterranean and the Mediterranean World in the Age of Phillip II*, tr. S. Reynolds, Vol. I, London 1972, p. 1, 546
- 8 *Surat Outward Letter Book-1630*, Letters of November 3 and 8, 1630, from President Thomas Rastell and the Surat Council to the Commanders at Swally Marine and Ahmadabad respectively
- 9 *Ibid*, Letters of September 29 and 30, 1630
- 10 *Surat Factory Diary, 1660-69*, Commission of George Oxinden, John Goodier and Gerald Aungier, dated August 29, 1668
- 11 The implications of 'protection' have been discussed at length by Niels Steensgaard in *The Asian Trade Revolution of the Seventeenth Century*, Chicago 1974

- 12 Thevenot and Careri, *Indian Travels of Thevenot and Careri*, ed S N Sen, New Delhi 1949, p 185
- 13 A R Disney, *Twilight of the Pepper Empire*, Cambridge, Mass , 1978, p 36
- 14 Genevieve Bouchon, 'Sixteenth Century Malabar and the Indian Ocean', in *India and the Indian Ocean 1500-1800*, ed A Dasgupta and MN Pearson, O U P 1987
- 15 *Surat Factory Diary 1600-69*, Commission dated April 13, 1661
- 16 Dennis Kincaid, *British Social Life in India, 1608-1937*, London 1939, p 23
- 17 Ashin Das Gupta, *Indian Merchants and the Decline of Surat c 1700-1750*, Wiesbaden 1979, p 286
- 18 Ashin Das Gupta, 'India and the Indian Ocean in the Eighteenth Century', in *India and the Indian Ocean 1500-1800*, p 133
- 19 Holden Furber, *op cit* , p 102
- 20 A view held by M N Pearson
- 21 Satish Chandra (ed), *The Indian Ocean*, Sage 1987, pp 22-23
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- 23 Holden Furber, Book Review, *IESHR*, vol I, No 3, 1964, p 197

THE QAZIS OF BILGRAM : A MIDDLE- CLASS FAMILY OF SCHOLARS AND BUREAUCRATS UNDER THE MUGHALS

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I

- 1 1 Much interesting light is thrown on the conditions of a typical bureaucratic and scholarly family of Bilgram by the author of *Sharaif-i Usmani*, which was compiled in the second half of the eighteenth century. The author of this biographical work was Shaikh Ghulam Hasan Siddiqui Farshuri, who had the *takhallus* (nom de plume) "Samin".¹ It deals with the history of a family of Qazis of the town, who trace their origin from Caliph Usman and claimed to have come and settled in Bilgram during the reign of Sultan Mahmud. The author provides authenticity to his work by reproducing the copies of various *farman*, *parwana* and *sanad* issued to the various members of that family by the Mughal Emperors and the nobility.² These documents deal not only with the ownership-rights or their alienation, but also throw light on the various offices conferred upon the members of this family.
- 1 2 We are told that the first person in this family to hold the office of Censor and *Qazi* (*ihṭisab and qaza*) was Qazi Mohammad Yusuf bin Mohd Asim.³ He had two sons, Zahiruddin and Qazi Shamsuddin.⁴ It was through the latter that the Usmani family of Bilgram traces its origin. We are told that Qazi Shamsuddin was a contemporary of Sultan Qutbuddin Aibak.⁵ Qazi Shamsuddins' grandson was Qazi Abdul Kafi popularly known as an Allama,⁶ who had four sons⁷ two of whom, viz Qazi Mubarak *Muhtasib* and Qazi Mahmud Allahdad are

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important from our point of view. The office of the *pargana* Bilgram was inherited by Qazi Allahad,⁸ whose son Qazi Abdul Daim, a contemporary of Babur, took up the office.⁹ He had a *kunyat* of Abul 'Alam and had died sometime after 1531.¹⁰ His eldest son Qazi Abul Fath better known as Qazi Kamal after his father's death took up the office of *Qazi*. The second son, Shaikh Abdul Hay entitled *Danishmand* inherited the seat of his father, while the youngest son, Shaikh Bayazaid took up the profession of a teacher and busied himself in imparting education.¹¹

- 1 3 From this stage a fairly authentic history of the family can be reconstructed. Qazi Kamal was born in 1511,¹² and was around twenty years of age when he succeeded his father as the *Qazi* of *pargana* Bilgram. It was during his tenure as *Qazi* that we come across the first feud in the family. Since Qazi Allahad's time the office of the *Muhtasib* (Censor) had been held by Qazi Mubarak and his sons.¹³ Now Qazi Kamal began to interfere in the functioning of that office as well to the great discomfort to the *Muhtasib*, Qazi Abdus Samad, the grandson of Qazi Mubarak, who collected general testimony about the usurpation of his authority and then ultimately in 1570 appealed to Akbar, who ordered Qazi Kamal to his presence. Qazi Kamal reached Agra along with Qazi Abdus Samad. After mediations it was mutually agreed that of whatever came through *aqdana* (marriage-fee), 1/3rd would go to Qazi Abdus Samad and 2/3rd to Qazi Kamal.¹⁴
- 1 4 Akbar himself issued a *farman* of *ihisab* reiterating the office of *Muhtasib* in the name of Qazi Mubarak's grandson, Qazi Abdus Samad in 1593,¹⁵ that is, within a year of Qazi Kamal's death.¹⁶
- 1 5 In this endeavours Qazi Abdus Samad had taken the help of a certain Allahadad Siddiqui Farshuri who now manipulated through Allami Shaikh Faizi and managed to get Qazi Kamal dismissed and himself assume the office of *Qazi*.¹⁷ Thus for a few years the office of *Qazi* was lost to the Usmanis of Bilgram. Qazi Kamal had to leave Bilgram and settle in Rajgir.¹⁸
- 1 6 The new appointee Qazi Allahadad Farshuri, could be removed only after Qazi Mahmud, the second son of Qazi Kamal, went to the Imperial Court and impressed upon Akbar with the help of certain influential people to return the ancestral post to his father Qazi Kamal.¹⁹ Thus in 1592 the office of *Qazi pargana* Bilgram was restored to Qazi Kamal through an Imperial *farman* after a gap of a few years.²⁰ Soon afterwards Qazi Kamal died at the age of 84 years.²¹
- 1 7 For a period of twenty years after this, the office of the *Qazi* of *pargana* Bilgram remained in the hands of Qazi Barh, the third son of Qazi Kamal, who officiated for his elder brother Qazi Makarim who was more popularly known as Qazi Bhikhar.²² Qazi Mahmud again made use of his influence and got a *farman* issued in the name of Qazi Bhikhar ultimately in the year A.H. 1025/1616.²³ Qazi Bhikhar is reported to have died in A.H. 1091/1680.²⁴ The office of the *Qazi* was taken over by Qazi Bhikhar's eldest son, Qazi Sadruddin. Ultimately Qazi Mahmud managed a *farman* of appointment from Shahjahan

in favour of Qutbuddin's second son, Qazi Mohd Yusuf, entitled Abul Adil,²⁵ who died on 5 *Ziqada* 1084 AH/Feb 1674²⁶ The office of the *Qazi* was now held by his eldest son Qazi Muhhamad Fuzail, a scholar of repute who died at a young age of 28 years²⁷ He was succeeded by his younger brother Qazi Muhammad Salim, who ultimately handed over the charge to his late brother's son Qazi Mohd Hafiz who began "to perform the duties as per the rules of the *shara'* of the Holy Book, the traditions of the Prophet, Caliph Ali and other companions²⁸ Ultimately Qazi Muhammad Hamid died in AH 1123/1711 after performing the duties of *qazi* for 31 years²⁹

- 1 8 The mantle of the *Qazi* of the *pargana* now fell on the shoulders of Qazi Mohd Nasir, the second son of Qazi Fuzail who died within five years of taking charge³⁰ The post now passed on to his eldest son, Qazi Muhammad Ahsan, who by now was 50 years in age³¹ Qazi Ahsan appears to have been quite well-off It is reported that he spent not less than Rs 5000/= on the marriages of his sons and daughter, apart from having performed the marriage ceremonies of many other relatives We are told that he took care of about a hundred relatives who were dependent on him³²
- 1 9 His tenure of 28 years was quite eventful Twice he had to leave his charge and proceed to the court³³ on account of the alleged resumption of *Madad-i Ma'ash* and *A'imma* lands during the *subadari* of Nawab Burhanul Mulk Sa'adat Khan in Awadh, who took this step as a punitive measure against the local *rajas* and their followers The local *amil* and the *diwan* started interfering into the affairs of the family of the *qazi* and imprisoned some of them Open hostilities broke out between the *faujdar* and Qazi Ahsan This conflict went on for a period of seven years and ultimately the Qazi was forced to proceed to the court of Muhammad Shah³⁴ On way to Shahjahanabad, Qazi Ahsan petitioned Nawab Mohd Khan Bangash, the new *subadar* of Allahabad to help him meet the Emperor The Nawab, at that time, had himself become a victim of the court intrigues, and had irritated the Emperor Thus he asked the Qazi to leave his office and join him on a monthly endowment of Rs 300/-³⁵ Qazi Ahsan declined and decided to approach the Emperor directly While the Emperor was returning from the *Idgah* after offering prayers, the Qazi managed to draw his attention at a great risk to his own safety and handed over his petition against Burhanul Mulk alongwith a plea to transfer *pargana* Bilgram into the *jagir* of the Prince Ahmad Shah The Emperor acceded to the prayer³⁶ After this the Qazi went to the house of his uncle Ruhul Amin Khan, where Rai Har Narain, the *wakil* of Burhanul Mulk, pleaded with him not to get the *pargana* transferred to the *jagir* of the Prince In return he promised to order the *amil* of *pargan* Bilgram to release the *a'imma* and *madad-i ma'ash* which had been resumed, get the prisoners released and bring back all the relatives of the Qazi who had fled the area in terror All this he promised to accomplish in a period of twelve days After much reluctance, the Qazi agreed and returned to his charge³⁷
- 1 10 But within a year, with the appointment of a new *amil*, the *a'imma* and *madad-i ma'ash* in the *pargana* were again resumed The Qazi protested, but the new

amil demanded to be shown the *parwana-i mu'afi* for the exemption, as the *a'imma* and *madad-i ma'ash* of the entire suba Awadh still remained resumed ³⁸

- 1 11 In this manner a full year was wasted, and in disgust the Qazi once again decided to go to the Imperial Court to get the *pargana* transferred to the Prince's *jagir*. In this trip he was accompanied by the *mufti* of Bilgram, Shaikh Rahmatullah and a saint, Shah Tayyab, whose *a'imma* lands also stood resumed. For this journey the Qazi had to borrow Rs 700/- as loan from Shaikh Allahyar, a descendant of Qazi Barh, son of Qazi Kamal ³⁹. On the way, near Akbarabad (Agra), the Qazi came across his cousin Shaikh Rahmatullah who persuaded the Qazi to meet Mubanzul Mulk Sarbuland Khan under whom Burhanul Mulk, the cause of all this trouble, had previously been ⁴⁰. After much argument by the relatives in this contingent, the Qazi agreed to meet the Nawab, on whose strong recommendations, Burhanul Mulk had the *parwana-mu'afi* prepared not only in the case of Bilgram, but for the entire *suba* ⁴¹. Thus, the Qazi returned triumphant to *pargana* Bilgram.
- 1 12 The tenure of Qazi Ahsan witnessed two attempts to dislodge him from his office. The first aborted attempt was made by Raham Ali, a resident of village Nawil, *pargana* Bangarmau, who through the *Sadrus Sudur* got a *sanad* of Qazi-ship of *pargana* Bilgram issued in his favour ⁴². But Qazi Hasan did not let him take up the position. The second attempt was made sometime around 1748, and was a result of the intrigues of certain officials of *suba* Awadh alongwith the *faujdar* of Bilgram against Qazi Ahsan due to his unbending attitude in meeting the justice.
- 1 13 A suit was filed in the court of Qazi Ahsan regarding a dispute over ownership of a piece of land in the *pargana* between Mir Ghulam Jilani, the *Mukhtar-i kul* and the *khan-i saman* in the contingent of Mir Muhammad Salah Baraha, and a *qalandar* (mystic) who was the *mujawir* (attendant) of the tomb of Khwaja Imaduddin. The petitioner, Mir Ghulam Jilani, was not only a friend of the local *faujdar* but had relations with Maharaja Nawal Rai, the deputy of Safdarjung in *suba* Awadh ⁴³. The Qazi decided the case in favour of the *qalandar*, who reportedly produced *sanad* under the seal of Qazi Abdul Daim. The *faujdar* countered it by bringing forward another *sanad* in favour of Ghulam Jilani, which on a closer scrutiny was declared by Qazi Ahsan as a forged document. The *faujdar* even tried to manipulate the situation through mis-representing the case before the *naib-subedar*, Nawal Rai. The Qazi would still not change his decision ⁴⁴. When every attempt to pressurise the Qazi failed, Ghulam Jilani started intrigues in order to dislodge the Qazi. A few years before this, there had arisen certain differences between Qazi Ahsan and his younger brother Muhammad Raushan over the sharing of income ⁴⁵. Qazi Ahsan had been giving Muhammad Raushan only a third part, while the latter had been demanding half the share. Mir Muhammad Salah Khan, in whose contingent Ghulam Jilani was employed, influenced Safdarjung to agree to have a *sanad* of Qazi-ship conferred upon Muhammad Raushan ⁴⁶. The Mir went to the extent of telling Qazi Ahsan that the proceedings of getting a *sanad* in favour

of Mohd Raushan could be stopped if the Qazi agreed to favourably deal with Ghulam Jilani.⁴⁷ But Qazi Ahsan did not agree to give his judgement in favour of Ghulam Jilani. Instead he proceeded to Delhi alongwith one of his sons to get a *sanad* in favour of his second son Usman Ahmad, better known as Qazi Ahmadullah.⁴⁸ Ultimately Qazi Ahsan succeeded in his mission, and the intriguers were humiliated,⁴⁹ and the *faujdar*, Mir Baqir Ali was ordered to accept the Qazi's decisions and not to supersede his authority.⁵⁰ This matter lasted for 3 years, and now Qazi Ahsan handed over the charge to his son Qazi Ahmadullah. Qazi Ahsan ultimately died at the old age of 78 years in 1779.⁵¹

II

- 2 1 Though the family profession of the Usmanis was the performance of the judicial office (*qaza*), they took other professions after all at one time the office could be held by only one of them. Thus we have examples of the Usmanis being *jagirdar*, *zamindar*, *risaldar*, *bakhshi*, etc., apart from being scholars, poets, calligraphists, teachers and *sufi*. Interestingly enough larger and larger number of this family began entering into the service of the state in the second half of the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries. Yet some of the family members even rose to the lower ranks of the nobility as early as the reign of Akbar. Thus we have the example of Qazi Mahmud, the son of Qazi Kamal, who is alleged to have reached the peak of his career during the reign of Akbar. He was given the title of Zia-ul Mulk and had the *pargana* of Lakhnau, Sirharpur and Bilgram in his *jagir*.⁵² During the reign of Jahangir he was despatched to Persia alongwith the Embassy of Khan-i Alam to the Court of the Safavids. From a *farman* of Emperor Jahangir, dated 3 February 1616 and reproduced in *Sharaif-i Usmani*, we come to know that the Emperor considered Qazi Mahmud to be his *nadim* (companion) and confident.⁵³
- 2 2 At a time when Khan-i Alam was proceeding to the Safavid Court as an Ambassador of Jahangir, one of the members of his Embassy, Shaikh Jamal died. Khan-i Alam wrote to the Emperor for a replacement. Jahangir then nominated Qazi Mahmud on the basis of his being not only a person known to him since his prince-hood but also due to the fact that he had an expert eye as far as the purchase of precious stones like rubies and other goods like horses were concerned.⁵⁴
- 2 3 The author of the *Sharaif* informs us that Qazi Mahmud had once been sent by Emperor Akbar as well as '*ilchi*' (Ambassador) to the Safavids.⁵⁵
- 2 4 Qazi Mahmud appears to have been interested in erecting buildings, for we are informed of various structures constructed under his orders at Lucknow, Sirharpur and Bilgram. He is also said to have established a locality each at Lucknow and Bilgram which were known as Mahmud Nagar after his name.⁵⁶
- 2 5 At the time of his death, sometime during Shahjahan's reign, he held *jagir* in Lahore as well.⁵⁷

- 2 6 Qazi Mahmud's nephew and Qazi Bhikhar's third son, Abdul Hayy is also said to have been a *muqarrab* (confident) of Emperor Shahjahan and a master of eight elephants⁵⁸ He is alleged to have spent Rs 50,000/- over the construction of a *sarai*, *haveli*, a mosque and a few wells at Bilgram⁵⁹ The *Sharaif* contains a document (dated 10 March, 1654) issued by Prince Dara Shikoh pertaining to the *sarai*⁶⁰
- 2 7 Even Qazi Bhikar and Qazi Barh had certain experience in performing service for the state Thus, Qazi Bhikhar performed the work of revenue collection in *Suba Malwa* for sometime, while Qazi Barh was the Deputy of Qazi Mahmud at Bilgram⁶¹ Qazi Abdur Rasul, the son of Qazi Bhikhar was a *risaladar* and *faujdar* at Lahore during the reign of Shahjahan⁶²
- 2 8 During the reign of Shah Alam I we come across Ruhul Amin Khan and his brother's son through a slave girl, Shaikh Din Muhammad Both were known for their bravery and martial skill⁶³ Ruhul Amin Khan held a *mansab* 6000 (*zat*), 2000 *sawar* apart from *naqdi*, *jagir* During the *subedari* of Sarbuland Khan at Kabul, Ruhul Amin Khan was given the *mahal* of Punjab like Sialkot and Jallandar to manage⁶⁴
- 2 9 For a few years he was also the *naib-subedar* of suba Allahabad⁶⁵ He served under various Nawabs and subsequently died sometime in 1738-39⁶⁶ His resources and status can be further gauged from the fact that at the marriage of his grandson, Shaikh Ghulam Qutbuddin, Ruhul Amin Khan caused celebrations to be held continuously for six months, during which time cooked and uncooked food was served to all the residents "rich and poor" of Bilgram, and adjoining villages who were all treated as guests and hundred camels laden with gold-brocaded clothes, *marwarid*, *doshalas*, etc were distributed amongst the *mirasis* He also constructed a market (*bazar*) for his grandson⁶⁷
- 2 10 This grandson, Shaikh Ghulam Qutbuddin, later on served under Safdarjung who made him a *risaladar* of 100 *sawar* He subsequently joined service of Siraj-ud Daulah in Bengal⁶⁸
- 2 11 The great grand-son of Qazi Abdur Rasul, whose name was Shaikh Ghulam Rasul was a *risaladar* under Mubarizul Mulk and Sarbuland Khan with 300 *sawar*⁶⁹ His brother, Shaikh Husamuddin too had a *risala* of 300 *sawar* under the same Nawab⁷⁰ Later Shaikh Ghulam Rasul served under Amir Khan, Governor of Allahabad At that time he even owned an elephant Then he went to Bengal, where he allegedly became a commander of 500 horses and master of 24 elephants After the defeat and death of Sirajuddaula he joined his rival Mir Jafar, passing on to the service of Mir Qasim When Mir Qasim fled from Bengal to Awadh, where (before Buxar) he was arrested, and his troops dispersed Ghulam Rasul took service with "the English General, who had become master of the *suba* of Murshidabad" From the English he obtained Rs 1000 in personal salary with a contingent of 25 horses, all from his own kinsmen He died two or three years later His two sons then took service (with 200 men and 2 elephants) with Raja Balwant Singh, ruler of Banaras⁷¹

- 2 12 Another grandson of Qazı Barh, Shaikh Muhammad Subhan was made an *iqtdar* of *sarkar* Narhar, *suba* Allahabad, during the *subedar* of Khan-ı Jahan Bahadur Koka. In May 1697 he was killed in a campaign against the Bundelas.⁷² His brother was incharge of "*nazm wa nasq*" (administration) of *suba* Allahabad.⁷³
- 2 13 Another person of this family who excelled himself in the battle-field was Shaikh Allahyar who was given the title of Rustam-ı Zaman Khan Bahadur and a *mansab* of 6000 under Farrukh Siyar soon it was increased to 7000 and ultimately Muhammad Shah enhanced it by 3500. This Emperor also bestowed the title of Mubraizud Daulah Shujaul Mulk-ı Hind Pahalwan Rustom Zaman Khan Shaikh Allahyar Bahadur.⁷⁴ Allahyar proved his military abilities in Bengal, Kabul, Multan, Gujarat, Allahabad and Azimgarh (Patna).⁷⁵ He was ultimately killed on 21 October 1730.⁷⁶
- 2 14 Shaikh Allahyar's son, Shaikh Murtaza Hussain was taken into service by Sarbuland Khan who bestowed upon him the office of *bakhshi*, duty of heading the van and control of the contingent of his late father. He was also entitled as Shaikh Allahyar. Subsequently Muhammad Shah granted him a *mansab* of 2500 (*zat*) and the title of Khan.⁷⁷ Safdarjung gave him a *risala* of 200 *sawar*.⁷⁸ He was an expert in arrow shooting (*tir andazi*) and had a sound knowledge of history, poetry and the science of Medicine, apart from *ilm-ı jafar*.⁷⁹
- 2 15 The same family produced a large number of men of letters who were famous as writers of prose and verse.⁸⁰ Quite a few of them were calligraphers and scribes as well.⁸¹

III

- 3 1 There is, however, very little evidence forthcoming as far as the land-holding of this family is concerned. The whole of the manuscript only mentions 3 *farman* relating to the grant of *madad-ı ma'ash* grants in lieu of services rendered as Qazı of *pargana* Bilgram by the incumbents.
- 3 2 The first *farman* is that of Babur dated 2 December, 1527 and deals with the grant of an entire village, in *qasba* Fathpur Sandi, having an assessed income (*jama*) of 800 *tanka siyah* and 250 *bigha* in the environs of the *qasba* to Qazı Abdul Daim.⁸² The second is a *farman* of Akbar, dated 12 July 1592, which granted 150 *bigha* by *gaz-ı ilahi*, out of the previous grant of 200 *bigha* to Qazı Kamal, the son of Qazı Abdul Daim,⁸³ while the third and last is that of Shahjahan, issued in his 9th RY and specifying 100 *bigha* of village land in *pargana* Bilgram in grant to Qazı Muhammad Yusuf, the grandson of Qazı Kamal.⁸⁴ Whereas Akbar's grant superseded the previous grant, Shahjahan's grant represented an addition to Akbar's grant, since the *farman* specifies that land held in grant elsewhere would not be disturbed.
- 3 3 On their own Qazı Kamal and Qazı Yusuf gifted land to certain people. Qazı Kamal gifted a piece of residential land to Maulana Zameeri, a poet of his age who composed a *qasida* in praise of the late Qazı Allahdad.⁸⁵ Qazı Muhammad

Yusuf reportedly gifted 2 *bigha*, 8 *biswa* and 12 *biswansa* to Mir Talib and 5 *bigha* 15 *biswansa pukhta* (pucca) to Mir Sayyid Abdul Wahid the eldest son of Mir Tabib⁸⁶ There are other instances when the land was gifted to the *mujawir* and *qalandar* looking after the tombs of their ancestors⁸⁷ All these gifts were made in *qasba* Bilgram, so that these were not out of the *madad-i ma'ash* lands held by the qazi

- 3 4 From the above account of the family, it appears that the Usmanis of *pargana* Bilgram were in the beginning of the Mughal rule basically a part of service gentry, who on the one hand held a scholarly office like the *qazi*, and, on the other, held revenue and military offices Their interests therefore were closely intertwined with the Mughal Empire, in whose service the non-theological members made this modest (and some allegedly) large fortunes, seeking employment from Panjab to Bengal The detailed information about this one family from Bilgram thus considerably enriches our picture of the social class from which recruits to the Mughal lower nobility tended to spring

NOTES AND REFERENCES

- 1 *Sharaif-i Usmani*, MS Department of History Research Library, AMU, f 173(a), For a brief description see Iqbal Hussain, "Sharaif-i Usmani - A rare manuscript of the 18th century", paper presented at Khuda Bakhsh Library, Patna in 1988
- 2 Six of these documents have been annotated by Irfan Habib in his "Aspects of Agrarian Relations and Economy in a Region of Uttar Pradesh during the 16th Century", *IESHR*, Vol IV, No 3, Sept 1967, pp 205-32
- 3 *Sharaif-i Usmani*, f 29a
- 4 *Ibid*, f 34 (a)
- 5 *Ibid*, f 37 (b)
- 6 *Ibid*, f 40 (b)
- 7 *Ibid*, f 44 (a)
- 8 *Ibid*, f 44 (a)
- 9 *Ibid*, f 50 (a)-(b), 52 (a)
- 10 *Sharaif* though gives his year of death AH 937/1520 (f 52(a) but in ff 55a-b the author reproduces a sale-deed dated 15 Muharram 938/29 Aug 1531 of a piece of land by Qazi Abdul Daim, which would mean that the Qazi might have died not before this date
- 11 *Sharaif*, ff 53(b), 54(a)
- 12 *Ibid*, f 55(b)
- 13 *Ibid*
- 14 *Ibid*, f 56a
- 15 *Ibid*, ff, 143(b), 144(a) p73
- 16 *Ibid*, f 61(b)
- 17 *Ibid*, ff 56(a)-(b)
- 18 *Ibid*, f 57(a)
- 19 *Sharaif*, ff 56(b)-57(b), 109(b)-111(a)
- 20 *Farman* of Akbar, dtd 12 July 1592, *Sharaif*, ff 57(b)-58(a)

- 21 *Sharaf*, f 66(b)
- 22 *Ibid*, f 67(b)
- 23 *Sharaf*, ff 68(a)-(b)
- 24 *Ibid*, f 68(b)
- 25 *Ibid*, ff 69(b), 71(a), 75(a)
- 26 *Ibid*, f 75(b)
- 27 *Sharaf*, f 79(a)
- 28 *Ibid*, ff 80(a), 97(a)
- 29 *Ibid*, f 80(b)
- 30 *Ibid*, f 81(a)
- 31 *Ibid*, f 81(b) He was born in 1109 AH/1697-98
Ibid, f 94(b)
- 32 *Ibid*, ff 81(b)-82(a)
- 33 *Ibid*, ff 81(b)-88(b), 93(b)-94(b) For a some what different account of the resumption orders
see Azad Bilgram, *Ma'asir-al Kiram*, ed Abdul Haq, Agra, 1910, pp 222-23
- 34 *Sharaf*, ff 82(a), 130(b)-131(a)
- 35 *Ibid*, f 83(a)
- 36 *Ibid*, ff 83(b)-85(a)
- 37 *Ibid*, ff 86(a)-(b)
- 38 *Ibid*, f 86(b)
- 39 *Ibid*, f 87(a)
- 40 *Ibid*, ff 87(b)
- 41 *Ibid*, ff 88(a)-(b)
- 42 *Ibid*, f 92(a)
- 43 *Ibid*, f 89(a)
- 44 *Ibid*, ff 89(b)-91(a)
- 45 *Ibid*, f 91(b)
- 46 *Ibid*, ff 91(b), 93(a)-(b)
- 47 *Ibid*, f 93(b)
- 48 *Ibid*, f 91(b)
- 49 *Ibid*, f 92(b)-93(a)
- 50 *Ibid*, f 94(a)
- 51 *Ibid*, f 84(b) He was born in 1697-98
- 52 *Ibid*, f 108(b)
- 53 *Ibid*, f 108(b)
- 54 *Ibid*, f 108(b)
- 55 *Ibid*, f 111(a)
- 56 *Ibid*, f 1099a)
- 57 *Ibid*, f 111(a)
- 58 *Ibid*, f 106(a)

- 59 *Ibid*
- 60 *Ibid*, f 107(a)
- 61 *Ibid*, f 112(b) For details of this Embassy of Khan-i Alam, which accompanied the Persian Ambassador Yadgar Ali in Jahangir's 8th RY (1613-14), see Beni Prasad, *History of Jahangir*, Allahabad, 1930, pp 338-9
- 62 *Sharaif*, f 121(b)
- 63 *Ibid*, ff 115(b), 114(a)
- 64 *Ibid*, p 115(a)
- 65 *Ibid*, f 115(a)
- 66 *Ibid*, f 120(a)
- 67 *Ibid*, f 120(b)
- 68 *Ibid*, f 120(b)
- 69 *Ibid*, f 122(b)
- 70 *Ibid*, f 122(b)
- 71 *Ibid*, f 123(a)
- 72 *Ibid*, f 125(d)
- 73 *Ibid*, f 135(b)
- 74 *Ibid*, f 126(b)-130(a)
- 75 *Ibid*, f 126(b)-130(a)
- 76 *Ibid*, f 131(b)
- 77 *Ibid*, f 133(a)
- 78 *Ibid*, f 133(b)
- 79 *Ibid*
- 80 For example, see *ibid*, ff 67(a), 69(b), 79(b)-80(a), 95(b), 112(b), 124(b) etc
- 81 *Ibid*, ff 106(b), 107(b), 111(b), etc
- 82 *Ibid*, ff 50(a)-(b)
- 83 *Ibid*, ff 57(a)-58(b)
- 84 *Ibid*, ff 71(a)-(b)
- 85 *Ibid*, f 60(b)
- 86 *Ibid*, ff 76(a)-(b)
- 87 *Ibid*, f 52(a)

ANNOUNCING TIME - THE UNIQUE METHOD AT HAYATNAGAR, 1676

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ISHRAT ALAM**

I

- 1 1 The chief device for measuring time in India from about the fourth century A D upto the beginning of the present century has been a water clock of the type known as the 'sinking bowl'¹ This type of water clock consists of a hemispherical bowl, made of thin copper, with a minute perforation at the bottom When this bowl is placed on the surface of the water in a larger vessel, water enters the bowl from below through the perforation As soon as the bowl is full, it sinks to the bottom of the vessel with a clearly audible thud The perforation is so made that the duration of each sinking of the bowl is 24 minutes, or one-sixtieth part of the nychthemeron, this being the standard unit of time in India
- 1 2 The apparatus is first mentioned by Buddhaghosha, in the early fifth century A D, in his commentary *Papanchasudani* on the *Majjhima-nikaya*² Subsequently, astronomers like Aryabhatta (6th c), *Varahamihira* (6th c), Lalla (8th c) and Bhaskara (12th c) described it among other time measuring and astronomical instruments Some of these writers gave also precise measurements for the water clock Thus, for example, Aryabhatta laid down that the bowl should be made with 10 pairs weight of copper, that the diameter

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at the opening should be 12 *angulas* and height 6 *angulas* ³ A highly ingenious mode of micro-measurement was adopted for the size of the perforation at the bottom According to Aryabhata, the hole should be such that a gold wire, 1 pala in weight and 8 *angulas* long, should just pass through it ⁴

- 1 3 In Sanskrit, the bowl is called *ghati* or *ghatika* and these terms denote also the time unit measured by this device, viz 24 minutes The whole apparatus was accordingly called *ghati* or *ghatikayantra*

II

- 2 1 Outside the realm of astronomy/astrology, this sexagesimal division of the day-and-night into 60 *ghati* (and again of each *ghati* into 60 *vighati* or palas) did not have much practical use in the pre-industrial society For practical purposes, broader divisions sufficed The *Arthashastra*, it may be recalled, divides the king's day into eight periods and likewise the night ⁵ More common was the practices of dividing the day time into four quarters styled *prahara* and the night into four quarters called *yama*
- 2 2 In order to reconcile these two systems so that one *prahara/yama* consisted of integral number of *ghati*, the duration of the *ghati* was slightly reduced from 24 minutes to 22½ minutes Thus the mean daytime (i.e. 6 am to 6 pm) was divided into 4 *prahara*, and each *prahara* into eight *ghati* (of 22½ minutes) According to I Tsing, this was the custom prevailing in the Buddhist monasteries and Kushinagara in the seventh century (At Nalanda, however, the *prahara* was divided into 4 parts only) ⁶
- 2 3 From the seventh century onwards, institutions for time-keeping are attested at royal palaces, Buddhist monasteries, town squares etc Here time was measured constantly with the *ghatiyantra*, and passages of each *ghati* and the completion of each *prahara/yama* was announced through appropriate number of strokes on the drum, bell or gong

III

- 3 1 The institution was so popular that the Muslim ruler not only the device but also the prevailing time units like *ghati* and *pala* Thus Firuz Shah Tughluq set up a *tas-i ghariyala* (lit bowl and gong) at his palace gate which, in the words of his chronicler, aroused the wonder of people from Khurasan to Bengal ⁷ In his memoirs, Babur reports of the existence of a class of persons called *ghariyali*, whose profession it was to keep time by means of the gong in every major town of Hindustan Babur also made an improvement in the mode of announcing the *prahara* and *ghati* ⁸ The *Ain-i Akbari* also contains a long account on the institution of time-keeping though faulty in technical details, it informs that time keeping and announcing was royal prerogative under Akbar ⁹ In the subsequent centuries, minor nobles also began to maintain water clocks at their gates and to cause time to be announced regularly — a practice that still survives at police stations and jails, though time is no more measured with water clocks

- 3 2 That the institution of time keeping with water clock was very popular in the Telugu country is attested by a number of references in literary works and inscriptions of the 13th-16th centuries ¹⁰ Two inscriptions, in particular, record private endowments for maintaining water clocks in certain temples, so that the rituals are performed according to a precise time schedule ¹¹

IV

- 4 1 Some more details about this institution are available from the account of a Dutch traveller, Daniel Havart. In his *Open Ondergang van Coromandel*, he reports about a novel method of announcing time, which he observed in the year 1676 at Hayatnagar ¹² His book was published in 1693. Since he had left India in March 1685 and did not come again, we accept his descriptions referring to the period of his stay in India i.e. 1672-1685. This place is not far from Golconda and seems to serve as an outpost to the Golkonda fort. According to Tavernier, it lay on the route from Golkonda to the port town Machilipatnam and had a large caravansarai with suits of rooms for travelling nobility as well ¹³
- 4 2 Daniel Havart states that the most conspicuous part of the village Hayatnagar was the gateway where time was measured with the water clock and announced in two different ways. First, the passage of each *ghati* and of each *prahara* was announced audibly through strokes on a copper basin or gong. Besides this common method, there was also a visual mode of announcing time. This was done by setting up on the gateway a certain number of small wooden planks, some painted red and some white. Red planks indicated the number of *prahara* elapsed since the mean sunrise at 6.00 am, and the white planks indicated the number of *ghati* elapsed within the said *prahara*.
- 4 3 Havart illustrates the system by providing an example of how time is announced at 10.30 a.m. At this time, four and half have elapsed since the mean sunrise. Expressed in Indian time units, this duration equals to 1 *prahara* (=3 hrs) and 4 *ghati* ($4 \times 22.5 = 90$ minutes) ¹⁴
- 4 4 Now this time is announced in two different ways. First audible method: upon a copper basin, they strike four strokes for the passage of 4 *ghati*, and after a short pause one more stroke to indicate the passage of 1 *prahara* since sunrise. The pause is necessary in order to distinguish the two kinds of enumeration, viz. strokes for the *ghati* and those for the *prahara* ¹⁵ Furthermore, they also announced time through visual means, by setting up one red plank and four white planks upon the gateway, indicating the passage of 1 *prahara* since sunrise and 4 *ghatis* thereafter.
- 4 5 Havart goes on to say "in the night it is likewise", which would mean that both types of announcement were made at night also. While the strokes on the gong can be heard at night, in fact more distinctly than in the daytime, coloured planks upon the gateway cannot be seen unless they were illuminated by torches. Havart does not say expressly that the planks were illuminated but that should not have been impossible.

V

- 5.1 Announcing time through strokes on the drum or on the gong was prevalent at least from the time of Buddhaghosa in the fifth century, and indeed this practice governs the vocabulary of time-telling in almost all Indian languages, as e.g. when we say *tin baja hai*. But indicating time by visual means has not been recorded elsewhere. Therefore Havart's account of this practice deserves some attention¹⁶.
- 5.2 However, this account raises two questions. First, how were adjustments made for the accensional difference, i.e. for the varying length of the daylight hours. Havart is silent on this question¹⁷. The second question is as follows: Does announcing time visually have any advantage over gong strokes? Gong strokes, it may be noted, are made after every 22½ minutes. If a traveller arrives at the gate of Hayatnagar, say a few minutes after 10.30, he would miss the last announcement and has to wait at least 20 minutes to know what the time of the day is. But if there are visible planks, he will know time even if he arrives in the middle of a particular *ghati*. But then, in the pre-industrial society of 1676, did it matter much whether the time was 10.30 or 10.52, 30? Be that as it may, it is interesting to note that the Dutch factors thought it worthwhile to emulate this practice of keeping and announcing time. But, instead of the water clock¹⁸ of 22½ minutes' duration, they employed sand glasses of half an hour's duration.

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APPENDIX

Daniel Havart, M.D., *Op-en Ondergang van Coromandel*, Amsterdam 1693, II, pp. 205-206.

The [main] landmark of the village Hayatnagar is a gateway, and above that gateway are small red and white wooden planks [which indicate] how many hours of the day have [already] passed.

Muslims, who do not have mechanical clocks (*slaande klokken*), count the hours of the day and of night in the following manner. They divide the day into four parts, each of three hours, because [the measurement of] the day always begins at six in the morning and terminates at six in the evening, each part of the day being once again subdivided into eight *gharis* (*gerrijis*), and each *ghari* is counted by means of (lit. according to) a certain small cup (*kopja*) with a hole [at the bottom] which, [when] placed upon water, comes to sink in one and half quarter hours' time, and then one *ghari* has ended, when they also strike one stroke upon a copper basin (*bekkan*).

If it is now, for example, half past ten, then they strike first four and then, after a brief pause (*perposing*), one [more] stroke, indicating that these four *gharis* and one quarter of the day have elapsed, and at the same time, they also set up there four white and one red planks at the top of the gateway, where everyone can always see what the time is. In the night it is likewise.

The Dutch also do so, except that in the place of the small cup, they use hour glasses of half an hour [duration] and consequently have not more than six [half hours] in one quarter of the day.

NOTES AND REFERENCES

- 1 On the types of water clocks, see Joseph Needham, *Science and Civilization in China*, III, Cambridge 1959, p. 315, A. J. Turner, *The Time Museum Catalogue of Collections*, I, Part 3, Rockford 1984, p. 1.
- 2 *The Papanchasudani*, the Commentary on the *Majjhima-Nikaya*, vol. I, ed. U. Dhammaratana and U. Jagarabhivamsa, Nalanda 1975, p. 158. Cf. also, Oskar von Hinuber, "Probleme der Technigeschichte im alten Indien", *Saeculum* 29.3 (1978), p. 224 and n. 44.
- 3 Kripa Shankar Shukla, "Aryabhata I's Astronomy with Midnight Day-Reckoning", *Ganita* 18.1 (June 1967), p. 95, 29-30.
- 4 *Ibid*.
- 5 *Arthasastra*, 1.19.6.
- 6 I. Tsing, *A Record of the Buddhist Religion as Practised in India and Malay Archipelago (A.D. 671-695)*, tr. J. Takakusu, Delhi 1966, pp. 144-146.
- 7 Shams Siraj Afif, *Tarikh-i Firuz Shahi*, ed. Maulawi Wilayat Hussain, Asiatic Society of Bengal, Calcutta, 1890, chapter 18, pp. 254-260.
- 8 *Babur-Nama*, tr. A. S. Beveridge, Delhi 1979, pp. 516-517.
- 9 Abul Fazl, *Ain-i Akbari*, ed. H. Blochman, Asiatic Society of Bengal, Calcutta, 1876, vol. I, p. 9-10. On two miniature paintings from Akbar's atelier depicting the water clock, see S. R. Sarma, "Astronomical instruments in Mughal Miniatures", *Studien zur Indologie und Iranistik*, vol. 16 (in press).
- 10 Cf. M. Somasekhara Sarma, *History of the Reddi Kingdoms (circa 1325 A.D. to circa 1448 A.D.)*, Waltair 1948, pp. 324-327; M. Krishna Kumari, "Evidence of the Use of Ghadiyaram in Medieval Andhra", read at a seminar on "Kakatiyas and their Contribution to Art and Literature", Warangal 1991.
- 11 The Sarpavaram inscription of 1404 A.D. (SII, vol. V, no. 8) records a private endowment for a water clock in the temple of Bhavanayana, while Tallapalli grant (*Reddi Sanchika*, ed. Vaddadi Appa Rao, Appendix) mentions the temple of Gopinath. Cf. Krishna Kumari, op. cit.
- 12 See the Appendix.
- 13 Jean Baptiste Tavernier, *Travels in India*, tr. V. Ball, ed. W. Crooke, I, pp. 139-140; Irfan Habib, *An Atlas of the Mughal Empire*, New Delhi, 1984, p. 60, middle column. Today, Hayatnagar is the outermost suburb of Hyderabad on the Vijayawada road.
- 14 Or 12 immersions of the bowl.
- 15 In Babur's time, instead of a pause, a series of rapid strokes separated the *ghati* from the *prahara* (*Babur-Nama*, tr. A. S. Beveridge, pp. 516-517). A relic of this practice survives still at the railway stations in South India. The porter first makes a number of rapid strokes, on a piece of suspended rail, for attracting the attention of the passengers, and then beats

either three distinct strokes to announce the imminent arrival of the up train to Madras, or two distinct strokes to indicate the arrival of the down train from Madras

- 16 The Dutch are said to have presented the Shah of Persia sinking bowl water clocks (gory schotels), which they had taken from India, cf Cornelis Spelman, *Journal der reiz van den gezant der O I Compagnie Joan Cunaeus naar Iarzie in 1651-1652*, 19-8, p 146, cited in O Kurz, *European Clocks and Watches in the Near East*, London-Leiden 1975, p 4, n 5
- 17 John Gilchrist, "Account of the Hindustanee Horometry", *Asiatick Researchers*, 5(1975), pp 81-89, discusses some methods of adjustment as practised in Bengal
- 18 Considering their universal employment, there ought to be scores of water clocks preserved in India and abroad. However, only about half a dozen pieces are known in foreign collections and about an equal number in India, one of which is prominently displayed in the gateway of the fort at Golkonda

KARKHANAS OF A MUGHAL NOBLE - EVIDENCE FROM THE AMBER/JAIPUR RECORDS

SUMBUL HALIM KHAN*

I

- 1 1 As is well known the *karkhana* served the purpose alike of a manufactory, storehouse and repair workshop. The *karkhana* could be those of the emperor, nobles or merchants. But except for chance references, it is only for the royal *karkhana* that we have some substantial information from Afif, Abul Fazl and Bernier.¹
- 1 2 This is why special interest should be attached to the information that can be gleaned from papers relating to *karkhana* of the Amber rulers, who were at the same time nobles of the Mughal Empire. These papers comprise *jama kharch*, *shuturkhana jama kharch zinkhana*, *roznama zinkhana*, *arhsatta silehkhana*, *siyah silehkhana*, *tauji jama kharch palkikhana* etc. These documents not only record expenditure incurred in the above *karkhana* but also provide the details of materials used, staff, etc.
- 1 3 In all there were thirty-six *karkhanas*. The detailed accounts of these are available to us for the reign of Sawai Singh alone.²
- 1 4 Every *karkhana* had a *darogha*, who was the superintendant; the next in command was the *tahvildar* who could be transferred from one *karkhana* to

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another The *mushrif* maintained the ledgers while the *sahs* and *bhayyas* took security on behalf of the employess

- 1 5 Our accounts enable us to work out the monthly average expenditure on at least five of the *karkhana*. These are, however, not given for the same period, but range from 1717 to 1759 (see Table below). The heaviest expenditure (Rs 17,578 per mensem in 1759) was on the Armoury ('*Sikhkhana*') and the next (Rs 7,210 p m, in 1726) on Artillery ('*Topkhana*'). The three *karkhana* of which we know most were rather small, the *Palki-khana* entailing an expenditure of Rs 1168 p m, the *zinkhana* Rs 861 and the *Shutrkhana* only Rs 28

COMPARABLE TABLE FOR THE EXPENSES ON THE VARIOUS KARKHANAS

Name of the <i>Karkhana</i>	Expenditure for the Duration	Amount (Rs)	Expendi- ture for	Per Month
1 <i>Silehkhana</i>	Phalgun Sudi 3 to Chaitra Sudi 14 V S 1816 6 Feb 1759 to 17 March 1759	17578	1 month	17578
2 <i>Topkhana</i>	Kartik Vadi 1 to Chaitra Vadi 1 1783 16 Oct 1726 to 12 May 1726	43261	6 months	7210
3 <i>Palkikhana</i>	Asoj Sudi 15 to Asarh Vadi 10 1800 23 Sept 1743 to 15 June 1743	9345	8 months	1168
4 <i>Zinkhana</i>	Bhadva Sudi 3 to Bhadva Sudi 2, 1775 20 Sept 1717 to 2 Aug 1718	10337	1 year	861
5 <i>Shuturkhana</i>	Bhadva Sudi 3 to Bhadva Sudi 2 1774 20 Sept 1716 to 19 Sept 1717	340	1 year	28

II

- 2 1 We now attempt descriptions of the various *karkhana* whose *jamakharch* papers enable us to give some details about them. Unfortunately, the necessary details are lacking for the *Silehkhana*. On the other *karkhana*, I have been able to assemble the following information

ZINKHANA

- 2 2 The *zinkhana*, whose papers have survived undertook the preparation, maintenance and repair of harness, saddles and bridles³

- 2 3 The zins comprised fastenings (*jot*) and saddles (*zin*) Both the jots and zins for the nobles' use could be jewel-studded (*jarhau*) or have gold trappings⁴
- 2 4 *Jarhau* jot were delivately crafted, decorated with inlay wok (*mursakari*) and enamelling (*minakari*) craftsmanship⁵ These were decorated with rpecious stones like sapphire (*nilam*) and small rubies (*churni*) Thse were the most expensive variety of *zin* including items like low seat (*chowki*), handkerchief (*singhara khana*), rope for saddling (*bandhan kho*), seat of eri-silk (*tat pirhi*) rops for fastening the seat (*pirhi bandhan*), heal piece (*pan mekhana*) etc⁶
- 2 5 *Jarhau zins* could be of gold and copper, decorated with Persian/Central Asian (*wilarti*) *kajalkari* and studded with *pana* (?), small rubies (*churni*), enamel (*kundan*), pearls (*moti*) and *manik* (?)⁷ Chair (*kursi*), carriage pole (*mayana*), ornament (*thekro*), band for the neck of the elephant to provide a rest for the mohouts' feet (*thatwa*), belt over horses' breast to tighten the saddle (*peshbandh*) crupper (*dumchi*) and handle of stick (*muthiya*) were made here Solid golden *zin* included *dumchi*, *peshbandh*, *mujma* and *jot* etc
- 2 6 The repair of these various *zin* required use of materials difficult to identify namely *tat dana*, *halvalki*, *pasa*, *bedna*, *jivo*, *khandawal* lentil (*masur*), *charas*, *chakma* and *sali tat* All these were heated before use
- 2 7 Unfortunately, our information is detailed for only camels and horses the expenses incurred on the *zin* of camel are far more than that of the best quality horse (namely *turki kumet*)⁸
- 2 8 The information, of the men employd at this department is limited to those serving at *nalbandi* and tailoring⁹ Most of the men employed were muslims their wages as recorded were as follows (per month)

<i>Nalbandi</i>	<i>Darzi</i>
Rs 6	Rs 11

- 2 9 The artisans employed for the preparation of *zin* were brought from Jahanbad (Delhi), Rewari etc The payment made to them depended on the variety of trapping, its price and the nature of their skill¹⁰ The following is an illustrative table of these rates

	Name of the trapping	Price (Rs/annas)	Wage (Ajuro) (Rs)	%
1	<i>Kursi</i>	145	23 30	16 18
2	<i>Chehro</i>	1635	187 00	11 43
3	<i>Kalawa peshbandh</i>	30	6 00	20 00
4	<i>Chowki wa dumchi</i>	40	7 30	18 75
5	<i>Painak</i>	25	7 20	30 00
6	<i>Thekra</i>	647 4	53 00	8 11

III

PALKIKHANA

- 3 1 The *Palkikhana* was concerned with the making and repair of *palki* or palanquins ¹¹ This *karkhana* catered to the ruler's household as well of other nobles This difference is pronounced by references to palanquins that were made here which could be gifted to others e g the Raja of Udaipur, Rai Shiv singh, Shah Quli etc they used to send their *wakil* to get the palanquins from the same workshop
- 3 2 While a palanquin is found to be worth rs 236 3 a perusal of *jama kharch* papers would reveal there were numerous varieties of palanquins the expenditure incurred is found classified into the expenses on the material and the payment made to the men employed to prepare the palanquin ¹²
- 3 3 Interesting light is shed on the equipage of the palanquins We have references to the ring fixed on the trunk of the elephant (*mholā*) indicating that some of these palanquins were meant to be put over elephants The frame of the palanquins was made essentially of twisted ropes (*kalawa*) and rods of bamboo (*bans*) and wood (*kath*) which were painted in mulli coloured stripes (*lahriya*) On this frame was installed the umbrella (*chhatra*) ¹³
- 3 4 The contents of the palanquins included wooden cubicle in which was palced cot (*palang*), low seat (*pindi*) etc The palanquin was decked with draperies and cushions of the following variety broad cloth (*chadar*), ornamental linen (*jazam*) bag (*thaila*), saddle cloth (*sunrhi*), mattress (*sujni*), quilt cover (*abra*), curtain (*purdah*) and pillow (*takiya*) ¹⁴
- 3 5 The type of cloth used were low priced cotton cloth (*gazi*), *nikhanukra* (?), woollen cloth with interwoven flowers of wool and silk (*jamavar*), light woollen cloth (*pashmina*), *tanzab* (?), *voelgar* (?), high quality calico (*bafta*), velvet (*makhmal*), wax cloth (*momjama*), *momni* (?), fine quality of muslim (*mahmudi*), silk and cotton mixed cloth (*mashru*), high priced cotton stuff (*sela*), high priced muslin (*sahan*), soft woollen cloth (*suqlat*), moderately priced silk stuff (*tafta*), striped silk stuff (*alaicha*), cotton cloth with patterns printed or painted (*chhint*) and roughly spun yarn (*kharwa*) ¹⁵
- 3 6 The expenditure incurred on tailoring (*ajuro darzi*) varied according unit (*than*) and material of cloth

Category of item	Quality of cloth	Unit	Price	Payment
<i>Dandpares</i>	<i>Suqlat Mashru zardozi</i>	1	256 1	6
<i>Chhat</i>	<i>Mashru</i>	1	11 10	4

Chadar	Gazi	1	5 12	8
Chadar	Bafta	1	9 12	1
Thathri	Suqlat	1	2 6	3
Thathri	Suqlat	10	13 8	3
Takiya	Makhmal	3		1 1/2
Takiya	Mashru	3	3 0	1 1/2
Pos	Momjama	1	9 1	4
Gaddi	Makhmal	1		1
Sunrhi	Makhmal	1	15 12	9
Singhara	Makhmal	4	2 40	3

- 3 7 Besides the palanquins, carriages formed an important section of the army, these are (referred to in the *jama kharch topkhana*) an open planquin used by a person of rank (*takht chaubin nalika*), carriage for bedding and baggage (*bahal ikhtra ki chaubin*), carriage for animals (*dhadha chaubin*) and gun carriage (*garha chaubin*)¹⁶

IV

TOPKHANA

- 4 1 *Topkhana* was an important department of the army dealing with the manufacture and repair of muskets and guns. This department can be divided into heavy and light artillery. Documents relating to the *topkhana* give particulars of light artillery pieces. It is natural, of course, that the number of muskets should be much larger than the other pieces of artillery.¹⁷
- 4 2 The following types of artillery are listed *nali*, *hathnali*, *tobra*, *gurnali*, *shuturnali*, *zambur*, *raheru*, *dhamaka*, *ramchangi* and *banduq*.¹⁸ All the above categories can be classified under light artillery¹⁹ or *topkhana jinsi* (moveable artillery).²⁰
- 4 3 *Nali* as the term itself suggests was a gun barrel. Three categories of *nali* are specified: i) small *nali*, ii) *bachadar* (?) and iii) small (*bachkani*) ineffective (*nakara*).
- 4 4 *Shuturnali* was a gun loaded on a camel's back. It was a small field gun of the size of a double musket.²¹ The maintenance cost incurred upon this ranged from 10 to 30 *dam* showing the difference in the variety of these *shuturnali*.²²
- 4 5 *Gurnali* similarly was fired from horses' back. The maintenance cost was invariably 30 *dam*.²³

- 4 6 *Hathnali* meant a gun barrel used from an elephant This would appear synonymous with the *gajnal* referred to in *Ain*²⁴ One of these measured 15 ft,²⁵ maintenance cost again was 30 *dam*²⁶
- 4 7 *Tobra* has been variously defined as nose bag or as a manlet²⁷ From the kind of information we have at hand it is clearly indicated that the width of the *tobra ahni* (kerchief) was 9 11 (measure?) in almost all the cases while the weight of the arrow (*bans*) is 3 *sers* The amount incurred on these *ban* varied from Rs 685 8 to 125 8 and Rs 484 12 This description would reveal that the bag was used to keep arrows²⁸
- 4 8 *Zambur* is short for *zamburak* (camel swivel) In our documents both the swivels measure two *hath* and forty six *liva* The maintenance rates ranged from 11 to 73 *dam*²⁹ The *Dhamaka* was a cannon carried on an elephant³⁰ The maintenance rate varied from 35 to 9 *dam*³¹
- 4 9 *Ramchangi* was a light field piece Two varieties are mentioned, namely *duzarba* (?) and inefficient (*nakara*), the maintenance ranged from 10 to 30 *dams*³²
- 4 10 *Banduq* was a matchlock³³ Among other varieties of *banduq* specified are *lavchar* (?) and *nakara*³⁴ From the number of the manufactured weapons it is evident that *banduq* was the most commonly used arm followed by *ramchangi* and *zambur*
- 4 11 In the *topkhana desh* which catered solely to the Amber ruler *ban* are frequently mentioned, these being *ramban*, *Lakshman ban*, *kishen ban*, and *Arjun ban* Unfortunately only the materials used for preparation of *lakshman ban* is known to us These materials included leather (*aghor*), wax (*mom*), iron (*loh*) and brass (*peetal*)³⁵ The *ban* were gun-powder propelled rockets A so-called *ramban* in the town hall museum, Jaipur, however is a piece of cannon
- 4 12 Though the prices of the products manufactured at the *karkhana* is stated invariably alongwith the break-up of prices for wages and ingredients used, from the detailed information we have at hand these products are not found being actually sold in the market Instead we find other nobles are palcing requisitions for palanquins etc these being endorsed from the royal court These goods it seems formed part of salary claims³⁶

NOTES AND REFERENCES

- 1 Afif, *Tarikh-i Firuz Shahi*, pp 334, 337-9, Abdul Fazl *Ain-i Akbari*, I, 115-6, 272 etc, Francois Bernier, *Travels in Moghul Empire*, A D 1656-1668 to A Constable pp 258-9
- 2 Among these, the extant documents relate to 1) Animal stables a) *filkhana* b) *gaokhana* and c) *shuturkhana* 2) arms and artillery a) *silehkhana* and b) *topkhana* 3) carriages and palanquins a) *palkikhana* 4) harness and bridles 5) Carpets (*farrashkhana*) 6) mattresses (*toshak khana*) 7) utensils (*kirkirikhana*) 8) bands and drums (*naqqarkhana*) 9) gold wares (*zargar-khana*) and 10) paint and polish (*rangkhana*)
- 3 *Jama Kharch zinkhana* dated Bhavda Sudi 3, V S 1774 to Bhavda Sudi 2, 1775/20 Sept 1717 to 2 Aug 1718

- 4 *Ibid*
- 5 *Ibid*
- 6 *Ibid*
- 7 *Ibid*
- 8 *Roznama zinkhana Bhavda Sudi 3 V S 1785/1728*
- 9 *Ibid*
- 10 *Ibid*
- 11 *Jama Kharch Palkikhana* dated Asoj Sudi 15, V S 1800 to asarh Vadi 10, 1800/23 Sept 1743 to 15 June 1843
- 12 *Ibid*
- 13 *Ibid*
- 14 *Ibid*
- 15 For identification and further details on these textile terms see glossary in Irfan Habib, *An Atlas of the Mughal Empire* - political and economic maps and detailed notes and bibliography, Delhi, 1982
- 16 *Jama Kharch topkhana*, dated Kartik Vadi 1 to Chartra Vadi 1, V S 1783/16 Oct to 12 May 1726
- 17 *Jama kharch Topkhana* V S 1783/1726
- 18 *Ibid*
- 19 W Irvine *Army of the Moghuls* p 133
- 20 Cf Bernier, *Travels in the Mughul Empire*, p 218
- 21 *Ibid*
- 22 *Jama Kharch topkhana*, op cit
- 23 J T Platts *A Dictionary of Urdu, Classical Hindi and English*, Delhi, 1977, p 33
- 24 *Ain*, 36
- 25 *Jama Kharch topkhana*
- 26 *Ibid*
- 27 *Army of the Moguls*, pp 132-4
- 28 *Jama Kharch topkhana*
- 29 *Ibid*
- 30 *Platts, op cit*, p 546
- 31 *Jama Kharch*
- 32 *Ibid*
- 33 *Ibid*
- 34 *Ibid*
- 35 *Jama Kharch topkhana*
- 36 *Jama Kharch palkikhana*, op cit

THE MUGHAL HIGHWAY AND POST STATIONS IN MARWAR

B.L. BHADANI*

- 0 1 Maintenance of communication and transport networks has been an important means of maintaining any extensive authority. As is well-known, the Mughal empire had a system of *dak-chauki* (post stations) along all the key routes. By them regular news and official papers could be received and orders and queries transmitted. Without such a system, it is difficult to see how their administration could have functioned.¹
- 0 2 The establishment of *dak-chauki* was not only significant politically and militarily but commercially as well.² These posts were established almost at a fixed distance, along routes connecting important towns and cities. These routes coincided often with important trade-routes as well. They were marked by *sarai* wells and avenues of trees.³ Protecting along these routes was a crucial test of good administration.⁴
- 0 3 The *dak-chauki* on the Agra-Ahmadabad route connected the Imperial Capital with the rich provinces of Gujarat. We happen to have a list of such *chauki* in the *Pancholi Bahi*⁵ which belongs to the year 1646-47. The *Mirat-i Ahmadi* also lists the *chauki* set between Ahmadabad and Khandap with some difference in numbers and names.⁶ Between Baragaon and Khandap, 12 *chauki* are recorded in the former and 11 in the latter source. Two posts name, Dakataro and Bhagli in the *Pancholi Bahi* are not found in the *Mirat*, while a new *chauki* named Rewat is found between Bhagli and Modra.⁷
- 0 4 My purpose here is to study our information for that section of this highway carrying the imperial *dak-chauki*, which lay within the territory of Marwar.

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Besides enabling us to focus on little explored details about route-alignment it would also help us to see how the Marwar ruler had to serve Imperial interests within his own territory

I

- 1 1 The *chauki* listed in the *Pancholi Bahi* and the *Mirat-i Ahmadi* of Marwar section are plotted on our map. The first post of Marwar from the side of Ahmadabad was Bargaon (in Jalor), and from Ajmer/Agra direction, Alaniawas in *pargana* Merta. Besides these imperial *chauki*, there are some villages recorded as the villages on the *patsahi marag* (imperial-route) in our sources, especially *Jalor Vigat* which have been plotted. Different symbols are used for them on the map (see map)
- 1 2 The route traced by joining these *dak-chauki* and route-villages passes through towns and 'big' and 'good' villages, such as Bargaon, Bhinmal, Jalor, Dundara, Pipar and Merta. The 'big' villages of high *rekh*-incidence (revenue-estimation) such as Majal, Palawasni, Sutiana, Jharau and Alaniawas are found to stand on near the route.⁸ The 'good' village (*bhalo gaon*) also had high revenue assigned to them.⁹ Besides these, most of the villages along the imperial route are shown to cultivate both harvests, *rabi* and *kharif*.¹⁰ Except for a few,¹¹ This is an indication that the route from Bargaon (Jalor) to Alaniawas (Merta) was more or less on the fertile tract, or, alternatively, that being on the route provided the villages with a market that made agriculture more profitable than elsewhere
- 1 3 The designs of the Mughal highway skillfully avoided the higher tract, keeping it below the 150 ft contour. From Bargaon¹² to Bhinmal¹³, the road goes in a straight line, and then it bends slightly towards the east to serve the town of Jalor which was a *pargana*-headquarters & had the population of about 14,000 persons.¹⁴ There are four villages near Jalor, namely Khanpuro, Tajpuro, Ratanpuro and Manpuro¹⁵ which were located on the imperial route but did not possess any imperial *dak-chauki*. These villages appear, however, to have been used as posts (*chauki*) by the Rathor rulers. At least one village Tajpuro had a *chauki* under the charge of a person named Jaimal, a Tak Rajput.¹⁶
- 1 4 If we compare the Mughal route with the modern road and two Railway lines from Gujarat entering Rajasthan, then two points emerge: firstly, the railway line from Palanpur (Railway A) and the modern road here go straight northeast along the Aravalli range roughly running parallel to each other. The railway line running to Palanpur to Jodhpur (Railway B), however, broadly follows the old Mughal route upto Jalor
- 1 5 The Mughal highway from Jalor¹⁷ goes straight towards north and avoids the hilly tract on both sides marked by the 150-foot contour and runs to Majal located on the river Luni, while Railway 'B' leaves the Mughal route to make a detour, since presumably a bridge could be more easily built on the Luni much further down than at Dundara or Majal

- 1 6 In the Majal-Gagrana¹⁸ section, the Mughal route runs fairly straight along the Luni and then its affluent, the Mithri, ultimately crossing the 300 ft contour to ascend up the upper Mithir valley to Gagrana. Railway B returns from its detour and rejoins the Mughal route at Dundara, but leaves it to Suttana, where it leaves it to run to Jodhpur. Then on it runs parallel to the old Mughal route till it comes close to Gagrana.
- 1 7 From Gagrana the Mughal route bends towards south-east to run to Merta, one of the biggest town and commercial centres of Western Rajasthan.¹⁹ Its flourishing market was described by European travellers.²⁰ The last station of the Rathor dominion was Alaniawas from where the route runs, using the upper line of the Luni, to Ajmer²¹, the capital city of the *suba*.
- 1 8 The Mughal highway ran across the south-eastern portion of Marwar which was the kingdom's most fertile area. This rests on the spurs of the Aravalli hills.
- 1 9 The Mughal route was aligned to gain from easier water-supply just below the Aravalli hills. There were large number of well located on the route necessary for the travellers and officials. In this zone the average number of wells per sq miles was quite high.²²
- 1 10 Again, grazing grounds were a necessity for officials as well as other ordinary travellers. Since water was available along the route grazing grounds (*gor*) too were also to be found in almost all the villages.²³ Mundy notices hunting grounds near Pipar.²⁴
- 1 11 So, it can be said that the designers of the Mughal highway were careful in making their choice of passage avoiding the hills, not going too far away, and yet avoiding unnecessarily prolonging the distance.

II

ORGANISATION OF THE DAK-CHAUKIS

- 2 1 The *chauki* on the Agra-Ahmadabad route were organised by the Mughal administration. There were seventy-seven *chauki* in all and the total distance between the two ends was estimated at 328 *Kos* (about 820 miles). In 1646-47 the *chauki* were under the supervision of one Isap Khan,²⁵ probably *Darogha-i Dak chauki*. Saiyed Kabir was appointed as *mirdha* (Head runner). According to the Pancholi Bahi at each *chauki* two or three persons were stationed.²⁶ The *meoras* (runners) were also appointed for *chauki*. The total number of *meora* employed on the route was 164. Of these 77 were stationed at the *chauki*.²⁷ It means that half of the *meora* had to remain on duty round the clock on the *chauki* and presumably remaining half always stood in reserve.
- 2 2 Our document gives distance from Agra to Ahmadabad for all the *chauki*. The minimum distance between any two *chauki* is 3 *kos*,²⁸ the maximum is 7 *kos*.

(17 1/2 miles) which is only for one pair of *chauki* ²⁹ Six *kos* is given as the distance between eight *chauki*. The majority of the *chauki* were located at the distance of 4 and 5 *kos*. The average spacing of the *chauki* comes to be about 4.25 *kos* (10.6 miles) ³⁰ This broadly corresponds with the spacing of *chauki* in other areas ³¹

- 2.3 The *meora* employed on the Agra-Ahmadabad gives us an average distance of 2 *kos* (5 miles) to be covered by each. But since half of them had to remain present at the *chauki* round-the-clock, ³² the average distance to be covered by a *meora* at one time comes to about 4 *kos* (10 miles). They, of course, must have run in relays, each handing his papers to the next at each *chauki*.
- 2.4 The expenditure on the *meora* was borne by those in whose jurisdiction the *chauki* lay. The *meora* appointed on the imperial *chauki* located in the territory of the Rathor rulers were on the regular roll of the state establishment of Jodhpur ³³. The monthly salary ³⁴ of a *meora* comes about Rs 3/- which was lower than that given in the *Ain* ³⁵. In addition, the state used to pay other expenses to the *meora* ³⁶. The Rathor rulers appear to have organized their own *chauki* and the person in charge of it was given revenue-free land probably in lieu of salary ³⁷.
- 2.5 The Mughal administration was generally vigilant about the safety and protection on the imperial route. It was a well established law of the Empire that officers and *zamindar* were responsible for the safety and protection of travellers. A *farman* of Shahjahan issued in 1650 clearly shows that it was the duty of the *zamindar* to provide watch and ward escort, and protection on the imperial highways. In case of theft, recovery of the stolen goods was the responsibility of the *jagirdar* of that area ³⁸.
- 2.6 A *parwana* of Maharaja Jaswant Singh addressed to Muhnot Nainsi, then the *Diwan* of the state, survives, in which it is clearly laid down that 'the *chauki* on the imperial highway (*patsahi marag*) should be protected' ³⁹.
- 2.7 Besides this, Nainsi himself records some examples which show that the responsibility to provide protection on the imperial highway rested on the shoulders of the Rathor rulers. An interesting incident occurred in 1612, when a small contingent of Mewar attempted to loot a *katar* (Camel Caravan) in Jodhpur area, while it was on its way from Ahmadabad to Agra, but the attempt was foiled by an alert Jodhpur contingent, some member of both parties being killed ⁴⁰.
- 2.8 The Rathor rulers were very strict and sometimes quite harsh in maintaining law and order on the imperial highway in their territory. Once goods being despatched for the Emperor, were robbed near Sojhat by certain persons. The culprits were identified and they were beheaded by the Maharaja Jaswant Singh's men ⁴¹.
- 2.9 The *Waqai-i Ajmer* too records a few examples of highway robbery in areas other than Marwar. These robbers were known as 'thugs' in Rajasthan ⁴².

- 2 10 It appears that the Rathor rulers too had adopted the Mughal style of handing over responsibility of safety and escort to the local officials and *bhumia*. Recovery of stolen property or payment of compensation in lieu thereof was the obligation of those officials in whose jurisdiction the theft has occurred ⁴³. One official of the Rathor administration was also held responsible for robbery and Rs 20,000/- were demanded from him perhaps as compensation ⁴⁴. Similarly, *bhumia* were also responsible for the route in their respective territories. This was the reason why Tavernier was provided an escort for both ways from Bargaon up to the frontiers of the *bhumia* by the *bhumia* of that place ⁴⁵.
- 2 11 Mundy praises the measures of safety and protection adopted by Gaj Singh on the imperial route within the Marwar territory. He writes about the area between Rea (Merta) and Jalor, i.e. practically the entire route in Marwar region, that "this lies in the Jagguere [*Jagir*] of Raja Gaj Singh [Gaj Singh] as far as people pass without molestation" ⁴⁶. He was nowhere harassed and not a penny was levied from him on the entire route falling within the Rathor dominion ⁴⁷.
- 2 12 Besides this, very interesting piece of information from the Kachhwah territory survives. A complaint was lodged by a trader from Delhi that 45 camels of his loaded with salt were stolen. The administrative machinery became active and officials of the area were instructed that the stolen goods should be recovered and handed over to the traders immediately ⁴⁸.
- 2 13 These examples are sufficient to suggest that it was the foremost duty of the autonomous chiefs to protect the route and travellers in their ancestral domain. Though a major portion of the Agra - Ahmadabad route falls within the Rathor chief's territory it remained a fairly protected route.

III

RIGHT OF TOLL TAX

- 3 1 The *farman* of Shahjahan clearly lays down that in lieu of services on the imperial route, the *zamindar* had the right to collect some customary dues ⁴⁹. This is corroborated by the same *parwana* of Jaswant Singh in which he instructs Nainsi to keep vigilance on the imperial highway. It is also stated that the right to *dan* (toll-tax) should be 'protected' ⁵⁰. Not only the Rathor rulers, but also the *bhumia* whose area lay along the imperial route were entitled to collect *dan* from the travellers. Further it is to be noted that the amount collected from the *dan* would be divided equally between the *bhumia* and the Rathor ruler ⁵¹.
- 3 2 Tolls bore five different names in Marwar such as *dan*, *vasuo*, *jagat* (Arabic *zakat*), *vahatiwan* and *rahdan* ⁵². The term *dan* has two meanings: firstly, a tax imposed on goods which are brought into the town for sale, and secondly transit-tax. The term *vasuo* means transit-tax, but was applied only in the *bhumia* territory ⁵³. The remaining three terms are synonymous.

- 3 3 The state seems to have established toll-posts everywhere on the route. Generally, there appears to have been two separate kinds of posts to collect toll-tax, one on goods for sale and the other goods-in-transit, known as the *chabutara dan*⁵⁴ and the *chabutara jakat*⁵⁵. Both existed in Jalor. The function of the latter post appears to have been to collect *jakat* or *rahdari* on goods in-transit on the imperial highway.
- 3 4 Information about the rates of *dan*, *vasuo* and *rahdari* is very scanty. But if we piece together fragmented evidence then a picture may emerge. We have two different posts of a *bhumia* of Bargaon and the Rathor ruler. In the former, the toll-tax being equally divided between the *bhumia* and the Rathor rulers only the share of the *bhumia* is stated. So to get full rate of toll-tax we have to double it. In the second set the rate of *rahdari* is recorded for Jalor, a directly administered territory. The rates in the two territories are as follows:

Rate of *dan/vasuo* in Bargaon⁵⁶

Per conveyance	Rs	Annas	paisa	dams
1 Cart	2	-	2	-
2 Oxen	3	-	-	50
3 Camels	-	8	-	50
4 <i>Patiyo</i>	-	4	-	-

***Jalor*⁵⁷ (under the Rathor rulers)**

1 Camel	1	8	-	50
2 Cart	1	4	-	-

Two things emerge: firstly that the rate of *rahdari* was higher in the *bhumia* territory than in the directly administered territory, secondly, the toll-tax was levied on the number of conveyance.

- 3 5 We have only solitary piece of evidence which records the amount actually paid by a Dutch traveller. He passed through Bargaon in 1662, the entry-post of Marwar route from the side of Ahmadabad, and paid Rs 11/- perhaps as toll-tax to the village head⁵⁸. He also paid Rs 26½ as toll at the village Malwara. In addition, presents worth Rs 15 1/8 were also given to the *bhumia* (Raja)⁵⁹. Interestingly, the village was under the jurisdiction of the *bhumia* of Bargaon. This shows that a traveller had to pay toll-tax twice in the territory of the same *bhumia*. After that he did not have to pay any toll-tax in Marwar region. But he nowhere mentions any specific number of conveyance for which he paid this amount.
- 3 6 Tavernier says that at Bargaon one has to pay custom at this post but does not mention either the rate or amount paid by him⁶⁰. Mundy too fails to mention any amount extracted in Marwar region. It is mentioned in the Factory Records that the factors had to pay customs in the territories of Rajas⁶¹. But nothing specific is recorded about the territory of Marwar. So it is difficult to compare the recorded rates of *rahdari* with actual realization.

- 37 The amount realised in 1636 under the head *rahdar*⁶² is mentioned for *qasba* Jalor and we have the *rekh* figure⁶³ for the year 1668. The amount of *rahdari* is Rs 2000/- and that of the *rekh* Rs 5000/-. The percentage of the *rahdari* to that of *rekh* comes to 40%. This is a quite high percentage and suggests much traffic on the route.

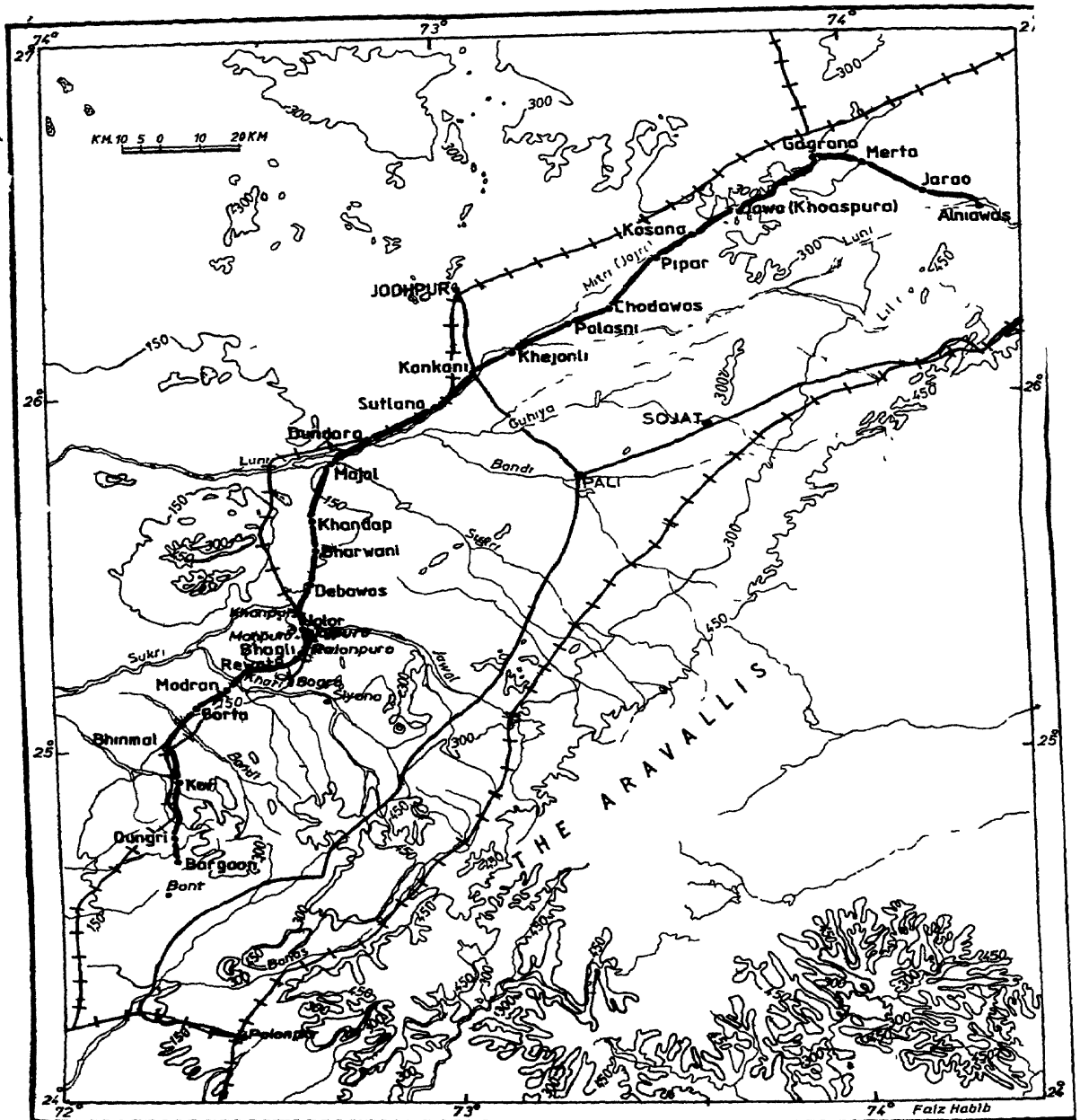
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- 1 A K M Farooque, *Roads and Communication in Mughal India* (Delhi 1977), pp 125-63, Irfan Habib, 'Postal Communication in Mughal India', *Proceedings of India History Congress*, Amritsar 1985, pp 236-52
- 2 Irfan Habib, *An Atlas of the Mughal Empire* (Delhi 1982), Sheet 6B
- 3 Irfan Habib, *Agrarian System of Mughal India*, (Bombay 1963), p 61
- 4 *Ibid*
- 5 *Pancholi Siv Karan Lal Chand ri Bahi*, Kaviraja Collection, Granth No 6, Part II f 182(a), Natnagar Shodh Sansthan, Sitamau
- 6 The names of the *chauki* given in the *Mirat* are Bargaon, Dungri, Kori, Bhinmal, Borta, Modran, Rewat, Jalor, Debawas, Bharwani and Khandap. Cf Ali Muhammad Khan, *Mirat-i Ahmadi* (Suppl.), Gaekward Oriental Series, No XI (Baroda 1930), p 176
- 7 The *Mirat* records Raswant (Rewat?) between Bhinmal and Borta but instead it should be between Bhagli and Modra
- 8 All these villages are designated 'big village' (*baro gaon*) and possessed high *rekh* ranging between Rs 4000/- and 8000/-. See Muhnot Nainsi, *Marwar ra Pargana ri Vigat*, I, pp 218-22, II 199 & 201 '63
- 9 Jawa (Khoaspura) had the *rekh* of Rs 5000/- *Vigat* II, p 133
- 10 *Ibid*, pp I, 218-88, II pp 116-33
- 11 The villages of *pargana* Jalor, generally have single copr
- 12 Bargaon had the status of a *pargana* headquarters and a *qasba* within *pargana* Jalor, it was a *bhumia* possession. It was an agriculturally as well as commercially a good centre. See *Jalor vigat* (Big *Bahi*) f 53 (a) and (Small *Bahi*), f 34(a), N S S Sitamau, *Muqata Bahi* of V S 1720, R S A Bikaner
- 13 Bhinmal was a *tappa*-headquarters and a small town, possessing a market. It consisted of 692 houses (and so about 3000-3500 persons probably). Here was also a *thana* of the Rathor rulers. See *Bhandariyo ri pothi*, *Khyat Vat Kavya Pothi*, Kaviraja Collection, Granth No 78, f 135 (b), *Jalor Vigat* (Big *Bahi*), f 16(a)
- 14 Granth No 79, *Kaviraja Collection*, ff 99(a) (b)
- 15 *Jalor Vigat* (big *bahi*) ff 16(a), 27(b)-28(b) and (small *bahi*), f 12(b)
- 16 *Ibid*, (small *bahi*), f 12(b)
- 17 Between Jalor and Majal, there are three more places namely, Debawas, Bharwani and Khandap. There were two buildings in Bhinmal which were known as *upasara* (residence for Jain mendicants) and *posai* (probably a kind of rest-house for travellers), see *Ibid*, (small *bahi*), f 20 (a)
- 18 Between Majal-Gagrana, there were two Mughal *chauki*. On this route, Dundara and Pipar were two big *qasba* cf *Vigat*, I, pp 244 and 287
- 19 The population of Merta town was more than 25000 in 1660's which figure could not be achieved in coming three centuries, see B L Bhadani, 'Economic Conditions in Pargana Merta (Rajasthan)', *PIHC*, Aligarh 1975, pp 213-28

- 20 *The Travels of Peter Mundy*, II, p 246, Salbanke, *Hakluytus Posthumus or Purchas His Pilgrims* Mc Le hose, Ed III, p 84
- 21 Zahoor Ali Khan, 'In the Pursuit of Mughal Highway' A study of Road Alignments based on the KOS Minar', *PIHC*, 1985, pp 320-29
- 22 See our two articles, 'Well-irrigation in Marwar in the 17th Century', *Shodh Patrika*, Vol 40, part I, pp 54-70, 'Persian-wheels in the 17th Century Jalor - use Taxation and Owners', Paper presented at the *Seminar on Agrarian Structure of Rajasthan*, Udaipur, September 1989
- 23 B.L. Bhadani, 'The Pastoral Sector in the Economy of Marwar', paper presented at the International Seminar on Rajasthan, Udaipur, December 1991
- 24 *Mundy* II, p 246
- 25 *Pancholi Bahi*, f 182(a)
- 26 *Ibid*
- 27 *Ibid* Sometimes probably they were also called *ahdhi* (Pers ahadi), *Viga* II, p 67
- 28 There are thirteen *chauki* which are located at the distance of 3 *kos*
- 29 The name of the *chauki* is Jhamplo near Lalsot in Eastern Rajasthan
- 30 Also see, Rajeev Sharma, 'Revenues and Routes in the Mughal Empire - Seventeenth Century Documents in the Pancholi Bahi', Paper read at the Session of IHC, Gorakhpur 1989
- 31 See for spacing of *chauki* in other areas, Irfan Habib, 'Postal System' p 239
- 32 The point is also asserted by Irfan Habib in his article, 'Postal System', p 239
- 33 *Jalor re Gaon ra Farsat n Bahi*, V S 1725, Basta No 11, Bahi, No 92, Hansraj Basti Chand Chaudhari, Jalor Collection, R S A , Jodhpur
- 34 The amount of salary is recorded Rs 3, *anna* 12, 4 *taka* and 12 *dam* are about 4 *anna*
- 35 For Ain's wages see, Irfan Habib, 'Postal System' op cit p 240
- 36 The *meora* of Jalor and Bharwani were given 11 and 4 *dam* respectively as (daily?) expenses
- 37 *Jalor Vigat* (Small *bahi*), f 12 (b)
- 38 Farhat Hasan, 'Mughal Records on the English East India Company', *M Phil Dissertation* I am grateful to Mr Farhat Hasan for allowing me to consult his dissertation
- 39 A copy of the *parwana* of Maharaja Jaswant Singh preserved in the Jodhpur Records, Basta No 12/53 (Non-archival), R S A Bikaner
- 40 *Vigat*, I, p 103
- 41 Though the culprits were servants of Maharaja but even they were not spared, see Hardayal Singh Mathur Collection, ff 99(b) - 100(a) Photocopy in the Department of History, A M U Aligarh original in the R S A Bikaner Professor Iqbal Hussain has translated this document for me
42. *Waqai-i Sarkar Ajmer wa Ranthanbhor*, (transcript copy in the Department of History, A M U , Aligarh), p 405 Cf Irfan Habib, *Agrarian System*, p 69,n
- 43 In 1622, seventeen camels loaded with jewels and other valuables belonging to prince Khurram were robbed on the route All the concerned imperial officials were called, including the officials of the jodhpur State, to conduct joint investigation many goldsmiths of the area were taken into custody and handed over to the imperial officials (*Vigat* I, pp 112-13)
- 44 *Ibid* pp 112-15
- 45 Jean-Baptiste Tavernier, *Travels in India* (First print, Delhi 1977), I, p 71

- 46 *Travels of Peter Mundy II*, p 245
- 47 *Ibid* , pp 245-55
- 48 *Chithi* of V S 1784 I owe this information to Professor S P Gupta
- 49 Farhat Hasan, *op cit*
- 50 Jodhpur Records, Basta No 12/53
- 51 Devra Chutra was the *bhumia* of Bargaon and had the right to levy *dan* on the route This was divided equally between him and the Rathor rulers, see *Jalor Vigat* (small *bahi*), f 34(a)
- 52 *Ibid* , (big *bahi*), ff 16(a), 53(a) and 103(b)-104(a)
- 53 *Ibid* , (small *bahi*), f 34(a)
- 54 *Dani* was an official appointed to collect *dan* on goods coming into the town
- 55 *Jalor Vigat* (big *bahi*), f 16(a)
- 56 *Jalor Vigat* (small *bahi*), f 34(a)
- 57 *Ibid* , (big *bahi*), ff 103(b)-104(a)
- 58 Dircq van Andrichem, *Journal van Dircq Adnchem's Hofries naar den Groot-Mogol Aurangzeb 1662* published (ed) Dr A J Bernet Kempres, s'-Gravenhage, 1941, p 98 I am indebted to my colleague to Mr Ishrat Alam for providing me this reference
- 59 *Ibid* , p 99
- 60 Tavernier, I, pp 31, 69-71
- 61 *The English Factories in India, 1646-50*, pp 192-93
- 62 *Jalor Vigat* (small *bahi*) f 46(a)
- 63 *Gaon re Farsat ri Bahi*

MUGHAL HIGHWAY THROUGH MARWAR



**REVENUE ESTIMATION, ASSESSMENT
AND
REALISATION IN MUGHAL EMPIRE:
SCRUTINY OF
TAQSIM PAPERS FROM SUBAS OF
AGRA AND AJMER**

S.P. GUPTA*

- 0 1 The widespread practice of assigning *jagir* in lieu of pay under the Mughals made it necessary to determine the revenue of each area beforehand. Thus, the Mughal administration maintained the records of *jama* (assessed-revenue) and *hasil* (revenue actually realised) statistics at the *pargana* level, which is borne out from the contemporary and near contemporary Persian chronicles.
- 0 2 Fortunately, the *jama* and *hasil* statistics are available to us for certain *pargana* and villages of *suba* of Akbarabad and Ajmer assigned to the rulers of Amber and other Imperial *mansabdar/jagirdar* in lieu of pay. While going through a large number of *taqsim* and *muwazana* documents, it has been observed that both these kinds of documents provide us similar information, viz., the total area of the *pargana*/village, area under *nabud* (like habitation, forest, nullah, garden, stripes etc.), and after deducting this total we get the balance (*baqi*). Again, sometimes the Imperial *madad-i maash* grants lay within the *jagir* assigned to a *mansabdar*. After deducting this area too, the net cultivable area (*layaq-e zarait*) was shown, this was to be counted for the purpose of fixation.

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of *jama* These documents, therefore, are extremely useful to determine the extent of cultivation¹

- 0 3 Another useful species of information recorded in these documents is that the revenue of the *pargana* or even a *vilalge* could be shared by more than one person (*sirkat*) In *pargana* Naraina, the number of *jagirdar* listed were thirteen In such cases, the name of the *jagirdar*, his pay assignment and the majority of *pargana* or villages assigned appeared to be *dar-o bast* (whole)

I

- 1 1 Taking the information of *taqsim* and *muwazana* papers we get three sets of revenue-statistics Firstly, the figures of cultivable area and *jama* per *bigha* by dividing *jama* figures by those of area (Table I)² secondly, the figures of *jamadami* (estimation for salary-payment) alongwith the *jama* (revenue-assessment) figures The two can be compared by dividing the *jama* figures by those of *jamadami* (Table II) For the purpose of comparison, necessary conversion from *dam* to rupee have to be made The Mughals recorded pay assessment in *dam* while *jama* figures were mentioned in rupees *Jamadami* figures have been converted into rupees by dividing them by 40 Fractions in the figures have been ignored
- 1 2 Thirdly, the *hasil* figures alongwith *jamadami* can be compared (Table II) But these figures must be used with great caution since sometimes the word *jama* and *hasil* both were used for the same figures One can, however, scrutinize the *hasil* figures from the *arhsatta* for the same *pargana* and year The *jama* or *muqarara jama* based on *jamabandi* appears as the figure of revenue, comprising *mal* (land-tax) both the harvests, *kharif* and *rabi*, and *sair* (taxes other than land-tax) The figures in *kharif* and *rabi* are not equal It is rather *rabi* figures of *jama* which dominates *kharif*
- 1 3 Sometimes, both the terms of *hasil* and *jama* appeared to be used synonymously giving the impression as if they are interchangeable In Table II while comparing the figures with *jamadami*, I have treated these figures as *hasil* for three reasons Firstly, the term *hasil* is mentioned alownwith the term *jama* for the same figures Secondly, on comparison, it was found that it was less than half every year when compared to *jamdadami* and thirdly, the figures have been mentioned in fractions too alongwith *mal* and *sair*
- 1 4 In Table II, we have attempted a comparison between *jama* and *jamadami* *pargana* Naraina which comprised 79 villages throughout the period of our record The *hasil* as compared to *jamadami* ranged between 26% and 45% in different years From the years 1714 to 1719, when the *jamadami* figures show a continuity, the *hasil* fluctuates considerably Shall we then suppose that the actual receipt as compared to the salary assigned to a *jagirdar* comes to less than half or even little more tahn one-fourth? Why a *jagirdar* then should go to accept a *jagir* of low revenue yielding capacity? This is, of course, related to the 'month-scale', which device was formulated under Shah Jahan to reduce

the *mansabdar's* obligation in conformity with the proportion of the *hasil* of their *jagir* bore to its *jamadami* ³

- 1.5 In *pargana* Naraina the *jamadami* did not remain constant and varied from 1711 to 1714, then it remained constant for four years (1714-1717), an increase came in 1718-19 and further in 1720. The *hasil* (the land revenue collected by the *jagirdar*) varied every year which was natural. But the interesting point is that the *hasil* figures correspond to the increase in *jamadami* figures. Our conclusions in this particular context would therefore, be that change of *jamadami* introduced to accord with the *hasil*.

II

- 2.1 We now pass on to examine another set of figures, the ratio of *jama* to *jamadami*. In *pargana* Udai (table), the proportion of *jama* ranged from 34 to 66% in ten years. The average of 10 years comes to 45% of *jamadami*. The case is quite different in *pargana* Hindaun (table) where it ranged between 64 to 120%. It sometime exceeded even the *jamadami*, and on average was 96.60% of the latter. In other words, in this particular assignment the average of assessed income if not *hasil* was more or less equivalent to the pay assigned to a *jagirdar*.
- 2.2 The question arises whether by maintaining such records for ten years (*dahsala*) or fifteen years (*pandarah sala*), and even having a knowledge of the minimum and maximum revenue assessed and realised during some years, it was possible for the imperial revenue department to justify the 'valuation' or *jamadami* on which the assignment was made. We know that such figures were 'quite far' (to use Abu'l Fazi's expression) from the actual receipt (*hasil*). One could argue that *jama* (as against *jamadami*) figures will always change due to the fluctuation in the cultivable area, crop rates and prices. But in *pargana* Udai, the cultivable area in the year 1649 was 39,800 *bigha* and on paper remained the same till 1705 for which the documents are available. But the *jama* showed fluctuations. One can allow that survey was not possible every year. Once it was done, it remained in force for a long time. So the only explanation for the fluctuations in *jama* must be varying crop-rates and fluctuating prices.

TABLE-1

A Pargana Antela Bhabhra sarkar Alwar suba
Akbarabad (1649-1663 and 1696-1705)
Cultivable area - 39,800 0 0

Year	Incidence of <i>Jama</i> per <i>bigha</i>	Total Revenue Realized (in Rs)	Harvest-wise Break-up (in (Rs)	
1649	0 25	9,870 5 0	582 2 0	9,288 3 0
1650	0 39	15,383 3 0	8,403 0 0	6,980 0 0
1651	0 34	13,386 8 0	7,513 0 0	5,873 8 0
1652	0 35	13,784 0 0	8,801 8 0	4,982 8 0
1653	0 17	6,922 0 0	989 0 0	5,933 0 0
1654	0 36	14,470 8 0	8,841 8 0	5,429 0 0
1655	0 30	12,029 4 0	5,799 4 0	6,230 0 0
1656	0 27	10,801 3 0	5,913 4 0	4,887 15 0
1657	0 32	12,549 8 0	6,426 0 0	6,123 8 0
1658	0 35	13,943 12 0	3,086 0 0	10,875 15 0
1659	0 29	11,501 0 0	10,146 0 0	8,355 0 0
1660	0 43	16,987 0 0	7,016 0 0	9,881 0 0
1661	0 35	13,800 4 0	7,299 8 0	6,500 12 0
1662	0 33	13,151 12 0	6,214 4 0	6,937 8 0
1663	0 27	10,781 4 0	894 11 0	9,886 9 0
1696	0 24	9,493 10 0	3,695 4 0	5,798 10 0
1697	0 27	10,944 0 1	4,794 9 3	6,149 6 2
1698	0 25	9,741 9 3	3,948 10 2	5,792 15 1
1699	0 18	7,335 2 2	2,634 4 2	4,359 13 3
1700	0 21	8,478 15 0	4,119 2 0	4,359 13 3
1701	0 29	11,577 8 0	5,173 5 0	6,404 3 0
1702	0 43	16,922 5 0	7,069 11 0	9,852 10 0
1703	0 14	5,547 6 0	5,547 6 0	x
1704	0 20	7,964 8 2	2,982 6 0	4,982 2 2
1705	0 29	11,610 6 2	5,131 12 2	6,478 10 0

**B Pargana Niwai, sarkar Ranthambhore, sarkar Ajmer
(1732-1747)
Cultivable Area - 256223**

Year	Incidence of <i>jama</i> per <i>bigha</i>	<i>Muqarara</i> <i>jama</i>	<i>Kharif</i>	<i>Rabi</i>
1732	0 35	90920 5 2	40830 0 2	50090 5 0
1733	0 34	88392 3 2	38647 5 0	49744 14 0
1734	0 35	90277 13 0	43776 15 0	46500 14 0
1735	0 41	107475 11 0	34357 15 0	73117 12 0
1736	0 33	86494 4 0	46895 3 0	39599 1 0
1737	0 39	104886 4 2	45814 15 0	56071 5 0
1738	0 42	110007 14 2	38782 15 0	71224 15 2
1739	0 37	96944 7 2	45156 7 0	51788 0 2
1740	0 37	97047 11 2	44465 6 0	52582 5 2
1741	0 34	87602 13 2	44367 0 0	43235 13 2

**C Pargana Udai, sarkar and suba Akbarabad
(1734-1743)
Cultivable area 3,32,203.9 0**

Year	Incidence of <i>jama</i> per <i>bigha</i>	<i>Jama</i>	<i>Kharif</i>	<i>Rabi</i>
1734	0 29	96936 0 0	49482 0 0	47454 0 0
1735	0 32	107581 6 0	38965 10 0	68616 2 2
1736	0 25	85483 0 0	46041 9 0	39441 7 0
1737	0 30	100010 5 0	50740 0 0	49270 5 0
1738	0 33	110599 13 2	61209 13 0	49390 0 2
1739	0 36	121058 1 2	70174 11 2	50883 6 0
1740	0 40	135148 2 2	74094 5 2	61054 3 2
1741	0 50	166506 5 0	58706 2 0	47800 3 0
1742	0 30	100002 0 0	51475 0 0	48527 0 0
1743	0 32	108820 11 0	53191 6 2	55629 6 0

**D Pargana Geejgarh, sarkar Alwar, suba Akbarabad
(1716-1725)
Cultivable Area . 44902**

Year	Incidence of jama per bigha	Jama	Kharif	Rabi
1716	0 63	28377 0 0	17229 0 0	11148 0 0
1717	0 68	30565 8 0	18370 0 0	12195 8 0
1718	0 63	28299 14 2	18984 15 0	9315 0 2
1719	0 81	36688 1 0	20231 6 2	16456 9 2
1720	0 59	26617 1 2	14501 0 0	12116 8 0
1721	0 66	29945 11 0 1021/25	17052 14 0 1021/25	12892 13 0
1722	0 87	39165 2 0	22344 1 0	16821 1 0
1723	0 82	36914 14 0	23507 3 0	13407 11 0
1724	0 74	33302 13 0	17234 7 2	16068 5 2
1725	0 82	37079 14 2 2535/37¼	11316 12 2	562 14 2

**E. Pargana Hindaun sarkar suba Akbarabad
(1733-1742)
Cultivable area 432999 10 0**

Year	Incidence of jama per bigha	Jama	Kharif	Rabi
1733	0 59	2,58 620	1,79,417	79,203
1734	0 76	3,31,191	2,19,005	1,12,186
1735	0 87	3,78,487	2,19,679	1,58,808
1736	0 79	3,44,986	2,21,116	1,23,870
1737	0 85	3,71,917	2,44,795	1,27,122
1738	0 93	4,06,039	2,65,131	1,40,908
1739	0 94	4,08,647	2,77,505	1,31,144
1740	0 73	3,16,470	2,08,757	1,07,713
1741	0 60	2,60,888	1,91,408	69,480
1742	0 50	2,17,732	1,38,991	78,741

F Pargana Amarson, sarkar Nagpur, suba Ajmer
Cultivable area - 1,07,693 0.0

Year	Incidence of <i>jama per bigha</i>	<i>Muqarara Jama</i>
1716	1 13	1,22,191 0 0
1717	1 08	1,17,216 8 0
1718	1 07	1,15,205 0 0
1719	0 98	1,06,193 0 0
1720	0 99	1,07,553 0 0
1721	0 99	1,06,621 0 0
1722	-	x
1723	-	x
1724	1 16	1,25,391 8 0
1725	0 09	10,321 0 0

G Pargana Naraina, sarkar Amber, suba Ajmer
(1711-1720)
Cultivable Area - 2,85,724

Year	<i>Dam</i>	Rupees	M Jama	Kharif	Rabi	<i>hal</i>	<i>sair</i>
1711	54,82,460	1,37,0621	37179 0 13	17006	15332	32338	4841
1712	54,84,545	1,37,114	38312 0 13	14148	18540	33688	4624
1713	54,64,545	1,37,364	42,779 0 14	-	-	37818	4861
1714	54,62,545	1,36,564	45066 0 15	-	-	-	-
1715	55,67,448	1,39,186	63173 5 2 0 22				
1716	55,67,448	1,39,186	61148 13 2 0 21				
1717	55,67,448	1,39,186	36483 4 2 0 12				
1718	55,67,575	1,39,189	40697 0 0 0 14				
1719	55,67,575	1,39,189	39567 8 0 0 13				
1720	58,87,448	1,47,186	-				

Table - II

% of Jama/hasil and Jamadami
A. Pargana Naraina, sarkar Amber, suba Ajmer
(1711-1719)

Year	Jamadami	Hasil/jama
1711	100	27
1712	100	28
1713	100	39
1714	100	34
1715	100	45
1716	100	44
1717	100	26
1718	100	29
1719	100	28

B. Pargana Hindaun, sarkar and suba Akbarabad
(1733-1742)

1733	100	76
1734	100	97
1735	100	111
1736	100	100 12
1737	100	109
1738	100	119
1739	100	120
1740	100	93
1741	100	77
1742	100	64

C Pargana, Udai, sarkar and suba Akbarabad
(1734-1743)

1734	100	37
1735	100	43
1736	100	34
1737	100	40
1738	100	44
1739	100	49
1740	100	54
1741	100	66
1742	100	40
1743	100	43 5

TABLE - III

Distribution of *jagir* in *pargana* Naraina

Year	Name of <i>Jagirdar</i>	No of Villages	<i>Dams</i>	<i>Hasil/</i> <i>Jama (Rs)</i>
1711		79	54,82,460	37,179
(a)	Soob Singh alias Surti Singh	73	51,18,545	33,814
(b)	Bhagwat Singh Hathi Singh Mukund Singh	6	3,73,915	3,365
1712	- do -	79	54,84,545	38,312
(a)	Soob Singh alias Surti Singh	73	51,18,545	34,879 8 0
(b)	Bhagwat Singh Hathi Singh	6	3,76,000 <i>asli</i> 3,73,915 <i>izafa</i> 2,085	34,328 8 0
	(i) Bhagwat Singh		1,52,000	
	(ii) Mukund Singh		90,000	
	(iii) Hathi Singh		1,34,000	
1713		79	54,94,545	42,779
(a)	(i) Soob Singh alias Snurti Singh (ii) Shyam Singh		(41,18,545 ((1,00,000	36,590 8 0
(b)	Bhagwat Singh		1,20,000	1,052 0 0
(c)	Shyam Singh transferred from Syo Singh from <i>rabi</i>		10,00,000	2,864
(d)	Hathi Singh alias Anop Singh		1,34,000	1,451
(e)	Mukund Singh alias Jagat Singh		90,000	721 8 0
1714			54,62,545	43117 5
(a)	Qayam Khan		2,93,450	512 11 2
(b)	Syed Meer Khan and Haji Mir Khan		1,50,00,000	17063 13 0
(c)	Hakim Hadi Khan & Sadiq Khan		13,25,000	7919 2 0
(d)	Syed Sher Ali		90,000	962 8 0

(e)	Gulab Rai	99,000	666 0 0
(f)	Hathi Singh alias Anup Singh	1,34,000	1116 0 0
(g)	Bhallabh Singh alias Bhagwat Singh	1,20,000	1117,0 0
(h)	Mukund Singh alias Jagat Singh	90,000	1005 10 2
(i)	Khoja Ulfati Khan	3,59,000	2134 7 0
(j)	Syam Singh	10,00,000	6418 8 0
(k)	Mohd Samik	99,000	1005 10 2
(l)	Ghulam Jafar	3,41,000	5352 7 0
(m)	Superdutt Sambat Rai	1,64,000	911 0 0

32000 *dams* transferred to mauza Lopera, therefore exempted from the salary
Total *dams* in previous year were 1,52,000 *dams*

NOTES AND REFERENCES

- 1 Cf S P Gupta, 'Purviya Rajasthan ke Bhumi Sambandhi Taqsim Lekh (1649-1767)', in Irfan Habib, ed , *Madhyakalin Bharat*
- 2 This has been discussed in *Madhyakalin Bharat*, *Ibid*
- 3 "At last, , during the reign of Shahjahan, we come across a new method for overcoming the difficulties and injustice involved in variations between the *jamadami* and the actual receipt in different *jagir*. It was not now attempted to make the *jamadami* correspond exactly with the *hasil*. On the otherhand, the divergence between them was recognised for a fact, and the annually changing ratio between the receipts and the standing assessment was marked out for each *mahal* and expressed in terms of month-proportion (*mahwar*), cf Irfan Habib, *Agrarian System of Mughal India*, p 264

REVENUE ASSESSMENT AND REALIZATION IN MUGHAL SUBA OF DELHI : EXAMINATION OF RAJASTHANI DOUCMENTS OF PARGANA REWARI AND KOTLA

ABHA SINGH*

- 0 1 The structure, organisation and the functioning of the classical Mughal land revenue system has attracted the attention of many scholars over since the pioneer work of W H Moreland¹ These studies show that after the fixation of cash revenue rates (*dastur-ul amals*, the final *dasturs*) the *zabt* became the classical form of assessment and collection in core territories of the Mughal Empire² Along with the *zabt*, *kankut* (assessment of revenue in grain) and direct crop-sharing (*ghalla-bakhshi*, *batai*, *jinsi* or *batai-jinsi*) remained the other important form of revenue assessment and realization In the *zabt* system fixation of demand as well as collection was done in cash per unit of the area In *kankut* the demand was fixed in kind but the collection could be made in cash as well on the basis of the prevalent prices In crop-sharing the state's share was taken by physical division of the crop at harvest-sometimes on the threshing floor and sometimes while the harvest was still standing in the fields³
- 0 2 Recent studies of revenue documents from Rajasthan have brought to light some interesting facts regarding the functioning of the Mughal land revenue system on the ground The pioneer work in this direction has been done by

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S P Gupta, followed by Dilbagh Singh⁴ S P Gupta has shown that in Eastern Rajasthan *batai-jinsi* was the most popular form of revenue collection⁵ regarding the method of realization under *batai-jinsi* he says, "since the peasant had to pay the land revenue in cash, the share in *jinsi* was always commuted into cash on the basis of current prices"⁶ He further adds elsewhere that in *jinsi*, "the revenue was originally fixed in kind but then the conversion into cash at particular rates, given in the *jamabandi* documents, (took place) Sometimes, the collection was actually made in kind and the sale took place later"⁷ Thus, for S P Gupta under *batai-jinsi* fixation of demand was in kind but the state sometimes collected revenue in cash on the basis of commuted rates and sometimes the collection was actually made in kind and the sale took place later This position has been accepted by Irfan Habib for Rajasthan⁸

- 0 3 Madhavi Bajekal in recent paper written on the basis of **Jaipur Pargana Records**, has emphasised that the state collected in kind and thus "necessitated the conversion of the major portion, if not the whole of the grain into disposable income The bulk of the grain was sold by the state to the grain dealers"⁹
- 0 4 The question arises whether the same pattern was prevalent in the directly governed Mughal territories or was confined to Rajasthan only? This becomes more pertinent specially when we accept the argument that the Rajasthanis rulers more or less, followed the same administrative set-up prevalent in the Mughal provinces¹⁰ If this was the pattern then even in the 'core' Mughal provinces, where the *Ain-i Akbari* shows the *zabt* system to be in operation¹¹, the real story may have been different If the system prevalent was that of *kankut* in which the demand was fixed in kind per unit of the area but realization was invariably made in cash on the basis of commuted rates, one can easily see why the *jagirdar* could find it more profitable to collect the grain and sell later, rather than commute grain into cash at the rather low harvest prices An attempt is made to pursue these questions on the basis of the *arhsattha* of Rewari and Kotla *pargana*¹² Both the *pargana* were part of the 'core' Mughal provinces The former was the headquarters of *sarkar* Rewari, suba Delhi, while the latter formed part of *sarkar* Tijara, suba Agra in Akbar's time, but later transferred to suba Delhi¹³

I

- 1 1 The revenue records of *pargana* Rewari and kotla confirm that even here it was not *zabt* but *batai-jinsi* that was the main method of assessment of revenue demand in the latter half of the 17th century (see table 1) We find large variations in the proportion of revenue taken in *zabt* and *jinsi* However, in the absence of year-wise details it is difficult to find out whether there was any trend in favour of the *zabt* crops as we find in Eastern Rajasthan¹⁴

TABLE-1

Proportion of Revenue under *zabt* and *jinsi*

(In per cent)

YEAR	KHARIF				RABI			
	Rewari		Kotla		Rewari		Kotla	
	zabt	jinsi	zabt	jinsi	zabt	jinsi	zabt	jinsi
1664	8 08	91 92	-	-	5 46	94 54	-	-
1665	0 96	99 04	0 35	99 65	-	-	-	-
		Ms B	0 36	99 64				
1713	-	-	-	-	-	-	27 06	72 94

- 1 2 As for the form in which the state used to realize the revenue under *batai-jinsi* We find that the *arhsattas* provide two sets of figures under the heads *jinsi* (*ainy jinsi man*) and *naqad* Under the head *jinsi* usually the quantity deposited in kind is entered while under *naqad* cash value of the quantity realized in kind is specified This differentiation between the two apparently may lead one to assume that, perhaps, in Rajasthani documents the head *batai-jinsi* conveys something more than 'cropsharig' and that, perhaps, it was nothing but the continuation of *kankut* and not the *zabt* proper This argument looks more convincing when one sees the further break-up of the *jinsi* In that break-up, at first, the quantity realized as revenue (cropwise) is given and then the rate (quantity per rupee) and in the end actual 'commuted' cash value of the quantity is entered

However, a closer study of these documents shows an entirely different picture

- 1 3 We are fortunate in getting two Mss of *arhsattha* Kotla Both the Mss are of the same year (V S 1722/A D 16650 and enter the same crops with the difference that one gives the account of the first six months and the other for the first eight months For convenience I have called them Ms A and Ms B¹⁵ A comparison of these two Mss helps us greatly in solving the problem of *batai-jinsi* Ms A clearly mentions two different heads *naqad* and *jinsi* For *naqad* (under *batai-jinsi* head) it uses the words *biki jinsi man* (*jinsi* maunds sold) and enters various rates (in quantity per rupee), while under the head *ainy jinsi man* (exact *jinsi* manunds), though the amount in cash is also entered the text clearly reads rates by estimation (*dar unman*) In its village-wise break-up of the figures this Ms also clearly differentiates between the two heads for *naqad* in the general heading, it uses words like *aivaj jinsi bechi*, *bechi jinsi man*, *bechi jinsi* standing for quantity sold, while in the next column *ainy man*, quantity deposited in the granary, is separately mentioned Interestingly, while

in the consolidated pargana figures against the *ainy man* estimated revenue in cash is given, in the village-wise break-up no such theoretical figures are provided. This shows that the estimated figure of money in the consolidated head for the quantity deposited in the treasury was entered mainly to get an idea of the revenue expected to be deposited in the treasury within the year. In Ms B we find no such estimated amount (*unman*). Besides, in Ms B, is not a single village *ainy jinsi man* is entered. A village-wise comparison of the two Mss shows that the villages where in Ms A the total amount was deposited in the granary in Ms B in these villages its cash value along with the rates of commutation are also entered. This shows, that presumably in the next two months the entire grain including that deposited in the granary was disposed off.

- 1 4 *Arhsattha* Kotla (A D 1665) thus, confirms that the sale of the grain was taking place but it fails to provide further details as to who were the sellers (the peasant or the *jagirdar*) and who could be the buyer. This would again leave enough room for speculation the *raiya* might be selling the grain to pay the revenue demand in cash. *Arhsattha* Kotla of the year (V S 1770/A D 1713) and *arhsattha* Rewari of the year V S 1722/A D 1665 throw further light and helps greatly in solving the problem. Both the *arhsatthas* enter the name of the individual buyers and the date on which the sale took place, along with the prices of that particular date.
- 1 5 *Arhsattha* Kotla (A D 1713) clearly mentions at first the *sarvalo man* (total production, crop-wise), then the share of the *raiya* and the state (*khalisa*). Thereafter the text dates the state's share that was sold on such and such dates to various merchants or retailers (*vechyo* (month, date) *khaury vachhata nau*). Finally, the *muqarrara rupya* (the total revenue in cash) is given. This clearly shows that the *jagirdar* was selling the grain to the petty traders and grain-merchants. Whenever, the amount (revenue) was deposited in cash under *batai-jinsi* it was so recorded. For example, in village Khanpur, *pargana* Kotla, the entire *batai-jinsi* was given on *ijara* (farm) and it was deposited in the treasury in cash. The text reads *ijarau naqadi chukayo fasi rabi kau rauti majkur ki kau* i.e. the share of *batai-jinsi* for *rabi* of the above mentioned *raiya* (which was given on *ijara*) is paid in cash¹⁶.
- 1 6 *Arhsattha* Kotla also refers whether the sale was conducted within the *pargana* or outside. The text reads, *Jihanabad bharat kari vechvano khanda pache chai* or *vechya Jihanabad main bhari khanda pala ki*, *vechya Jihanabad nai bhar khandaya su vechya* (i.e. (the grain was) dumped (preserved) in Jihanabad (for sale and) later sold from the granary (lit. moat, pit), (grain was) sold from the Jihanabad pit (granary)). When the sale was taking place in the *qasba* the document refers *kasba mau khus kharid vechya* (sold *khush kharid* (spot sale?) in the *qasba*). Similarly, when the sale was conducted in the market the text specifically refers to that (*khaury chauka nai vechya* (sold in the daily market to the retailers)).
- 1 7 Similarly, in *arhsattha* Rewari (V S 1722/A D 1665) we get frequent references to sale of the state share after collection. The document provides the break-up of the sales made to the individual grain-merchants, such as *mahajans* van

(*baniya*), *panch Mahajan*, *raiya* and *sarraf* We have frequent occurrences of phrases such as *Sukha Bhagota Phariya wa Kishnavali no vecho*, *Bikaneri ka mahajana no vecho rauti no vecha*, *Mukunda, Bhai Das no vechai mauza Turkhavas pargana Bikaneri ka van no vecho*, *vecho kasba Rewari ka mahajana nai*

All this confirms that under the *batai-jinsi* the *jagirdar* generally collected the revenue in kind and then sold the grain later on

NOTES AND REFERENCES

I am thankful to Prof S P Gupta and Dr B L Bhadani for their cooperation

- 1 W H Moreland, *Agrarian System of Moslem India*, Delhi, Reprint, 1968, Irfan Habib, *Agrarian System of Mughal India*, Bombay, 1963, Tapan Rai Chaudhari and Irfan Habib, in *CEHI*, I, Delhi, 1984, Shireen Moosvi, *The Economy of the Mughal Empire, c 1595*, Oxford, Delhi, 1987
- 2 The *zabt* provinces (provinces where *zabt* was the standard form of assessment and realization) were Lahore, Multan, Ajmer, Delhi, Agra, Allahabad, Malwa and Awadh
- 3 For further details see, *Agrarian System*, 219-230, *CEHI*, I, 235-239
- 4 S P Gupta, *Agrarian System of Eastern Rajasthan* Delhi, 1986, Dilbagh Singh, *The State Landlords and Peasants*, Delhi, 1990
- 5 S P Gupta *Agrarian System*, 64-66
- 6 *Ibid*, 40, S P Gupta, 'New Evidence on Agrarian, Rural Taxation in Eastern Rajasthan', *PIHC*, Aligarh, 1975, p 238
- 7 S P Gupta, 'Prices and Rural Commerce in 17th Century Eastern Rajasthan', *PIHC*, 1982, p 271
- 8 *CEHI*, I, 239
- 9 Madhavi Bajekal, 'The State and Rural Grain Market in 18th Century Eastern Rajasthan', in *Merchants, Markets and the State in Early Modern India*, ed Sanjay Subrahmanyam, Oxford, Delhi, 1990, p 92
- 10 This argument is accepted in principle by S P Gupta (*Agrarian System*, xiv) and Madhavi (117)
- 11 See Abul Fazl, *Ain-i Akbari* (Ed Blochmann, Bib Indica, Calcutta, 1867, Vol I, pp 303-47) for *dastur* rates prevalent in the *zabt* provinces
- 12 *Arhsattha* Kotla of V S 1722/A D 1665 provides details of *kharif* crop only, while the *Arhsattha* of the year v s 1770/A D 1713 records the details of the *kharif* and *rabi* crops However, in A D 1713 entire *kharif* was given on *ijara*, only the consolidated figures for the *kharif* crop are available But, we do get the detailed village-wise break-up for *rabi* *Arhsattha* Rewari of V S 1721/A D 1664 provides only the consolidated income of the *kharif* and *rabi* *Arhsattha* Rewari of V S 1722/A D 1665, provides valuable village-wise details Besides, it also contains interesting details regarding the state sale of revenue realized in kind
- 13 *Dastur-ul Amal-i Alamgiri*, Ms Br Mues Add 6599, ff 113b-114a
- 14 For Eastern Rajasthan, see S P Gupta, *Agrarian System*, 50
- 15 Ms A covers the account of six months (1 *Rabi-ul Awwal* to last *Shaban*, V S 1722/1st September, 1665 to 24th February, 1666 A D), while Ms B covers the period of eight months (1 *Rabi-ul Awwal* to last *Shawwal*, V S 1722/1st September 1665 to 24th March 1666)
- 16 *Arhsattha* Kotla, V S 1770/A D 1713

MARYAM ZAMANI'S BAOLI AT BAYANA A NOTE

RAJEEV BARGOTI*

- 01 In the course of my research on the development of the township of Bayana from the beginning of *Sultanate* down to the end of 17th century, I am engaged for the last one year in documenting the surviving architectural remains of the Mughal period at Bayana. One important in this connection is Maryam Zamani's Baoli, situated 5 kms east of Bayana in the village Brahambad across the Railway line¹
- 02 The monument was first surveyed in 1985 during the exploration of the Mughal highway under a project that is continuing at the Centre of Advanced Study in History, AMU, Aligarh for the last so many years. I personally visited the site on two occasions first in October, 1989 and again in February, 1992 for verifying the data collected during the period of survey trip in 1985.
- 03 This step-well also carries Persian inscription on its main gateway put by the Mughal emperor Jahangir (1605-27 A.D.). According to this inscription that the step-well was a part of garden built in his 7th regnal year (1612-1613 A.D.) on the order (*hukm*) of his mother Maryam Zamani. As far as my information goes, this monument and its inscription was not taken notice of till it was spotted and surveyed in 1985. The ground plan of this step-well prepared for Iqtidar Alam Khan's project has been published with due acknowledgement by Ebba Koch in her book on *Mughal Architecture*²

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I

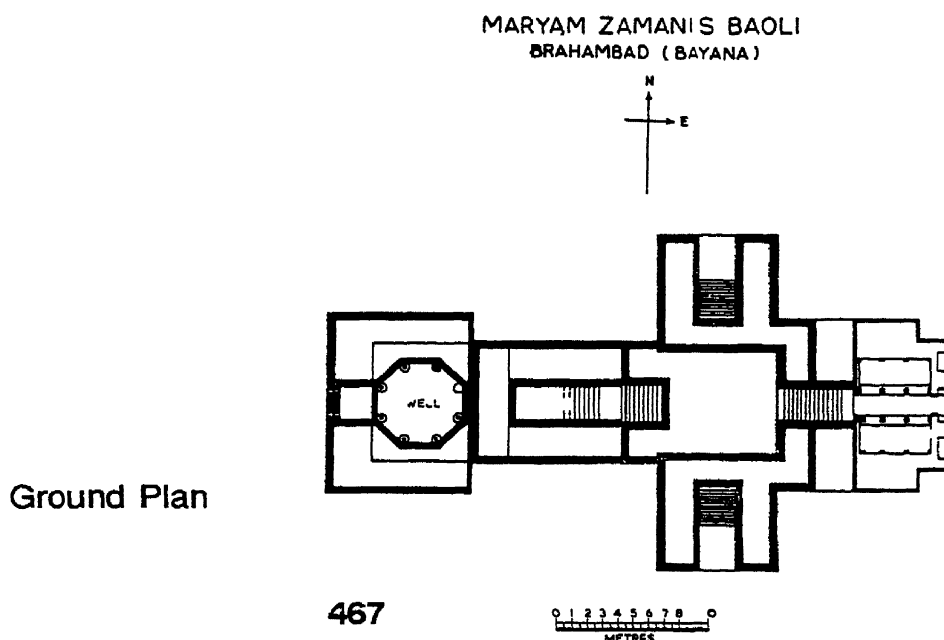
- 1 1 In this paper an attempt is made to give the description of Maryam Zamani's *Baoli* with the help of my own notes as well as of the data recorded and its layout drawing prepared in 1985 for Iqtidar Alam Khan's project
- 1 2 The main gateway of the *baoli* is represented by a double storeyed structure facing east where the smaller rectangular portal is framed into a high arch. This gateway with the drooping eaves, half-domed alcoves and oriel windows appears to be a typical representative of the post-Fatehpur Sikri Mughal architecture of late 16th and early 17th century. It also carries an imprint of the Rajput conceptions. In this gateway a complex organization of space is provided. This can be gauged from the symmetrical chambers on both the flanks of the central arch. Although there are only two stories but it is constructed to give the three storeyed effect from the front.³ As it can be seen from the ground plan,⁴ flight of steps from each side of the main gate as well as from the entrance points in north and south lead down to a space in the centre of the building. From there another flight of steps and a stretch of slope descend to the water level in the large octagonal well situated at the western extension of the building.⁵
- 1 3 There are two inscriptions in the building. The first is inscribed on a slab fixed on the southern wall of octagonal well. Unfortunately, the slab carrying this inscription has broken into pieces blurring the inscription and making it difficult to decipher. The other inscription comprising four verses is inscribed on a white marble slab fixed in the main-gateway just above the central portal.
- 1 4 The second inscription is as follows:
 - 1 During the reign of Shah Nuruddin Jahangir, the world became a garden by his benevolence
 - 2 By the order of his mother, Maryam Zamani the divine light became bright
 - 3 There was built a *bagh* (garden) and a beautiful *baoli* (step-well) which made paradise blush with shame
 - 4 The intelligence said for the hijra date "*San-i haft julus padshahi*" (the seventh regnal year of the king)⁷
- 1 5 The contents of the inscription are corroborated by literary evidences including an entry made by Jahangir himself in *Tuzuk-i Jahangiri*. According to this passage, when Jahangir was returning from Ajmer to Agra in 1618-19 A.D. (1027 H),⁸ he passed through 'Ibrahimabad' (Brahmbad), visited the step-well and the garden built by Maryam Zamani there. He observed "the *baoli* was a grand building exceeding well. I ascertained from the officials that a sum of Rs 20,000 had been expended on this step-well".⁹
- 1 6 From these observations of Jahangir, the information furnished by the inscription that this *baoli* is a part of a garden built by Maryam Zamani stands

fully corroborated Peter Mundy is the earliest European Traveller who refers to this monument in 1632 A D , within twenty years of its completion When referring to this *baoli*, he confuses the person responsible for its building with Nur Mehal (famous Nur Jahan) whom, he then goes to identify as Shah Jahan's mother¹⁰ It is obvious that this confusion resulted from a loose and partial translation of the inscription on the building for Peter Mundy by someone at Bayana But his description of this complex as consisting of a *baoli* and a garden entirely tallies with the information conveyed by the inscription on Maryam Zamani's *baoli* He compares this step-well with the one at Allahabad situated near *Khusrau Bagh* in the following words "The best of this kind, I have yett seene is at Ibrahmuvabad (Brahmbad) neere to Byano (Bayana), some course from Agra¹¹ He further observes that "the *baoli* of Brahmbad is not as deep as the *baoli* of Allahabad but it is the grand building with beautiful gates, cupolas, arches, chawtrees, galleries, stone (red sand stone), pillars and rooms above and below "¹²

- 1 7 Another European traveller Thevenot, who has noticed this complex of garden and *baoli* in 1687 A D He, however, makes a slip when he attributes this to Akbar's mother¹³ In making this erroneous identification Thevenot is relying on *bazar* gossip But, Thevenot's reference that this *baoli* also as a 'Royal House' is significant¹⁴ It indicates that the elaborate residential space erected there, by providing double storeyed chambers on the two flanks of the main gateway, were meant to be used for the stay of the royal owner of the complex during her occasional visits to this locality
- 1 8 It is worth noting that, according to William Finch who came to India in 1610 A D , Jahangir's mother i.e Maryam Zamani of above inscription, was involved at an extensive scale in the export of indigo to the overseas lands¹⁵ It is possible that she became interested in indigo trade as her revenue free grants were located in the indigo producing tract around Bayana including *pargana* Jansath of Jahangir's description¹⁶ where the village Brahmbad is situated This impression is confirmed by the fact that she chose to built such a large complex with an expense of Rs 20,000 at the village Brahmbad (Ibrahimabad) Possibly she planned the chambers¹⁷ on the two flanks of the main gateway of the step-well for the purpose of her occasional residence at this place
- 1 9 At a distance of about hundred meters to the south of the main gateway of the step-well, there are two adjacent gravestones which carry an Arabic inscription¹⁸ on the eastern and western sides It is my guess that these graves were originally located within the garden in which, according to the above inscription and Jahangir's statement in the *Tuzuk-i Jahangiri*, the Maryam Zamani's *baoli* was built I am also of the opinion that these grave-stones belong to the graves of the persons owning this complex at some point of time in the past It was a general practice of the Mughal that a person who would build a pleasure garden for himself/herself would be buried after his/her death in the same place By this analogy I could even hazard a guess that one of these gravestones could belong to the grave of Maryam Zamani herself

NOTES AND REFERENCES

- 1 Brahmbad (correct form of Ibrahimabad) is located on Bayana-Rupbas road approximately 5 kms east of Bayana See my paper, 'Growth of Pre-Modern Township of Bayana' presented to IHC Gorakhpur, 1989, Aligarh Volume, Dept of History AMU, Aligarh, P 527
- 2 Ebba Koch, *Mughal Architecture*, Munich, 1991, pp 90, 91
- 3 See Plate 'A'- Photograph 'a'
- 4 See Plate 'C'
- 5 *Ibid*
- 6 For the text of the Persian inscription see plate 'B'- Photograph 'a' which is a photograph of the slab containing the inscription See Appendix
- 7 This chronogram - "*San-i haft julus padshahi*" yield 1022 *hijra* (A D 1612-13) which conforms to 7th regnal year of Jajangir
- 8 *Tuzuk-i Jahangiri* ed by Syud Anmud, Aligarh, 1864, pp 258-59
- 9 *Ibid*
- 10 *Travels of Peter Mundy in Europe and Asia (1608-67)*, ed by Sir Richard Carnec Temple, vol II, London, 1934, p 101
- 11 *Ibid*
- 12 *Ibid*
- 13 *De Imperio Magno Mogolies*, tr by J S Hayland, Delhi, 1974, p 45
- 14 *Ibid*
- 15 *Early Travels in India, 1583 1619*, Ed by William Foster, First Indian Edition, New Delhi, 1985 (Account of William Finch, 1610 A D), p 123
- 16 *Tuzuk-i Jahangiri*, Ed , pp 258,59
- 17 See the Plate 'A' - Photographs 'b', *Travels of Peter Mundy in Europe and Asia (1608-67)*, p 101
- 18 See the Plate B - Photographs 'b' and 'c' To verify the date collected by Iqtidar Alam Khan's team during their survey trip in March, 1985, I visited the site in February, 1992, and first time I traced and photographed these inscriptions



Plate—A



(a)



(b)

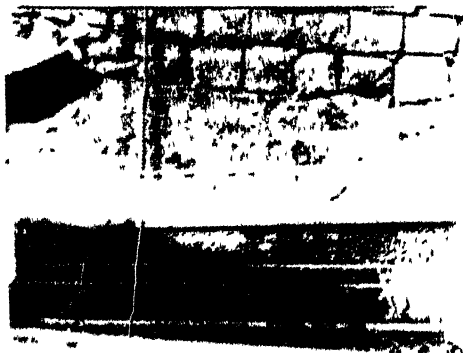
Rajeev Bargoti Maryam / Maryam's Baoli at Bayana
Plate—B



(a)



(b)



THE 'SILKY' WORLD OF BENGAL TRADE, CIRCA, 1700-1757

SUSHIL CHAUDHURY*

01 Historians have so far maintained, with somewhat monotonous regularity, that around the mid-eighteenth century, the European trade was the most important factor in Bengal's commercial economy.¹ There is no denying the fact that the Europeans were the dominant factor in Bengal's sea-borne trade but that does not necessarily imply that they were far ahead of the Asians in Bengal's export trade as a whole. The above does not take into account Bengal's export trade by overland routes which had always been extremely significant. It is generally assumed that with the fall of the great empires - Mughal, Persian and Ottoman - and the consequent decline of important ports like Surat, the overland trade was doomed. The reason for this sort of assumption, it seems, was mainly owing to the lack of data regarding India's overland trade compared with the abundance of quantitative material in the Company archives on European exports from Bengal. It will be argued in this paper that the volume of silk export by the Asian merchants from Bengal even in the mid-eighteenth century was much larger than that of the European

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Manuscript Sources and Abbreviations

- BPC - Bengal Public Consultations, India Office Library and Records (henceforth IOLR)
 C&B Abstr - Coast and Bay Abstracts, IOLR
 Fact Records - Factory Records, IOLR
 FWIHC - Fort William India House Correspondence
 VOC - Vereenigde Oostindische Compagnie, Algemeen Rijksarchief, The Hague

Companies From the quantitative evidence we have now, admittedly not very exhaustive (hopefully we would be able to unearth more material on this aspect from both European and indigenous sources), it can be shown that the share of the Asian merchants in the important European export commodity, raw silk, was much higher than that of the Europeans

I

- 1 1 There is no dearth - actually an abundance of qualitative evidence in the European archives which indicates the Asian lead in Bengal's export trade over the Companies, especially in the silk trade Through the European Companies exported a large amount of raw silk from Bengal, they could hardly control the silk market in Bengal as they were only minor partners in the field The privilege was enjoyed by the large number of Asian merchants active in Bengal's silk market The English Council at Kasimbazar made this amply clear in several letters to Calcutta ² In 1744 the Kasimbazar factors referred to their inability to control the silk market in no uncertain terms "Though the price is so much higher than the last year, it is not in our power to help it as we cannot command the market which has been higher lately" ³ It was in the silk investment that the European Companies had to face the stiffest competition from various groups of Asian merchants operating in Bengal Of these groups, the Gujaratis were the most important and it can be safely asserted that their operation acted as "a general indicator" of the trends in the Bengal silk market ⁴ In 1726 the Kasimbazar Council entered into contract with the silk merchants in a hurry apprehending "the extraordinary demand of the Gujaratis would raise the price further" ⁵ Apart from the Gujaratis, the different groups active in Bengal's silk market were the merchants from Lahore, Multan, Banaras, Gorakhpur, Hyderabad, Delhi ("Calwars"), Agra and Jangipur in Murshidabad district, the last one acting as *gomastas* or agents of Banaras merchants And of course, the Armenians too were there and another group referred as "Burdelwalis" in records, probably from North India, was also active in the procurement of silk
- 1 2 It is significant to note that sometimes the demand of these group of merchants, not including the Gujaratis, had its impact on the silk market and enhanced the price of raw silk As a young factor in the Kasimbazar factory, Warren Hastings reported in 1756 from Powa, one of the silk aurungs on the other side of the river Padma, that the prices of Pattani or unspun silk suddenly rose there not because of the purchases of Gujarati merchants but "the arrival of every considerable foreign merchants at the aurungs" He identified these merchants as "Calwars", Gorakhpuris and Jangipuris "who are reported to have bought upwards of six or seven lack (lakh = 0.1 million) of rupees for the provision of putney (*pattani*), especially the finest sorts which they are daily buying up notwithstanding its dearness" ⁶ An intelligent person as he was, Hastings tried to analyse as also rationalise the behaviour of these indigenous merchants who were buying up silk without the least regard for price He wrote" ⁷

For the two former (Calwards and Gorakhpurs) coming from the distance of Dillee and Banaras are in a manner necessitated by the long journeys they had taken for this commodity, to take it at such a rate as the market affords, nor are the latter (Jangipuris) less free in this respect, for tho' Jungapoor lies but a few days' journey from hence yet as they are most of them gomashas and their constituents living likewise as far off as Banaras they are obliged to comply with whatever orders they receive from thence, let the price be ever so great

- 1 3 If Hastings' report is correct (we don't see any reason why it should not be as he collected the information on the spot), then it is evident that Indian merchants, not including the Gujaratis who were the most important group among them, exported silk worth Rs 0 6 to Rs 0 7 million from the not-so-important silk producing centre of North Bengal only. If that is so, one can only guess what could have been the value of the exports by the Asian merchants from Kasimbazar, the most important centre of silk manufacture and trade in Bengal, and where the Asian merchants including those from Gujarat, Lahore, Multan, Banaras, Agra, Gorakhpur, etc. were vigorously active in buying silk.
- 1 4 Now taking up the actual export of raw silk by the European Companies, one finds that throughout the second half of the seventeenth century the Dutch export was much larger than that of the English. Even in the first two decades of the eighteenth century, the Dutch lead was maintained. But as the Dutch trade declined in general in the 1720s, the English export of raw silk from Bengal surpassed that of the Dutch towards the end of 1720s.⁸ As a matter of fact, the English export of raw silk reached its peak in the 1730s and the following table will indicate the average annual export by the English Company which fell sharply from around mid-1740s, reaching its nadir in the early 1750s in the whole period from 1730 to 1755.

Table 1
Quinquennial Total of English Exports, Raw Silk, 1730s-1750s

Years	Total (grt lb)	Average (grt lb)	Average (small lb)	Average (maunds)
1730/31-1734/35	702,907	140,581	210,872	2812
1735/36-1739/40	714,004	142,801	214,201	2856
1740/41-1744/45	596,051	119,210	178,815	2384
1745/46-1749/50	300,001	60,000	90,000	1200
1750/51-1754/55	286,620	57,324	85,986	1146

(Source & Note Compiled and computed from K N Chaudhuri, *Op cit*, p 534 1 great lb = 1.5 small lb In Bengal silk was weighed in *maunds* and *seers*, 40 *seers* making a *maund* On Bengal *maund* was equivalent to 75 lb i.e., avoirdupois or what was called small lb)

1.5 It is evident from the above table that the maximum annual average of raw silk exported by the English Company was 2856 mds or 0.21 million lbs in the peak period of the 1730s and never crossed 3000 mds or 0.23 million lbs. Indeed from mid-1740s till mid-1750s, the average annual English export was even less than half of that in the boom period of the 1730s.

1.6 As against this, the Dutch export of raw silk was more or less steady from the 1730s through the 1750s, with a marginal decline in the 1740s and recovering again in the early 1750s which will be apparent from the table below.⁹

Table 2

Quinquennial Total of Dutch Exports, Raw Silk, 1730s-1750s

Years	Total (Dutch lbs)	Average (Dutch lbs)	Average (Eng lbs)	Average (maunds)
1730/31-1734/35	335,319	67,064	73,100	975
1740/41-1744/45	308,448	61,689	67,241	897
1750/51-1754/55	333,210	66,642	72,640	969

(Source Collected and computed from Bengal Export Invoices in Dutch Records, Algemeen Rijksarchief, Den Haag)

1.7 It is clear from the above table that the Dutch export of Bengal raw silk in the period between 1730 and 1755 never crossed 1000 mds or 0.08 million lbs, though it was probably higher than the figure for the late 1720s and certainly much lower than the average annual export in the first two decades of the 18th century.¹⁰ In other words, in the crucial period of the late 1740s and early 1750s, the total average annual export of Bengal raw silk by the two major European Companies, involved actively in Bengal trade, certainly did not exceed 2500 mds or 0.19 million lbs, even taking the English export at 1500 mds and the Dutch at 1000 mds.¹¹ Addition to this the export of raw silk by other European Companies which could not have been more than 1000 mds at the maximum,¹² the total European export of raw silk would have been 3500 mds, or 0.26 million lbs in a year on an average at the most.

II

2.1 The important question that crops up is what was the amount of raw silk exported by the Asian merchants from Bengal as against the European

export? We are fortunate enough to unearth a complete list of silk export by the Asians from Bengal from 1749 to 1767 from the records at the India Office Library. The report was prepared by W. Aldersey, who was chief of the Kasimbazar factory in 1769, in response to an official query as to the causes of the decline in silk trade and industry in Bengal. Aldersey specifically mentions that he collected the information from Murshidabad customs house and that it included the raw silk exported by "natives only on which Duties have been collected"¹³. From his list, we reproduce here the quinquennial total of silk export by the Asians from 1749 to 1758 for a comparative study of the Asian and European exports of raw silk (see table 7 & Figure 1), the full details of which are given in Tables 4 and 6.

Table 3
Quinquennial Total of Silk Export by Asians, 1749-1758

Years	Total (mds)	Average (mds)	Average (lb)	Total Value (Rs)	Avg Value (Rs)
1749-53	99,016	19,803	14,85,240	2,77,24,365	55,44,873
1754-58	74,692	14,938	11,20,380	2,09,13,345	44,82,669

(Source: B.P.C., Range 1, Vol. 44, Annex to Consult. 19 June 1769, for the complete list, see Table 6)

- 2.2 The above table clearly indicates that the Asians were far ahead of the Europeans in the export of raw silk from Bengal. While the export by the Asian merchants in the late forties and early fifties amounted on an average to 19,803 maunds or about 1.5 million lbs, in the mid-fifties, the Europeans exported only about 3500 mds or 0.26 million lbs, in a year on an average during the same period. In other words, it can be said that the European export was less than 1/5 of what was exported by Asian merchants around this time. Again the total value of the European export of raw silk, taking it to be 3500 mds a year and at the rate of Rs 7 per seer (40 seers making a maund), which is the rate at which the Asian export is valued in the said English Company records, would have been around only Rs 0.98 million. On the other hand, the total value of the silk exported by the Asian merchants is estimated at around Rs 5.5 million on an average during the period from 1749 to 1753 and Rs 4.1 million in the next five years, i.e. from 1754 to 1758. So as far as the total value of the raw silk exported by the Europeans and Asians is concerned, the European share was thus only between 1/5 and 1/4 of the Asian share. As such, and considering the fact, attested by many contemporaries including the Dutch Directors and English Officials in Bengal,¹⁴ that the Asians too had to bring in silver/cash to Bengal for buying raw silk, textiles and other commodities, the assertion that the Europeans were the main importers of bullion into Bengal in the pre-Plassey period can hardly be tenable.

23 It would be worthwhile to investigate the direction/destination of the exports by the Asian merchants, especially of raw silk because it was exported in such huge quantity even in the late 1740s and early 1750s. However one has to keep in mind that evidence of such nature is hard to come by in our sources¹⁵. We are extremely fortunate to find some data regarding the direction/destination of raw silk exports by the Asian merchants from Bengal during 1775-77. By reading back from the evidence of the 1770s, it is possible to provide some idea of the direction/destination of the Asian silk trade in the pre-Plassey period. One has to remember in this connection that in the 1770s there was a precipitate decline of the Asian merchants' trade under the ruth-less repression of the English Company and its servants backed by political power - a process which started immediately after 1757-58. The decline of the Asian merchants' trade is evident from the report of Aldersey which we quoted earlier and the following table from this report will bear our point.

Table 4
Quantity and Value of Raw Silk Exported by Asian Merchants
1759-67

Year	Quantity (in maunds)	Value (in rupees)
1759	14,394	40,30,387
1760	13,056	36,55,791
1761	10,562	29,57,229
1762	5,953	16,66,845
1763	6,601	18,48,333
1764	8,326	23,31,193
1765	7,191	20,13,525
1766	5,180	14,50,307
1767	6,599	18,47,832

(The total quantity for the quinquennial period 1763-67 amounts to 33,897 *maunds* and the average 6779 *maunds*. For this table the source is the same as in Table 6)

24 It is apparent from the above table that the average annual export of the Asian merchants during the quinquennial period from 1763 to 1767 stood at 6779 *maunds* which tallies more or less with the figure of export from 1775 to 1777 which was on an average 7025 *maunds*. The destination as well as the total amount of silk export by the Asian merchants from 1775 to 1777 is recorded in the Patna Customs House Register and for the three years combined, the totals are as follows:

Table 5

**Destination/Direction and Triennial Total of Silk Exported by
Asian Merchants 1775-1777**

Destination/Direction (in descending order of total qnty)	Total Quantity (in maunds)
Mirzapore	12,568
Lahore	3,851
Multan	1,649
Aurangabad	1,471
Agra	598
Banaras	511
Delhi	427

(Average annual export = 7,025 *mds*)

(Source Board of Revenue, Misc Proceedings, Range 98, Vols 18,20,22, IOLR)

From the above table, it is quite clear that during this period the maximum amount of silk from Bengal went to Mirzapore which was a distribution centre rather than a manufacturing one, and it can be assumed that this silk was re-exported from Mirzapore to northern and western directions. The next highest amount was destined for Lahore while Multan and Aurangabad came third and fourth in descending order of total quantity exported. If this was the destination/direction of Bengal silk exported in the mid-1770s, it can be reasonably assumed that the destination/direction of Bengal silk exported by the Asian merchants in the late 1740s to mid-1750s would have been almost similar.

- 25 That Bengal's traditional export by the Asian merchants was extremely significant even in the pre-Plassey period, i.e., before the mid-18th century, is stated in unequivocal terms by the Company officials who were in Bengal both before and after Plassey, though these have been overlooked by historians in general. Harry Verelst, a responsible official of the Company, wrote referring to Bengal in the pre-Plassey period ¹⁶

Besides the large investment of the European nations, the Bengal raw silk, cloths etc. to a vast amount were dispersed in the West and North inland as far as Gujarat, Lahore and even Ispahan.

Another official, William Bolds stated ¹⁷

A variety of merchants of different nations and religions, such as Kashmeerians, Multanys, Pāṭāns, Sheiks, Sunniasys, Paggayahas, Betteeas and many others used to resort to Bengal in Caffeelahs or large parties of many thousands together with troops of oxen for the transport of goods from different parts of Hindustan.

Table 6

**Extracts from Customs Office Receipts at Murshidabad
1749-58**

**Quantity and Value of Raw Silk Exported by
Asian Merchants**

Year	Quantity (maunds)	Quantity (Engl lbs)	Value (Rupees)
1749	20,037	15,02,775	56,10,423
1750	19,571	14,67,825	54,79,786
1751	23,740	17,80,500	66,47,095
1752	17,615	13,21,125	49,32,221
1753	18,053	13,53,975	50,54,840
1754	15,249	11,43,675	42,69,594
1755	12,269	9,20,175	34,35,310
1756	7,635	5,72,625	21,37,762
1757	21,347	16,01,025	59,77,045
1758	18,192	13,64,400	50,93,634

After this table there is a note which runs as follows

"The above account includes only the Trade on which Duties were really paid to the pachotra Daroga (Royal Customs House) but besides this there was formerly carried on a very considerable trade in these articles by Juggutseats House and others who had interest with the Nizamat for these goods to pass Duty free The above is the trade of Natives only on which Duties have been paid "

(Source Bengal Public Consultations, Range 1, Vol 44, Consult 19 June 1769, IOLR The figures in the table are rounded off to the nearest digit)

2 6 After all this, one need not have much doubt about the supremacy of the Asian merchants in the exports of Bengal silk even in the pre-Plassey period The point to emphasize is that it is high time that historians try to have a fresh look at the comparative position of the European trade and the trade of the Asian merchants operating both within and without the Indian sub-continent The search for more qualitative as well as quantitative data on the Asian's trade, especially the overland trade, should go on, and then both the European trade and the Asian's trade should be placed in their proper perspectives This will enable us to have a comprehensive picture of the trade as a whole around the mid-eighteenth century which is so crucial for the proper understanding of the background as also the implications of the British conquest of Bengal in 1757, and how the Company and its servants systematically eliminated the Asian rivals in Bengal trade in the post-Plassey period

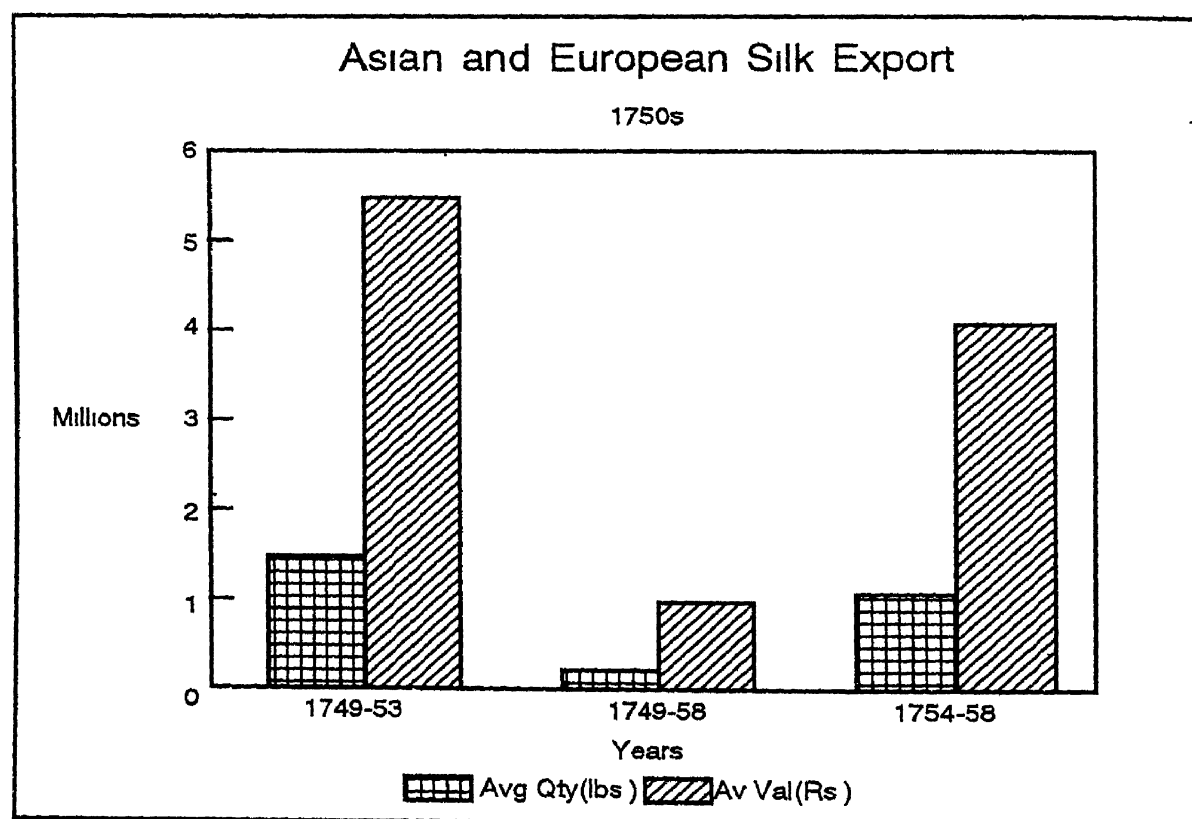
Table 7

**Comparative Position of Asian and European Silk Exports
(Quantity and Value) 1750s**

Years	Asian Exports		European Exports	
	Av Qty (lbs)	Av Val (Rs)	Av Qty (lbs)	Av Val (Rs)
1749-53	1 5 million	5 5 million		
1749-58			0 26 million	0 98 million
1754-58	1 1 million	4 1 million		

(Asian Exports computed from Table 6 and European Exports from Tables 1, 2)

FIGURE-1



1749-53 Asian Exports
 1749-58 European Exports
 1754-58 Asian Exports

Source Table 7

NOTES AND REFERENCES

- 1 For such recent assertion, see, K N Chaudhuri, *The Trading World of Asia and the English East India Company, 1660-1760*, Cambridge, 1978, p 24, P J Marshall, *Bengal The British Bridgehead, in New Cambridge History of India*, Cambridge, 1987, pp 64-67
- 2 e.g. C & B Abstr, Vol 3, para 38, 26 Dec 1733
- 3 Fact Records, Kasimbazar, Vol 6, 23 Jan 1744
- 4 K N Chaudhuri, *op cit*, p 354
- 5 BPC, Range 1, Vol 6, f 172 21 Feb 1726
- 6 Fact Records, Kasimbazar, Vol 12, Consult 27 Jan 1756
- 7 Ibid, K N Chaudhuri's contention that the "products bought by the Gujaratis did not directly compete with those shipped to Europe" is hardly tenable
- 8 Kristof Glamann, *Dutch-Asiatic Trade, 1620-1740*, Copenhagen and the Hague, 1958, p 131
- 9 Floretta yarn or *mochta* silk was not included in the computation as it was not really regarded as raw silk, was of a much inferior variety and cheaper quality than the varieties like *tanny*, *adapangia*, *Gujarat*, *tanna banna* etc. Even in the sale of the different chambers in Holland, this was not advertised as raw silk like *tanny*, *cabessa* etc but as floretta yarn (c.f. Notice of auction, 16 Sept 1755, Resolutions of Heeren XVII, VOC 7380). Om Prakash (*op cit*, pp 202, 218) too dealt raw silk and floretta yarn separately. But even if we include floretta yarn in our computation, it hardly alters the picture because in the early 40s the average annual export of floretta yarn was only 84 mds while in early 50s it was 184 mds, (computed from Dutch records) on an average in a year.
- 10 Om Prakash, *The Dutch East India Company and the Economy of Bengal*, Princeton, 1985, p 218
- 11 The Dutch export of Bengal raw silk to Japan, which was an important branch of trade of the V O C in the second half of the 17th century (see, Om Prakash, p 126) was only 6154 Dutch lb on an average in the quinquennial period 1740-45 while in the 5 year periods from 1730 to 1735, and 1750 to 1755, it was nil. I collected and computed all this evidence from the Bengal export invoices in the Dutch archives.
- 12 Among other European Companies, only the French were of some importance. The Ostend Company had to abandon its trade in its factory only in 1755. Though the French private trade increased remarkably in the early 1750s, the volume of their corporate trade seems to have been much smaller than that of the English or Dutch. Even assuming, as did P J Marshall (*op cit*, p 66), that the value of the French Company's trade was about half of that of the English or Dutch trade, the French export of raw silk would have been around 500 mds at the most. And raw silk does not seem to be a staple commodity in the European private trade to Western India, Red Sea or Persian Gulf area (VOC 2304 f 211, H B 20 Nov 1734). Hence it could be reasonably assumed that the export of raw silk by other Europeans (i.e. excluding the English and Dutch Companies) could not have been more than 1000 mds at the maximum on an average in a year in the early 1750s.
- 13 B P C, Range 1, Vol 44, Annex to Consult 19 June 1769. This is more or less corroborated by other English and indigenous sources. See, for example, Mss Eur D 283, f 21, IOR, Verelst's letter to the Court of Directors, 5 April 1669, *FWIHC*, Vol V ed N K Sinha, New Delhi, 1959, pp 18-19. For the indigenous account, see, N K Sinha *The Economic History of Bengal*, Vol 1, Calcutta, 1965 3rd edn, p 112.
- 14 "Memorie" of Dutch Director, Talleffert, V O C 2849 (K A 2741, 27 Oct 1755, f 245vo BPC Range 1, vol 11, ff 288vo-289, 28 Aug 1736, *FWIHC*, Vol V *Op cit*, pp 16-18.
- 15 I do not think that for my present thesis it is absolutely essential to show where the silk was exported to. Contrary to an opinion expressed in private conversation by a distinguished

historian of the period that my thesis "stands or falls on this very question" of identifying the destination of the raw silk exported from Bengal, I maintain, as some experts in the field do, that so far as I know the quantity and value of raw silk exported by the Asian merchants, it is more than sufficient for my present thesis. However I agree that it is worth investigating the destination of the raw silk exports from Bengal so that we can have a comprehensive idea of the silk trade as a whole.

16 H. Verelst to the Court of Directors, 2 April 1769, BPC, Vol 44, f 324, para 6

17 William Bolts, *Considerations on Indian Affairs*, London, 1772, p 200

PERSIAN HISTORIOGRAPHY OF MARATHAS IN THE SECOND HALF OF EIGHTEENTH CENTURY

Z.U. MALIK*

- 01 The expansion of Maratha power in north India formed the central theme of Persian historical writings produced during the eighteenth century. Indo-Persian chroniclers, writers and diarists devoted greater part of their individual works to the treatment of Maratha affairs and problems and their impact on socio-economic life of townsmen and villagers in the affected areas. Separate works on major battles fought between Maratha and Afghan armies in the Gangetic Doab (*Amber*) and at Panipat were also compiled by some historians of the period.¹ While historians of first half of the century contented themselves with straight narration of events pertaining to Maratha inroads, most historians in the second half tried to give to their accounts a new historical perspective and vision. They discovered co-relation between the decline in the imperial financial and military institutions and the rise of Maratha power, and in that context illuminated various dimensions of the two phenomena.
- 02 In their view the two historical processes began simultaneously with the Mughal retreat from the Deccan and establishment of Maratha dominance over it. The transfer of the centre of gravity from the Deccan to north obviously brought perceptible change in ideas and interests of the Mughal ruling class in the post-Aurangzeb era. No definite policy orientation to meet the challenge of Maratha power could be formulated in the face of a series of crises that overtook the imperial court, and no serious attention was paid to the increasing Maratha threats endangering the security of Gujarat and Malwa.

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Consequently, when the Mughals were called upon to check the invasion of the northern Indian plains by the Maratha armies, they found the defence of these territories beyond their capacity and means ²

- 0 3 Secondly, historians of the latter part of the century tried to understand with differing perceptions and stand points the prime factors and motivations that went into the making of the Maratha military movement. They showed considerable interest in inquiring into the origin of Bhonsale family to which the Maratha Chhatrapati belonged, the life-style and behavioural pattern of the Peshwas, composition of armies, tactics and strategies of warfare. They based their assumptions about the Maratha character and psychological make-up on information gathered either through available source-material in Persian or from knowledgeable persons in literate circles, but seldom by pursuit of historical investigations or critical examination of evidence ³
- 0 4 The third important theme for these writers was the security of life and property of the common people menaced by forces of terror and violence now unleashed. They denounced raiders and freebooters of all categories - Marathas, Mughals, Jats and Afghans, and at the same time censured central authorities for their failure to put to an end their ravages which periodically caused sharp breaks in the normal trade and commercial activities. Contemporary historical works abound in references to this phenomenon, indicating forms and phases of the process of urban progress of retrogression ⁴

I

- 1 1 Qa'im Chandpuri has given a detailed eye witness account of the devastation of many towns in Rohilkhand like Najibabad, Shukkartal, Bijnore, Muradabad, Chandpur in the course of military expedition launched by the joint Mughal-Maratha armies under the command of Shah Alam in 1772. "These and other towns in the regions symbolised settled, jocund life marked by tranquility and socio-religious cordiality where honour and dignity (*iffat*) of women was secure". Here lived professional men of all kinds, craftsmen, manufacturers, civil servants, merchants and bankers, respectable families of scholars and poets, all bound together by mutual economic interests and social needs, and having links in one way or other with the countryside. In the holocaust all were ruined, men and women were led into captivity, people fled from their hearth and home, bareheaded and barefooted, borne down by week long starvation and fatigue. "Contentment and comfort enjoyed by people in the past disappeared, and thousands of people working in the establishment of Raja Gulab Rai, *Mir Bakhshi* of Najib-ud Daulah, were rendered jobless". What seems to have actuated this poet and other historians to use invective and censorious language in criticising the forces of terror and violence was their deep concern and sympathy for the defenceless and marginalised sections of society who suffered most in the havoc wrought by the armies ⁵
- 1 2 The Mughal monarchy seen as a divinely ordained institution and true fountain of authority had lost much of its credibility ever since the mid-17th century. In general, the historians, writers and poets perceived the exercise of powers and

functions by central government within secular categories covering safety and well being of all people regardless of their faith. Qa'im Chandpur in his deep anguish used abusive epithets against Shah Alam, calling him the shadow of devil, instead of shadow of God.⁶ This open and unfeigned criticism against the king and his nobles constituted a specific trait of historiography, and may account for a number of anonymous histories composed in the period. For instance, though the authors of *Tarikh-i Ahmad Shahi* and *Tarikh-i Alamgir Sani* were closely associated with the imperial court, yet since they described policies and actions of the reigning kings and dominant ministers opprobriously, they preferred to conceal their names.

- 1 3 Changes in material conditions resulting from the breakdown of the old order clearly shaped the historical cognition of contemporary writers. By far the most serious problem concerning the middle and lower ranks of service classes to which the writers, by and large, belonged—was that of increasing unemployment aggravated by loss of *jagir* and *a'imma* lands following seizure of imperial territories by the Marathas, Mughal governors and regional chieftains. Under the new dispensation the Mughal subordinate officers and servants, Hindus and Muslims alike, were either ousted or excluded from offices, and the careers open to younger generations in revenue, judicial and educational institutions were severely restricted.⁷ It was in the last quarter of the eighteenth-century that a few rulers of Maratha princely states began to offer opportunities to capable persons from Delhi and other parts of northern India in military and civil services. The reactions of the service gentry to the continuing state of deprivation and distress found articulation in the literature of the day, varying in form and spectrum.

- 1 4 As defender of the economic interests and social position of this class Azad Bilgrami disapproved of the policy of Peshwa Balaji Rao to concentrate all offices in the hands of Konkani Brahmans. His remark that "Almighty God alone provides means of livelihood to all Hindus and Muslims"⁸ illustrates how their administrative talents and experience were being frustrated by the narrow considerations of the Peshwa's government. Comparing this discriminatory policy of the Peshwa with the liberal outlook of Mughal Emperors, he states:

"In short, during the Muslim rule spanning over 700 years the Sultans accommodated in their governments Hindus and Muslims and bestowed benefits on both the religious groups (*fareeq*) in proportion to their capacities. Though on account of religious affinity they favoured the Muslims slightly more but never deprived Hindus of their legitimate share in the process of governance and economy. The most bigoted among the Muslim Sultans was Aurangzeb, but even in his reign Hindu Rajas and officers (*mutassadiyan*) prospered materially (*mamlu*). The ruler over people (*ra'is-i'am*) should pay attention to their welfare by providing opportunities of subsistence to all of them."⁹

- 1 5 The terms used to define the nature of conflict between the imperial centre and diverse regional forces were often derived from religious and moral categories, but these conveyed symbolically generated meanings through figurative idioms consonant with prevalent literary traditions. Any warlord who rose in revolt

against the central government was denigrated irrespective of his religious faith or social origin, as an infidel (ungrateful), turbulent rebel and instigator of disorders, deserving severe punishment. For example, the army of Safdarjang was depicted as composed of miscreants and heretics, while the royal troops assembled in Delhi by the emperor, Ahmad Shah (1748-1754), was called the army of Islam (*lashkar-i Islam*),¹⁰ although both the belligerents had in their ranks Hindu and Muslim soldiers. The Marathas under Antaji Mankeshwar, and Hindu *zamindar* of surrounding districts ranged on the imperial side, Churaman Jat and Inder Gosain allied themselves with Safdarjang in the civil war of 1754. Whatever aggressive policy the Peshwa adopted towards the Nizam of Hyderabad from time to time to conquer lands and exact tribute, Maratha leaders consistently supported his relative 'Imad-ul Mulk in Delhi on ground of the latter's lineage traced to Asaf Jah I. "The Marathas (*Deccanees*) considered the descendants of Nizamul Mulk far more esteemed and steadfast (*sahib iradah*) for alliance, besides them, they make friends with a brave soldier in Delhi."¹¹ In contrast to Azad Bilgrami the Delhi chroniclers have not spoken of the Marathas slightlying and disparagingly.

- 16 With the appointment of Mahadaji Sindhia as *wakil-i Mutlaq* by Shah Alam the prolonged Mughal-Maratha struggle finally terminated, and it marked the beginning of a new era of reconciliation and adjustment between the two former adversaries, changing the political scenario of the Delhi court. Shah Alam and Peshwa Madhav Rao Narayan worked out a system of mutual cooperation to cope with the growing challenge of British hegemony over north India by establishing peace and order in fairly large areas around Delhi. Mahadaji Sindhia was admittedly a gifted leader of men, a capable and cautious administrator and free from religious prejudices. He appreciated and respected social mores, forms of behaviour and cultural institutions of north India, which helped him win the goodwill of the general public in Delhi and Agra and successfully handle problems and situations arising from his elevation to the supreme position at the imperial court.¹² But he did not attempt at organizing a compact group of local officers, courtiers and his own adherents to fill the vacuum left by the withering away of the old aristocracy, nor did the Marathas as a group endeavour to enter the inner core of the surviving social structure. Consequently, no group formation took place and no process of interaction between the two constituent elements of the new ruling class with different cultural background and set of values could take place. The ethnical and regional prejudices persisted, and lack of trust in policy objectives of the rulers from the Deccan (*sardaran-i janub*) continued to cloud the mental outlook and attitudes of the strong vested interests at the court.¹³

II

- 21 The historical literature that developed in the last quarter of the eighteenth century reflected these trends and tendencies, and the writers expressed in forthright style the divergent reactions and responses of people to the moves, concerns and achievements or failures of their new masters. The historians from north India avoided derogatory remarks previously used to explain the

Maratha military thrusts and to portray the character of their generals. They were politely referred to as Maratha leaders or leaders from the Deccan (*sardaran-i Maratha*, or *sardaran-i Janub*). They recorded historical developments and occurrences of these six years (1784-90) candidly without partiality towards Afghans and Jats against whom Mahadaji Sindhia had launched military campaigns.¹⁴ Prem Kishor Firaq, author of *Waq'a'i 'Alam Shahi*, a representative of the old Mughal aristocracy, disliked complete surrender of sovereign authority by the emperor to Mahadaji Sindhia and his surrogates, and disapproved of the behaviour of Patel (as Mahadaji was officially addressed) towards him, especially in the matter of payment of stipulated amount of privy purse. When on the capture of the Jat fort of Dig in 1785 Shah Alam bestowed on "the Patel" the title of '(leader) of army of stars' (*anjum khail*) Firaq commented, "what a kingship is this the king has abandoned his sovereignty and taken up the ways of beggary"¹⁵ For enforcing law and order and removing economic hardship Shah Alam entirely depended on Mahadaji, but his courtiers wanted the emperor to undertake this stupendous task and accomplish it with the aid of his ministers and other persons of faith and ability. The emperor answered that his comrades had failed him even before the battle of Buxur, and at the present moment no person of vision and lofty spirit of service was seen around him.¹⁶

- 2.2 Prem Kishor Firaq has also accused Sindhia of willful neglect in defending the city of Delhi, at that time in great danger from continued attacks of the Sikhs. It was reported that the Sikhs plundered the villages and settlements of Rewari and occupied the royal markets (*ganj-hai badshahi*) in Delhi and interfered with the administration of the city itself. The emperor could not proceed to Delhi without "the Patel" and the latter deferred a counter-offensive against the invaders till after the settlement of the pressing problems of the Jats and Rajputs. Then the Emperor announced that he was waiting for the arrival of his family from Agra and that of "the Patel" and his sister, Anand Bai, from Vrindaban and holy bath in the Jumna. These explanations could not make a necessary impact on public opinion, and utterly distressed the people of Delhi who construed these excuses as deliberate evasion from discharging an essential duty.¹⁷ The author's sympathies lay with the poor, the lowly and the helpless. He felt aggrieved to find the poor menial servants of the royal camp without provisions of food and clothing in the winter season the severity of which was increased by incessant rains. He became happy when "the Patel" distributed quilted covers (*lihaf*) among them.¹⁸

- 2.3 Abdur Rahman *alias* Shah Nawaz Khan, author of *Mirat-i Aftab Numa*, seemed on the contrary, satisfied with the existing order, and optimistic of restoration of peace and prosperity under the administration of Mahadaji Sindhia. He held an office at the court of Shah Alam to whom he dedicated this voluminous history of India compiled in 1803. The portion dealing with the Marathas is a clear and succinct account of their policies in north India, providing new information regarding specific courses of action as discussed between Shah 'Alam and Mahadaji on several outstanding issues confronting them. After inflicting defeat and heavy losses on Zabita Khan the Maratha *sardar* wanted

to march on Awadh to subjugate it and recover territories of eastern provinces which had passed under the sway of the English Company Shah Alam dissuaded them from pursuing the ambitious plan as he thought it prudent to maintain friendly relations with both these powers¹⁹ Prem Kishor Firaq has, however, suggested that it was Shah Alam who had created the impression in his court that the ultimate objective underlying the absolute suppression of Afghan and Jat powers was to conquer Bihar and Banaras and effectively deal with the East India Company²⁰ Shah Nawaz Khan also informs us how Zinat Mahal, mother of Shah Alam, arranged the safe departure of Naro Shankar, the Maratha Resident at the royal palace in Delhi, hearing of the news of Ahmad Shah Durrani's triumphant march from Panipat in 1761,²¹ a significant fact omitted by G S Sardesai in his *New History of the Marathas*²²

- 2 4 Similar is the approach of Muhammad Ali Khan Ansari, author of *Tarikh-i Muzaffari* completed in 1800, to the assessment of Mahadaji Sindhia's role in the politics of north India and his relations with Shah Alam *Ibrat Namah*, written by Khair-ud Din Muhammad in 1843, contains an exhaustive account of Maratha-Afghan conflicts, activities of different Maratha generals, phases and facets in the growing relationship between the Mughal emperor and the Sindhia Both these writers have condemned the devastating upheaval wrought by Ghulam Qadir in the royal palace and the city of Delhi, and praised Mahadaji for hunting down and killing the perpetrator of those gory deeds *Maratha Namah*, a famous history of the Marathas, composed by Ali Ibrahim Khan at Banaras in 1786, heavily draws on *Khazana-i Amrah*, minus the diatribe by Ghulam Ali Azad against the Peshwa, Balaji Baji Rao Excepting the literary style and mode of expression there are no variations in the actual narration of facts with regard to the lineage of the Bhanslas or history of the rise of Marathas, power, life and career of Raja Shahu, and details of Nizam Ali's defeat at Sindkhed, 1757, resulting in the cession of territory yielding an income of Rs 27 lakhs to the Marathas²³

III

- 3 1 The Persian historiography of the Marathas, as it developed under the influence of British Residents at some princely courts was characterised by a growing tendency to adopt the western mode of documentation, respect for accuracy of facts, simplicity of style and a style of administrative aspects and socio-economic themes About the lucid narration of facts and authenticity of evidence as encouraged by the English patrons of men of letters Khair-ud-Din Allahabadi states

"Because British authorities (*saheban-i 'alishan*) do not like difficult and imposing style and flowery language I have, therefore, written this work in simple and plain style Whatever I witnessed and heard I have recorded without taking partisan attitude towards anyone I have finished the work within a brief span of one year, suffering great pain and working hard day and night I

crave the indulgence of my readers for divergences if any, between the narrative of events and explicit meaning of them”²⁴

3 2 In this genre of historical literature the *Tankh Rajah Lai Nagpur*, a comprehensive history of Bhonsale Rajas of Nagpur, affords an example of orientation to the new trend of English-patronised historical scholarship which paved way for compilation of general histories of India in the early nineteenth century. It was written in 1823 by an anonymous writer under the guidance of Richard Jenkins, the British Resident, who made numerous original documents available to him. It is based on many Persian works and collections of official records and letters such as Bhakar Poona, Bhakar Nagpur, Kitab Chhatisgarh, Kitab Jamabandi, and 25 volumes in Marathi. The author has mentioned the name of every source of information in the footnote on every page to support his statement of facts. This methodology, use of documentary evidence, and statistical data pertaining to revenue figures, income and expenditure, and salaries of soldiers and generals, represented a distinct advancement over the pre-colonial mode of historical writings.²⁵

3 3 The imperial court as a centre of power, under Maratha dominance, was still the major unit of historical study, and the focus of interests for many of the contemporary writers. They, however, expressed concern for the difficulties the underprivileged faced in this period of great instability. They did not identify themselves with a single religious community but generally sympathised with a single political system as a unifying force, capable of achieving stability through institutional order and alleviating economic hardship. God was still considered the sole cause of historical events and changes, but the actions of human agencies - royalty and nobility - were subjected to indictment for their failings and lapses. Shah Alam attributed every human suffering that he could not redress or remove to Divine will. When the Sikhs laid siege to the wall of Delhi and stopped the supply of grain, and the Banjaras and Gujjars stirred up disturbances, prices of grain rose to a high pitch causing great distress to the population, Shah Alam replied

“The will of God is like this that people should suffer, any anxiety and efforts in this regard is therefore useless. The will of Providence has precedence over human effort”²⁶

3 4 Analysing the causes of the severe famine of Bengal in 1770 Karm Ali, author of *Muzaffar Nama* writes

“Every event that takes place in this world is from God, and the rulers also play a role in its occurrence, they are the cause of prosperity or ruin of the country. The English rulers did not pay attention to the plight of the poor”²⁷

3 5 Thus, the source-material contained in these Persian works yields plentiful information not available elsewhere, pertaining to the names of towns and villages devastated, classes and groups of people oppressed, state of

economy, and the climate of opinion generated by the operation of diverse forces in the second half of eighteenth-century. Their study will also provide useful insights into many dimensions of social life of people marked by communal harmony and mutual good-will. Their writings remove misconceptions about their authors' perceptions and attitudes towards the Marathas, who dominated the political scene of North India during the period under review. The information presented by these writers may also be used to supplement evidence gleaned from other regional sources to form an overarching thesis of dynamics inherent in the forces of change taking place during the 18th century.

NOTES AND REFERENCES

- 1 Shiv Prashad, *Tankh-i Farha Bakhsh*, Aligarh Ms 172/38, *Ahwal-i Jang Panipat*, by the *Mutasadi* (secretary) of Shuja-ud Daulah, Aligarh Ms 32/39
- 2 Khafi Khan, *Muntakhab-ul Lubab*, II, pp 520, 626, 785-86, Mausavi Khan Jura't, *Munsha'aat-i Mausavi Khan*, Asfia Ms ff 148, 152, Qasim Aurangabadi, *Ahwal-ul Khawaqin*, B M Ms Add 26,444, ff 200b, Muhammad Bakhsh Ashub, *Tarikh-i Shahadat-i Farrukh Siyar wa Julus-i Muhammad Shah*, B M Ms Or 1832, f 78b
- 3 Ghulam Ali Azad Bilgrami, *Khazana-i Amrah*, written in 1763, Nawal Kishore Kanpur, 1871, pp 48, 49, Ali Ibrahim Khan, *Maratha Namah*, Patna Ms, ff 20-21, Muhammad Azam, *Maratha Namah*, I O L Ms Ethe, No 490, ff 72-73
- 4 Anonymous, *Tankh-i Alamgir Sani*, B M Ms Or 1749, pp 61, 195, 196, Anonymous, *Tankh-i Ahmad Shahi*, B M Ms Or 2005, ff 61, 67, 83
- 5 Qa'im Chandpuri held some office in Delhi, and later joined service under Najib-ud Daulah. He died in 1794. He lived in several other towns of the regions after the devastation of his own hometown Chandpur, in Basoli he was helped financially by Lala Holas Rai. He has described the conditions in Amroha, Bareilly, Rampur and Muradabad. For details, Iqtidar Hasan, ed., *Kulliyat-i Qa'im*, Lahore, pp 7, 36, 38, 48-49, 56-60, Thomas Beg has also given similar description of these and other towns like Ghosgarh, Najibabad, Muradabad, Bijnore which were destroyed by the Marathas and Mughals. The author was in the service of Zabita Khan, and then joined Najaf Khan. *Thomas Namah*, Lahore, 1986, pp 278-293
- 6 *Kulliyat-i Qa'im*, op cit, p 56
- 7 *Khazanah-i Amrah*, pp 48-50
- 8 *Khazanah-i Amrah*, p 110
- 9 Though carping in his criticism of the Marathas and their Peshwa Balaji Bajirao for political reasons Azad Bilgrami was a sincere admirer of India's material progress and cultural advancement. After his return from Hajj Pilgrimage in 1740 he settled in Aurangabad, the abode of peace, which was plundered by the Marathas in 1757. He composed a couplet in fulsome praise of India as "the best country under the sky to live in peace and comfort, and the sun-dial (*da'ira-i Hindi*) designed by Indian scientists and philosophers, by which the Muslim jurists could fix the noon (*zuhar*) and afternoon (*'asar*) prayers, is a significant contribution to science" *Khazana-i Amrah*, pp 125, 129, 134, 110-111
- 10 *Tarikh-i Ahmad Shahi*, op cit, f 64.
- 11 *Ibid*, f 93
- 12 G S Sardesai, *New History of the Marathas*, vol III, pp 267-268
- 13 The list of central ministers appointed by Shah Alam will reveal that he tried to maintain the old heterogeneous character of Mughal nobility. The army under Mahadaji Sindhia was also

composed of diverse elements - Marathas, Mughals, Rajputs and Hindus of north India. The Mughal soldiers who had previously served under Najaf Khan and Afrasiyab Khan were unhesitatingly recruited in the Maratha army. These soldiers freely participated in each other's festivals - Muharram at Saidpur and Holi at Mathura. *Waqai Alam Shahi*, pp 28, 40, 86

	Name	Office
1	Mahadaji Sindhia	<i>Wakil-i Mutlaq</i>
2	Asaf-ud Daulah (Nawab of Awadh)	<i>Wazir</i>
3	Samsan-ud Daulah	<i>Mir Bakhshi</i>
4	Jalal-ud Din Khan Bahadur	<i>Mir Atash</i>
5	Appaji Khando	<i>Khan Saman</i>
6	Raja Narain Das Nagar	<i>Diwan-i Khalisa</i>
7	Beni Ram	<i>Akhbar Nawis</i>
8	Manzur Ali Khan	<i>Nazir</i>

- 14 *Waqai Alam Shahi*, pp 27, 31, 33, *Ibrat Namah*, ff 126, 129, *Tarikh-i Muzaffari*, ff 290-291
- 15 *Waqai Alam Shahi*, p 86, for details of the Capture of Dig, *Ibrat Namah*, f 127, according to Fakhr-ud-Din the Mughal, Rohilla and Hindustani soldiers fought bravely on the side of Mahadaji Sindhia in this battle
- 16 This discussion was initiated by a courtier Shah Ahsanullah in the presence of Shah Alam. The emperor replied, 'I have become old and for the strength of old age (*asa-i peeri*) God has blessed him with a son who is Mahadaji Sindhia" Mahadaji had fixed Rs 12 lakhs per year for the privy purse, and deposited one lakh of rupees. The emperor was satisfied, and remarked, "I have surrendered the country to you, to me cash money must be offered" Subsequent entries in the records show that this amount was not regularly paid, and Shah Alam became dependent to him for daily expenses of his breakfast and clothes (*Waqai Alam Shahi*, pp 42, 48, 110)
- 17 *Waqai Alam Shahi*, pp 52, 58, 73
- 18 *Waqai Alam Shahi*, p 31
- 19 *Mirat-i Aftab Numan*, Aligarh Ms, p 543
- 20 *Waqai Alam Shahi*, p 73
- 21 *Mirat-i Aftab Numan*, p 527
- 22 *New History of the Marathas*, vol II, pp 416, 446
- 23 *Maratha Namah*, Patna Ms ff 48-49, 71-72
- 24 *Khairuddin Allahabadi, Tuhfat-i Tazah*, I O L Ms Ethe No 483, p 272. The author has also given full account of Bhao, the pretender who appeared at Banaras in the year 1780. He also composed the history of Gwalior entitled, *Karnamah-i Gwalior*
- 25 For details, Z U Malik, 'Side Lights on the Administrative System of the Bhausle State of Nagpur', *Proceedings of Indian History Congress*, Aligarh, 1975
- 26 *Waqai Alam Shahi*, p 33
- 27 Karm Ali Khan, *Muzaffar Namah*, Aligarh Ms f 215

THE FEMALE ELEMENT IN KUMARA SAMBHAVAMU

SUMMARY

A. PADMA*

The present paper is an attempt to critically analysis the Telgu work, '*Kumara Sambhavamu*' written by Nannechoda (AD 1120-1150) and evaluate the information it contains about the life of women in medieval Andhra. The main theme of the work is divine love between Lord Siva and Goddess Parvati. But a careful analysis of the same gives us the poet's idea of women which is very traditional and it truly reflects the general idea of women of medieval Andhra society, where a women's role was seen to strengthen the existing patriarchal form of society.

From the childhood, a girl is brought up in a fashion that will enable her to develop into an ideal, pious woman. Her education, arts like dance, music, painting and making garlands signify this aspect. Even recreational activities as playing with dolls, cooking for them, performing their marriage etc., suggest the influence of this ideology on the girl.

The institution of marriage became a religious duty more than a social necessity. The need for the role of father in arranging the marriage and the social approval for the same are stressed in the work. We also get the idea of how a marriage is celebrated with great festivity in the families of high economic status. A married women is supposed to serve her husband with great devotion and give co-operation to all his deeds adopting a submissive approach. This she has to do for her survival in a respectable position in the society.

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As a mother, women commanded respect from all sections of the society, particularly the literary works begin with the praise of the mother of the poet. The poet's insight into the psychology of a pregnant woman, the love of mother and her concern towards children are remarkable and give us the idea of the psychological estimate of a woman of his times.

While describing the atrocities committed by the demon king, the poet refers to the disgraceful treatment meted out to the ladies of the defeated kingdom, who otherwise were custodians of honour in the society.

Medieval period is characterised by the existence of certain social customs like 'sati', 'self immolation' and dedication of girls to temples etc. The Andhra society of Nannechoda's times is no exception to this as we find references to all these practices in this work. Further it is emphasised that the custom, 'sati' is the prescribed norm for family ladies. Thus, we get a vivid description of all aspects of the life of a family lady.

In addition, mention is also made of other classes of women in the society as the artisan and peasant women, the tribal women and the pleasure ladies, 'Bhoga Streelu'. Nannechoda mentions the various professions of artisan women, as selling flowers, keeping vigil of the fields, etc. On the contrary to the urban women, women of tribal areas seemed to have lived a comparatively independent life freely wandering in the forests, even carrying arms. Nannechoda refers to two types of tribal women, 'Sabara Streelu' and 'Eruka Streelu'. The latter predict the future and they often come to the cities, as such they are in the process of urbanisation, whereas the former were quite free moving, singing devotional songs and engaged in grinding rice. They do not seem to listen to their husbands and are accustomed to an intoxicated drink 'Zeerika Kallu'.

As prostitution was a recognised institution, the 'Bhoga Streelu' lived a restriction free life and were generally invited for arranging programmes of music and dance in marriages. Reference is also given to their activities as 'Jalakreedalu', 'Vasantotsvamu' wherein the freeness with which they behaved is highlighted on the contrary to the family ladies. This suggests the variable notions of respectability among women of those times in the society.

Thus 'Kumara Sambhavam' of Nannechoda is initially a religious work talking about divine love but whose analysis helps us in understanding the varied aspects of the life of various classes of women in medieval Andhra society.

DISSENT, PROTEST AND LEGITIMACY IN BHAKTI TRADITION WITH SPECIAL REFERENCE TO KABIR

SUMMARY

RAKESH SHUKLA*

The medieval period in Indian history was politically a period of strife and upheavals. From the religious point of view too, it was full of turmoil. But amidst this turmoil and upheaval there emerged a movement which sought to create an environment conducive to peace and social harmony. This was the Bhakti movement. It was an indigenous phenomenon having its roots in the religious thought of the Hindus, an important strand of which was a well-established tradition of dissent and protest. The *Bhakti* movement was a new manifestation of the same tradition and arose as a reaction to rigid intellectualism of the times.

The dissent and protest of the *Bhakti* saints was sharp and aggressive. It not only attacked socio-religious rituals and dogmas, but also ideological and cultural values which have outgrown their social relevance. Its rejection of the old values was so wide and comprehensive that it included even economic and political institutions. But their criticism of the social and religious practices was not nihilistic. It was informed by a sense of tolerance and a perceptive understanding of what should be discarded and what retained and fostered. They deprecated outward ostentation and affectation which had undermined the spirit and the true message of religion. Through their preachings they tried to drive home the fact that the

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contradiction of medieval Indian history lay not in the conflict between Islam and Hinduism, but in the inherent conflict between the '*shastra*' and the people

Kabir was the foremost exponent of this tradition of dissent and protest. He rejected institutionalized and organized religion and its accompaniments. His affirmation of the belief that the individual perception of God was the basis of true religion amounted to dissent and opposition to the prevailing social, economic, political and intellectual system of the period. Kabir's purpose behind this was to evolve such a common *Bhakti* tradition as would pave the way for the unity of mankind.

The legitimacy of dissent and protest in the *Bhakti* tradition lies in its very articulate protest against the meaningless rituals and dogmatic practices of both the Brahman priests and the Muslim Mullahs. In fact the fundamental aim of *Bhakti* was the transaction of people's power (*Loksatta*) and its preservation. In this context, Kabir underlined the importance of the purity of conduct of the individual as an integral part of society. Thus, the denunciation of the dead tradition by the *Bhakti* poets, especially Kabir, of medieval period was a devastating critic of the existing society. In *Bhakti*, we find not only the emergence of a new tradition but we also get a new standard for evaluating society and culture. Finally, the elements of dissent and protest in the *Bhakti* movement led to the birth of a new culture which was the product of the synthesis between Hinduism and Islam. This constitutes the lasting legacy of the *Bhakti* movement to Indian history.

INTERPRETATING SOCIAL IDEAS OF KABIR

SUMMARY

HEMANT KUMAR MISHRA*

Among the series of contemporaneous religious protagonists during Bhakti Movement, Kabir, a non-conformist saint, created his own niche of eminence as a social reformer, a pragmatic saint and a seminal blender between the two religious philosophies of his time. If we take the whole performance perpetrated by a *Nirgun Upasak*, a believer of impersonal god, Kabir, it can be unskeptically appraised that ideologically dissonant movement assured greatly a harmonizing dimension on account of his unequivocal and unambiguous ideological *tour-de-force*. Not marginally but fundamentally Kabir played a laudable role to bridge the chasm between the infiltrating Islamic philosophical paroxysm and the *sui generis* Brahmanical ideas. His syncretic ideological stride proved boon to the extrinsigent situation. The viability of eclecticism is inherent in his wide ranging explanation of Bhakti. But scholastically and academically *Bhakti* ascribes numerous explanations as a 'specific religious mode', 'belief', 'attachment to a personal god', 'an immotional religious cult opposed to the path of *jnana*', 'a monotheism', 'as the ideological antithesis of the *Adaita Vedanta*' or 'a devotional subject' deeds a further careful runnige to the meaning of Bhakti which may be congruously applicable in the case of Kabir.

Kabir's socially conscious mind left no stone unturned to throw his sarcasm upon Constitutionalised religious practices. His pithy remarks against religious practices of

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Brahmans and Mullans are praiseworthy Kabir accentuated upon the oneness of God which seriously drawn attention to the academics of modern time, that was a best possible way to bring unity in the society It is true that various beliefs and practices during Bhakti movement were somehow or rather related to the one another, but untill a consonance was worked out among them, a reapproachment was impossible Through monotheistic belief, Kabir believed that socio-religious attraction could be extirpated His idea of breaking of Temples and Mosques could have been questioned but it was duly coped with by declaring the concept of formless God He also propogated that God is all pervasive which minimised the role of intermediary like the priest during worship Now, people were free to worship God anywhere they wished

But with the passage of time Kabir failed to function to contravail his adonixture of ideological narration and his poetic reverberations segratted his/ectant to the long-standing Brahamancial manifestations of his time He equates God to *Guru* His verses ascribed absolute spiritual predominance to *Maya* and to the concept of peregreanation of saints Kabir too feel gargantuanically to the traditional Brahaminical fold It shook to the sublime sense of egalitarianism which was strongly lacking in the Brahaminical philosophy

These saintly religious explanation has smooth sailing in the social ambience Bhakti interpreted by conformist or non-conforonist saints not only remained confied to the religious courses, rather the concept of *Vishnu Bhakti* or *Shiv Bhakti* assured the form of *Swami Bhakti* and god embaded unshakeably into human relations Ideas of Kabir on *Guru* too ran through the prevailing social set with special religious sanction where it empowered masters of the land and property to claim fom the labourers to work under their unchallengingly It infused a staunch sense of eringing obligation in them but not the sense of payment, for the remuneration Reflection of these feudal manifestations in his versus transmitted with other courses of human relationship where frail women were again put to work under the thumb of their husbands who got related to the sanctionious meaning of *Swami* Here we find that as for their personal superiority and satisfaction Bhakti Gurus assured on unflexching dominance on their disciples through predilectious religious interpretations without being earning the harm they are going to conpart to the society

TRADE ROUTES IN MEDIEVAL KERALA AS REFLECTED IN THE SANDESA KAVYAS

SUMMARY

GREESHMALATHA, A.P.*

The present paper seeks to provide a brief information regarding various routes of trade in Kerala during the period from the 13th and 15th century A.D. as reflected in the Sandesakavya. They contain repeated reference to routes, of various kinds. From the description of these Malayalam literary works it is possible for us to gather that the merchants of Tamilnadu, Karnataka, Konkan, Andhra, Kalinga, Malava, Vangam reached the markets of Kerala. From these literary texts it is also possible for us to understand the routes that touch South to North, and in certain regions the routes parallel to the sea and in some other places it seems that the extension of routes to the more interior regions and touch some of the south Indian trading centres. We can also see the existence of rivers which run east to west cutting the land routes. Therefore bridges and ferries become necessary even for those who take a land route. Further the poems also contain reference to the backwaters. It seems that these backwaters played an important role in connecting the hinterland to a great extent. The rivers also connect a number of villages and producing centres. The description in the literary texts also help us to suggest that land route is not maintained well. It is also very clear from the reference of *Unnunilsandesam*. While describing the route from Quilon through Tiruvalla to Kayamkulam literary texts refer to the thick forests in both sides upto the end of Tekkinkuru. The presence of wayside robbers is also alluded to in the text.

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The foregoing analysis enable us to understand the nature of routes which existed during the period under discussion. An awareness of trade routes is to be considered as a necessary condition for analysing the nature of the various levels of trade. Hence, its examination seems as an important factor in the field of the study of urbanisation, because the rise and growth of urban centres may suggest a further improvement of trade routes.

INDIAN MATHEMATICIANS OF THE 18TH CENTURY AND THEIR WORKS

SUMMARY

ARSHAD HUSSAIN*

Mathematics developed in India during the 18th century alongside the other branches of learning despite grave political crisis in the country. It was the time when the ruling Mughal Princes were engaged in desperate power struggle. Sons and grandsons of Aurangzeb were fighting among themselves for the throne.

The internecine struggle drew heavily on the government resources which resulted in neglect of arts and sciences. Lack of patronage of learned men adversely affected the development of mathematics also. In spite of unfavourable circumstances, we find a number of scholars who contributed a lot to the development of Mathematics. Some of the master mathematicians and their works are as follows:

1. Imamuddin Riyadi (b 1656-d 1732). He was the grandson of Nadirul Asr Ustad Ahmad Mi'mar, the chief architect of the Red Fort of Delhi, the Taj Mahal of Agra and many other royal buildings. His works on mathematics are *Sharh-i Manazir-i Uqlidas* and *Kitabul Kurrah wal-Makhrut wall Ustuwana*.
2. Khairullah (the younger brother of Imamuddin Riyadi). He was the superintendent of the observatories constructed at Jaipur, Benaras and

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- Ujjain by Raja Jai Singh during Muhammad Shah's reign. His work on geometry is *Taqirrut-Tahrir*
- 3 Anand Ram (d. 1752). He was a renowned poet and writer of Allahabad. His work *Dasturul 'Amal* deals with accountancy.
 - 4 Khwajah Muhammad Mah. The author of two books on arithmetic entitled *Miratul Hisab* and *Sharh-i Khulasatul Hisab*.
 - 5 Muhammad Zaman Fayyad Anbalawi. He was a native of Anbala and wrote a number of books on mathematics. Some of his works are *Fayyadul Muhasibin*, *Hukmur-Riyadi* and *Ghayatu Juhdil Hisab*.
 - 6 Aminuddin-Ahmad Lahori (d. 1780). He is the author of a book on arithmetic entitled *Lawami 'ul lubab Fi sharh-i Khulasatil Hisab*.
 - 7 Dabirud-Daulah Faridud Din Ahmad Khan Bahadur (b. 1748-d. 1828). He was a well known politician and writer. The name of his book on geometry is *Dar San at-i Parkar Ma Fawa idul Afkar*.

Besides the mathematicians mentioned in brief in the summary, the biographers and historians have described some others who made significant contribution to mathematics during this period. This shows keen interest of Indian towards this branch of science.

III

MODERN INDIA

Address of the Sectional President

SOCIAL FORMATION OF THE VILLAGE IN NORTH INDIA

(LATE EIGHTEENTH-EARLY NINETEENTH CENTURY)

K.P. MISHRA

- 01 I am highly beholden to Executive Committee of the Indian History Congress for electing me to preside over the Modern India Section of the 52nd session of the Indian History Congress. This position has been occupied by a galaxy of distinguished historians and I am only too conscious of my limitations. I consider this honour as a generous recognition of whatever little work I have done in this field. It would be my ardent endeavour to prove worthy of the trust reposed in me by my friends and elder historians.
- 02 I would like to use this opportunity to share with you some thoughts on the social formation of villages in North India in the late eighteenth and early nineteenth centuries. This has involved looking again at the effects of imperial Mughal disintegration and of the emergence of vigorous successor states such as Awadh, or on a smaller scale the Banaras Raj. It has also meant a closer examination of the broad generalizations with which British administrators sought to make sense of what they found as they advanced from Bengal into the Ceded and Conquered Provinces and the Delhi Territories.

I

- 11 One of the most potent of these generalizations or myths was that North India was a land of 'village republics', of self-sufficient corporately organised villages, that there were two Indias, that of the enduring, unchanging village and that

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of despotic dynasties restlessly succeeding one another. The vision of the isolated, self-sufficient village was first propounded by Sir Charles Metcalfe in 1830,¹ found echoes in John Malcolm and further applications at the hands of Sir Henry Maine and Karl Marx.² In this century Mahatma Gandhi and his followers not only stated that the Indian village traditionally had been self-sufficient, but advocated a political programme which would restore the village to its historic, ideal form. As Louis Dumont has commented,³ over time the village community has been viewed first as a political society, as in Metcalfe's day, then, when the British had taken force into their hands, as an economic society based on co-ownership of the soil, while by Gandhi's day the village has become an embodiment of values and 'a watchword of Indian patriotism'.⁴

- 1 2 Metcalfe's enthusiastically projected vision was an extreme one, based upon his own quite narrow experience of the *bhaiachara* villages of the Delhi area. But what he saw there he projected as a universal model: a village able to preserve its people as dynasty after dynasty tumbled down and 'in a high degree conducive to their happiness, and to the enjoyment of a great portion of freedom and independence'. Metcalfe is also writing only about the dominant group within the village, the oligarchic brotherhood, not the total village population. The republic he portrays is a political, not an economic or social structure. Few would be so confident now about the immemorial nature of the institutions he observed.⁵
- 1 3 Eric Stokes, however, has argued that their political survival in the Delhi Territories and Haryana, turned upon such communities being basically tribal in nature, owning jointly and working the land themselves. A scarce population in relation to the land available, an uncertain climate and heavy revenue assessments meant that proprietary rights were worth very little and this in turn prevented differentiation within the community. In Rohtak, for example, where the Jats formed as much as 80% of the village population, *bhaiachara* tenure was almost universal, all the cultivators were proprietors and paid the same revenue rates. In the Eastern U.P., where population was dense and agriculture comparatively secure, there might in a few areas be the appearance of *bhaiachara* - as in the angle of the Ganga and Ghagra - but that was because the conquering Rajput clans, who had once cultivated through a tributary tenant class, had so grown in numbers that they had to take to the cultivation of their *sir* lands. Though proprietors they looked like *ryotwari* cultivators.⁶ But, by contrast to the Rohtak Jats, they were still only a small minority of the population, paid revenue at a higher rate and as the Jaunpur Collector argued, acted as individuals, not a corporate body.⁷ In neither case could the 'brotherhood' be taken, to include the village population at large, including the village artisans and craftsmen and the village servants, as Sir Henry Maine mistakenly assumed.
- 1 4 Karl Marx also saw the Indian village as extraordinarily resistant to change, 'an unchangeableness in such striking contrast with the constant dissolution and refounding of Asiatic states,' but attributed this to the economic self-sufficiency and simplicity of the village. And that was based upon the presence

within it of a 'domestic union of industrial and agricultural pursuits,' provided by the caste system, with landholder, agriculturalist and artisan castes held in 'a sort of equilibrium within the village'⁸ Sleeman, Moreland, Percival Spear and more recently Irfan Habib have all discussed the village in this way as a unit including landowners, peasants, landless labourers, artisans and village servants⁹ It is in terms of this wider interpretation that I intend to discuss the social formation of the villages of North India, with special reference to eastern Uttar Pradesh I must point out, however, that because villages with predominantly Muslim inhabitants have slightly different structural properties, and because my time is limited, I have left them outside the purview of this paper The arguments of sociologists such as Louis Dumont and M N Srinivas about the way in which Hinduism as an overarching structure of ideas sustains the *jajmani* system of interlocking caste rights and duties, cannot for example be directly applied to Muslim villages

II

- 2.1 If we look at the settlement pattern of villages in the eastern U P there are no signs of regular planning But there is a pattern in their natural growth which reflects the social and cultural make-up of the village population Thus the village will usually consist of a main site surrounded by hamlets which for revenue and other administrative purposes would be treated as a single unit This was true even of such large villages as Reotipur and Gahmar in Ghazipur district which contained as many as fifty or sixty detached sites round the central site¹⁰ This dispersal of the rural population into clusters of hamlets was in marked contrast to the compact settlement in the western part of the state¹¹ Each hamlet was generally occupied by a distinct caste or sub-caste, as its name would show Pandepurva, Ahirpurva, Dhobipurva and the like
- 2.2 It may perhaps serve to make generalizations less theoretical if we make the villages of the Varanasi division our principal study, using early British reports together with nineteenth century Census reports as sources¹² Jonathan Duncan, the Company's Resident in Varanasi in the 1790s recorded some 12,000 villages in the four districts of Varanasi, Jaunpur, Ghazipur and Mirzapur, with a total population of twenty-six lakhs¹³ That would suggest an average of two hundred inhabitants per village, assuming that the figures were accurate (The first regular survey of the North-Western Provinces in 1853 gave some 16,000 villages in the Varanasi division, but the more accurate 1865 census, while giving a similar total, classified only 12,735 sites as being villages with settled populations, the rest being small hamlets irregularly or only occasionally inhabited¹⁴ Duncan's earlier enumeration of villages thus seems quite plausible) The majority of villages, then, were comparatively small The much larger villages, 2,000 or even 10,000 strong, in Ghazipur-Ballia owed their swollen size to the need to congregate on higher land which was safer from the annual floods and the changes in the river's course to which the alluvial tracts along the Ganga were subjected¹⁵ There were other political knots of population larger than

the average village the headquarters of clan lineages and larger landholders, marked by a mud fort or substantial *kothi*. These, like the trading centres found on the rivers, then the major route for bulk commodities, shared some of the characteristics of town and of village - a hybrid form which Fox usefully labelled 'rururban' ¹⁶

III

- 3 1 How was the production of the village and its distribution organized? Four main categories of inhabitants could be found, sharing unequally in the work and rewards of village life. These were the landowners and the village officials drawn from their ranks, the peasants, the landless labourers and the village artisans and servants. The full complement of all these categories was not found in every minor village, but over any wider area their presence ensured that all the day-to-day needs of the villages were catered for.
- 3 2 The dominant and directive element within the village was provided by the zamindar or the zamindari brotherhood, whose existence in most villages of the region is amply demonstrated in the revenue records. In either case most of the land was held by the dominant element. In the brotherhood or *bhaiachara* type of village the proprietary community cultivated much of the land themselves, whereas in the zamindari type the proprietors let the land and lived, not from the profits of cultivation so much as from rents. In addition the directive element in the village, whatever form it took, was entitled to a ten percent allowance for collecting the revenue due to government.
- 3 3 The power of dominant lineage might extend over a whole *mohal* or just a few villages and the claim to land, let or self-cultivated, and to the other dues attached to proprietorship was shared among the members of the brotherhood by inheritance from the original incoming conquerors or clearers of the soil. 'The brotherhood', as Moreland put it, 'were held together by the ties of a common ancestry, each individual having separate possession of the land which he cultivated, but the whole body acting together through its representatives, in managing the affairs of the village and paying the revenue' ¹⁷
- 3 4 In some villages the proprietary brotherhood remained joint sharers in the produce of the lands and were jointly responsible to government for the payment of land revenue. More usually the lands were allotted by divisions supposedly representing the share of the children of the original founder. The present descendants, few or many, of each original heir owned a fractional share in the relevant division. In such cases managers representing these major divisions were responsible for revenue collection and payment and for allocating the ten percent allowance thereon which formed the zamindari *haq*. Even then there might be some land in the village which was still common property, the *Shamilat* lands ¹⁸. Currie, Deputy-Collector, Gorakhpur explained that in these circumstances 'the rents of the individual land are first appropriated for the satisfaction of the Government demand and if insufficient, the balance is paid by the proprietors according to their several shares' ¹⁹

- 3 5 The managers, because they were in charge of the village records, were well placed, as an Agra Commissioner observed to 'get the better of the weak and simple the absence of those entitled to share, or the incapacity of some of the resident proprietors has enabled others to obtain shares very disproportionate to their hereditary rights '²⁰
- 3 6 Mehendi Ali Khan, a knowledgeable *amil* of Ghazipur, Duncan's principal informant, made the same point, but added a further detail of intra-village relationships

'There are cases where there is one zamindar who is very powerful, and of whom all his brethren stand in fear, he collects from all his brothers and ryots the malguzary of revenue taking on himself to settle for the whole, and if all the brethren should desire to enter into possession with him according to their shares he will not admit thereof but neither does he collect from those brethren of his at the same rate, as he does from the common ryots, so much the contrary, that if the common ryots pay, for instance, after the proportion of 3 rupees per begah, he will only take from these his brethren at the rate of 2 rupees per begah, and the ryots and all submit to this from ancient custom '²¹

- 3 7 The disparity between the revenue paid by cultivators who were members of the proprietary body and those who were not -the 'ryots' - was often institutionalised by the use of different measures in assessing land to revenue for the two classes In pargana Shadiabad, for example, the *bhaiwandi bigha* was four times larger than the common *bigha* used to measure and assess the rayats holdings The true area of proprietary *sir* land (land directly cultivated by the brotherhood) was thus in reality often much greater than the figures in the village records upon which government demand was based ²²
- 3 8 These inequitable arrangements are a reminder that brotherhood dominance was ultimately based upon force in the Dobih *taluka* in Jaunpur, the Raghuvanshi Rajputs owned nearly 100 villages spreading over forty square miles ²³ Such lineages were conquerors depending upon a tributary tenant class, often itself descended from an earlier layer of conquerors What is more though individual families and clans rose and fell in the century or more after our period, the dominant castes have kept their grip on land) D T Roberts, Settlement Officer, Ballia in 1886 wrote Changes of government, changes of law and the development of individual rights have affected distribution of the produce and the modes and extent of authority exercised by the descendants of these colonists, but they still possess it '²⁴ In Bihar, in 1951, Brahmins and Rajputs, together less than 10% of the population were still 78.6% of the landowners of the province ²⁵

IV

- 4 1 Though the amount of *sir* owned by the brotherhood and cultivated with the aid of the village servants and landless labourers varied from pargana to pargana, most villages also contained a body or bodies of cultivating raiyats who did not form part of the brotherhood. They represented an older stratum of cultivators and landowners who had lost ground to the incoming zamindar class or caste.
- 4 2 A first category of such raiyats termed *khudkasht*, *maurus* or *chhapparband*, i.e. resident cultivators. They appear to have nowhere claimed more than the right of occupying the fields they cultivated, and so long as they paid the customary rent, they by 'distinct engagements or long usage acquired the right of occupancy, 'perhaps heritable but 'not transferable by sale, or gift or mortgage, nor resumable if once vacated' ²⁶ Their castes varied from village to village. In some they were mostly of one caste, in others of two, but rarely of more than three. This is true of many villages in east U.P. even today, and probably always was so.
- 4 3 What sort of relationship existed between the resident cultivators and their superiors, the zamindars? Solidarity in the defence of their village and in resisting tax-gatherers' solidarity, too, against intrusive outsiders. R.O. Wynne, magistrate of Jaunpur from 1808 to 1815, reports the reception of a new possessor by purchase of a defaulting estate:

'If the new proprietor (who is never allowed the title of zamindar but is called *kareedar*) has bought an entire estate, he finds on going to take possession, either that he is resisted by open force, or that all the ryotts have deserted to some neighbouring village with their cattle and implements of husbandry. If he purchases only a share in an estate, he is placed in still a more helpless predicament, the old ryotts refuse to cultivate for him, and no new ryotts will dare to settle under a zamindar who has no local influence or power to protect them against the avowed enmity of all the other inhabitants of the place' ²⁷

For the British the most startling demonstration of such solidarity, or deference, came in 1857 when whole agricultural community in Awadh followed their traditional leaders into rebellion.

- 4 4 Internal relations, however, were marked by conflict rather than consensus. Prudence might lead zamindars to treat their under-tenants with moderation, Wynne said, but 'zamindars in their common transactions, seldom attend to the principles of good faith. Between them there exists a mutual distrust, and the ruling passion that influences them in all their actions, is a strong self-interest' ²⁸

- 4 5 One further class of cultivator-tenants requires notice, the non-resident *paikasht* or *pahi-kasht* raiyats. Their presence was due, in the widest term, to the shortage of labour in relation to land available and to the zamindars' need to maximize village output by bringing in outside labour where the village forces were inadequate. Whereas the *khudkasht* raiyats paid their revenue and zamindari dues and cesses to the brotherhood at customary rates, the *paikashts* position in the village was contractual, the result of a bargain struck.²⁹ The zamindar needed more hands especially at busy seasons while the *paikasht* raiyats could find themselves short of land to work, for a variety of reasons. Tom Kessinger, for example, has demonstrated the way in which families may move from being short of labour for their plots when their children are very young to having too much as sons grow up. Over longer periods, too, differences in fertility mean that some families grow more rapidly than others. Rapid growth forces some to look outside the village for land to cultivate, slow growth forces others to look for labour to help them work their plots.³⁰ Again, where a brotherhood was multiplying without being able to colonise new territory they would attempt to extend the area of their *sir* at the expense of their tenants, who were driven from being *khudkasht* to become *paikasht* raiyats.³¹ The relationship between zamindari brotherhood, *khudkasht* and *paikasht* raiyats was thus always changing over time, and individuals might find themselves at any time in more than one category.
- 4 6 The *paikasht* raiyat, as an outsider, did not enjoy the same protection and permanence of possession as a *maurus* raiyat who was a member of the village community but where the zamindar was anxious to extend cultivation the *paikasht* raiyat could often secure more favourable terms than the *khudkasht* raiyat.

V

- 5 1 The third element in the village - and the one most directly subject to the zamindar's control - was the landless labourer. This class dependent on higher caste cultivators and zamindars was very numerous in North India. Such labourers were often *chamars*, by caste leather workers but in practice workers on the land. Thus in a thousand acre village near Varanasi there were about a hundred *Chamars* serving as ploughmen to the Brahmin and Rajput cultivators.³² With their women and children they performed all sorts of rough agricultural work - probably also supplying some leather articles as well - for their high caste employers. They were usually paid in kind.
- 5 2 There normally existed a hereditary connection between such landless labourers and their employers, and by village custom they were not permitted to change their masters, who had a prior claim on their labour, though in their spare time they could work in other men's fields or as artisans (leather dressers, cobblers and shoe-makers), one or two of their women served as village midwives and received a customary remuneration, in cash or kind, from the village people.³³

- 5 3 Because of the nature of their jobs, their meager economic resources and their extensive exploitation by the higher castes, the *Chamars* lived in a semi-servile state

VI

- 6 1 The fourth group whose presence in the village, or group of villages, was essential and universal was that of the village artisans and servants, providing specialist goods and services. Their number varied from village to village, some being more indispensable than others. As an example we might instance the village, east of Varanasi, in which the East India company chaplain William Tennant in 1797 noted families of *lohar* (blacksmith), *dhobi* (washerman), *nai* (barber), *kahar* (potter) and *barai* (betel-nut preparer) amongst the main service castes, but also a *bhat* (a genealogist and bard) and a *chaukidar* (village watchman) - caste not given³⁴
- 6 2 In return for their services these craftsmen and servants were usually paid at the two harvests in grain, and upon special occasions, such as life cycle ceremonies and festivities, they and their families received small allowances in cash, kind and food, sharing with their patrons in the ceremony and feasting³⁵
- 6 3 Their social and economic ties with the zamindars and cultivators who were their patrons continued from generation to generation. Thus if there were three barbers in a village, each would be responsible for barbering one particular group of families only. He did not seek to attract new customers, and his patrons would not change to another barber, in search of a cheaper or better shave. His children would likewise serve only the descendants of that group of families³⁶

VII

- 7 1 This then was the general pattern of village organisation as reported in the accounts of individuals and records of government. Two or three other village figures, standing a little apart, have still to be mentioned: the Brahmin priest or *pandit*, the *bania* or merchant, and the *patwari* or land record keeper
- 7 2 The *pandit* supervised and solemnised birth, marriage, death and other rituals, cast horoscopes, and advised on propitious moments for domestic and agricultural ventures. He might have a grant of temple land and would receive from his patrons or *jajmans* customary offerings or *dakshina* according to their status in the village³⁷. These were payments, just as the payments to village artisans or servants were, but ritually they were offered to him, but paid to them³⁸
- 7 3 The village *bania*, whose role as a moneylender was so often stressed in British accounts of the village,³⁹ was basically a merchant trading in the

agricultural surpluses of the village and providing goods such as salt from outside the village. He also provided the credit which the seasonal nature of farming inputs and returns required and for funding the performance of social rites.⁴⁰ The fact that state revenue payments, from Mughal times on, had increasingly to be made in cash increased his importance as a link to the wider world of commerce and finance.

- 7.4 Finally, note must be taken of the village officials, the headman or *muqaddam* and the *patwari*. The *muqaddam* was usually drawn from the class of resident raiyats, though occasionally he might be of zamindari status. He was organiser and spokesman for the raiyats.⁴¹ The *patwari's* office, known under various names, was an old one, his task being to record landholdings, the fields cultivated by each household, the crops grown, their out-turn, and the government revenue due. His office was not strictly hereditary, but was often held by one family over several generations.⁴² It was the *patwari's* accounts which the *tehsildar* included in his estimate of government revenue, the basis in turn for the British collector's revenue settlement for the district. The government, or the superior landholders such as the *taluqdars* in Awadh, thus depended greatly on the *patwari's* records and their accuracy. To the proprietary brotherhood, anxious to conceal the true extent of their holdings and push the burden of revenue on to others, control of the *patwari* and his accounts was even more vital. Similarly, for the powerful individual, anxious to see himself set down as proprietor instead of the whole brotherhood of which he was a member, the first essential step was to have his sole name appear in the *patwari* records. If the *patwari* was a servant, of government and the village proprietors, he was also very often an important player in his own right.⁴³
- 7.5 These were the basic elements of the social and economic structure of the North Indian village. There is still much to be done in mapping the variations, regional and local, which occur upon these common themes. But there has been, and still is, wide variety in the interpretation of the material already available. I would like to look at some of the issues thrown up by modern research.
- 7.6 One aspect stressed by Marx and others was the isolation and self-sufficiency of the village, small-scale peasant farming for subsistence, supplemented by the inputs of the village artisans. All these aspects are currently under review. On revenue matters in which they were interested governments have left ample records. Self-sufficiency, however, is an aspect to be approached by inference rather than directly.
- 7.7 The evidence would suggest, for example, that during the Mughal period North India saw a slow but steady growth of population, disturbed but not halted by the turbulent years of central decline and regional growth of political power. With this also went an extension and intensification of agriculture. The dreadful famine of 1783 certainly reduced population and output in high-risk areas of unstable agriculture in the upper Doab.⁴⁴ From Allahabad, certainly from

Varanasi eastwards, however, there had been quite rapid colonisation of frontier lands and an extension of double-cropping with the sinking of wells and tank-building. This had been accompanied by a growth in production for the market, that provided by the courts of the new states and subordinate kingdoms at Lucknow, Varanasi or Farrukhabad for example, and by external markets, China, South-East Asia and Europe, for which such crops as indigo and opium were produced and textiles, cotton and silk.

- 7.8 These changes were accompanied by a monetization of the economy as state revenues came to be demanded, as a norm, in cash, and rents from tenant cultivators and payments to village artisans also acquired a cash element. The steady influx of gold and silver from the America and Africa, and of copper from northern Europe and Japan,⁴⁵ served not only to build up Mughal state reserves, but also to facilitate trade and agricultural production for the market. In 1968 Aziza Hasan attempted to quantify the process in her study of the currency output of the Mughal mints,⁴⁶ and Shireen Moosvi made a fresh attempt at quantification some years later.⁴⁷ In the late eighteenth century moreover there was a considerable expansion in the number of local mints, producing quantities of the copper coins used in small day-to-day transactions. Far from this being a sign of degeneration, so Perlin argues, this should be seen - together with massive inputs of cowries earlier in the century - as evidence for the monetization of the lower levels of the economy, in the small market town and at the headquarters of clan and caste leaders, and among peasants, weavers etc.⁴⁸ And monetization of revenue and rental demand implies, so Irfan Habib has argued, an extensive commodity production in the villages for markets which could convert crops into monetary forms. Such markets in turn were tied into regional and all-India systems of credit transactions of great sophistication. (The major regional example is, of course, Varanasi, whose bankers I studied for this period in my study *Banaras in Transition*)⁴⁹ All this indicates a commercialization of agriculture and a linking of villages with the market which contradicts or at least modifies the older picture of their self-subsisting isolation.
- 7.9 The same conclusion would seem to follow from known process of urbanisation under the Mughals, first in the west, then in the east of the region after the incorporation of Bengal into the empire. Mrs Naqvi's argument that the fragmentation of the empire in the eighteenth century and the rise of ambitious new states, able to draw skilled refugees from the centre, encouraged urbanization - witness Faizabad, Farrukhabad, Rampur, Lucknow and the fostering of trade centres at Kanpur and Mirzapur, is most certainly true of the Banaras region.⁵⁰ Mirzapur, rapidly growing by 1814 to an estimated 90,000 inhabitants, was a new market which must have drawn villages for many miles round it into a more active marketing of their crops, their timber, leather, man and bullock power. Such towns also attracted agricultural settlers, especially those castes such as *Kurmi*, *Kacchi* and *Keori*, which specialized in intensive market gardening. C A Bayly instances Nawabganj, across the Ghagra river from Faizabad, founded as a market town by Shuja Ud Daulah. The adjacent territory of Gonda district,

Bahu Begum's *jagir*, saw a rapid growth of agriculture under the town's influence. Yielding a revenue of Rs 8 lakhs a year in 1793 it produced nearly Rs 60 lakhs by 1830.⁵¹ Nawabganj, moreover, was only one of a crop of *ganjs*. Bayly mentions forty-two such *ganjs* founded in trans-Ganges Awadh alone between 1750 and 1819, some by the nawabs, others by leading nobles and by officials such as Almas Ali Khan.⁵² Each facilitated trade - and provided readier access to credit for farmers. They were particularly effective in areas where clearance and cultivation was being extended - as in Gonda.

- 7 10 The villages of the eastern U P and Bihar were also affected by the intensification of indigo and opium cultivation, and of sugar production. The Varanasi region had long been a centre for cotton textile production, with the opportunities that provided for spinning as a domestic industry in the village, and round major centres, for handloom production too.⁵³ Both these were financed by cash transactions, involving the villager in purchasing his materials in the market and selling the finished product for money too. From Akbar's day the same region had been noted for sugar-cane production, and what eighteenth century evidence there is, suggests that this was growing, at times rapidly. The sugar, refined or unrefined, was exported mainly to Bengal, but with some also to the Deccan.⁵⁴ This was a high-cost crop, also involving cane-crushing before the juice was sold, for cash, to the sugar boilers. The crop again linked cultivators to markets and since the crop was a long time in the ground, with credit sources too.
- 7 11 From about 1810 indigo factories, European owned, made their appearance in the Ganga valley, one group centered on Farrukhabad, but covering Meerut, Moradabad, Bareilly and Etawah, and a more solid spread in Bihar and neighbouring Jaunpur and Ghazipur. Initially the factories bought the indigo in a semi-manufactured state, as *gaud*, cakes of the dye extract which they then cleaned, pressed and packed for export to Europe. From the 1820s, however, it was more usual to buy the plant from zamindars, who had collected it from their tenants, and to process this in bulk at the factory. Either system injected cash, in the form of advances into villages, of particular value in meeting the installments of government revenue demand.⁵⁵ For the upcountry areas round Farrukhabad indigo also injected uncertainty. This was a marginal area which saw boom conditions in the 1820s and crash in 1833 which ruined many local bankers and traders.⁵⁶
- 7 12 Opium, a very special crop in its demand for prime quality land and intense cultivation, also had the same effect. In the eighteenth century, Patna was the main centre, though Ghazipur also produced good opium, much sold in Rajputana.⁵⁷ Before 1772 this trade was in Indian hands, after 1772 it was made an East India Company monopoly, the area under poppy rising from about 25,000 acres in 1800 to about 175,000 acres thirty years later. It was organised under two agencies, at Varanasi and Patna, who contracted through sub-agencies and their subordinate outposts or *kothis* with a vast number of individual cultivators, mainly *Kachhi* or *Koeri* by caste. What was important was

the linking of the villages with world markets, and the use of cash advances, paid several times a year. These fed cash into the villages which was interest free (without too much being siphoned off by intermediaries either). The total at mid-century was something like Rs 14 million a year, concentrated in comparatively small well-defined areas of good land. What is more, because the Company maintained reserve stocks to prevent fluctuations in their exports to China, the income from opium was stable one ⁵⁸

- 7.13 If to these wider economic contacts of the village are added those of marriage ties, extending twenty miles or so around the village, visits to local weekly or bi-weekly *haths* or markets, to the opium *kothis* and more rarely to a *ganj*, or one of the great fairs at Mirzapur or Sonapur or to some pilgrimage centre, then the notion of the isolated village becomes difficult to accept.
- 7.14 Self-sufficiency becomes a suspect attribute too. Asiya Sidduqi has raised the question whether in this period cash was yet sharply enough localised to encourage a dependence on imported grain. Azamgarh, for example, an important cloth-making district had links with cotton-growing Bandelkhan and with Mirzapur, the great cotton-market. It also grew sugar, indigo and opium in significant quantities. In consequence it was importing grain from Gorakhpur, Bihar and the upper Doab to feed itself ⁵⁹. Similarly it is argued that the indigo tracts in the Ganga valley drew grain from Rohilkhand, and that in Kanpur district the cotton lands along the Yamuna and indigo along the Ganga drew their grain from the higher tract between the two rivers ⁶⁰. This indicates commercialization of the countryside on a wider scale. There are a few indications also of harvest gangs moving about the countryside - a common feature in the harvesting of rice in Bengal, but reported by Buchanan-Hamilton about Gorakhpur, too, where men came from Awadh for several months work ploughing and sowing, paid for in cash and grain ⁶¹. (Travelling cotton-carders were known in all the cotton tracts). No estimate has yet been made of the remittances made to the villages by the men of this region serving in the armies of the Nawab and the East India Company, still less of what they brought home by way of experience of the wider world.
- 7.15 It is also noticeable that whereas Marx and other nineteenth century observers emphasized the lack of connection between the rural world of the village and the urban and courtly world of rulers, except at the point of revenue collection, there are many points, as we have seen, where the one did react directly on the other. Nawabs, nobles, great revenue-farmers founded *ganjs* to foster trade. Almas Ali Khan created several such markets in Unao and Etawah, round his headquarters at Mianganj, settled *kurmi* cultivators on his lands and opened indigo factories ⁶². Baiswara (now Rae Bareilly and Unao), the land of the Bais Rajputs, saw its leaders busy with tank and well building in the mid-eighteenth century and successfully going into long-distance trade thereafter. The 'rururban' clan headquarters had substantial communities of weavers and brass-ware makers which served the whole clan region of Baiswara ⁶³. There is evidence, too, that moves into cash and double cropping were encouraged or driven by ruling elites. The Begam

Samru was notorious for heavy revenue demands, but also sought to maximise production by requiring a shift into cash crop. The market-gardener castes were attracted to area of new settlement or to poppy lands - by rents which were for some years pitched very low. And Bayly, in his *Rulers, Townsmen and Bazaars* offers a further model for research to prove or disprove. He starts with Richard Fox's analysis of change in Rajput clan structures when a lineage has settled all the waste land of its territory and has bumped up against the borders of another Rajput group, so that cadet lines can no longer move away to establish their own colony, but have to be given part of the already settled land. This is a point where extension has to be replaced by intensification of agriculture - wells, tanks and embankments - and specialisation of artisan output - in weaving, brass-work, weapon-making, say. A second point of intensification occurs when the Nawab or a powerful *amil* imposes a further demand for revenue - which can only be successfully met by growing more. Balwant Singh as an example of such successful intensification and commercialisation of agriculture.⁶⁴

- 7 16 Such intensification required credit and inputs of capital. In British mythology these were supplied to the village by the *bania*, the villainous moneylender. Moreland, however, recognised that their services were 'absolutely indispensable'.⁶⁵ Their presence inside the village enabled them to judge the personal creditworthiness of its inhabitants in a way no outside institution could do, and though their charges were high - like their risks - they had no wish to drive their cultivator clients out of business. As traders they needed a high turnover of their modest capital - foreclosing on mortgaged land was the very last thing they wished to do - as P J. Musgrave has convincingly argued.⁶⁶ Their access to grain stocks made it easy also to give credit in kind.
- 7 17 It had been increasingly recognised, however, that there were others within the village who shared the *bania's* knowledge of individual credit worthiness, who had money to spare for loans, but to whom foreclosing on land might be quite advantageous. These were the more prosperous proprietors, the sort of man who, as an Etah Court of Wards official noted, saved only in the hope of 'employing what he saves in petty loans in his little circle of poorer men'. Their lending appears less frequently in court records than does the *bania's*, but it was probably on a much larger scale. Much was short-term, 'tiding over' lending, repayable in cash or kind, but it could be in labour at peak times like ploughing or harvest. Some rich cultivators, who owned their own carts or bullocks, could also by-pass the *bania* and market crops themselves. Successful lending could be very profitable. Narayan Singh, a Rajput proprietor in Etah made Rs 300 profit on his 100 acres, but Rs 750 from his money-lending, and much larger men, Awadh taluqdars for example, found it more convenient to collect interest from indebted tenants than land revenue.⁶⁷ In the Varanasi region, Duncan in 1789 talks about 'rural capitalists', men drawn from artisan or cultivating castes, *Telis* (oil men), *Kalwars* (distillers), *Malis* and *Koeris* (Market-gardeners) who had money to lend and links with the town.⁶⁸ The evidence of this lending by rich peasants to their fellows introduces a new type of tie in village society not apparent in earlier descriptions.

VIII

- 8 1 This leads me to the last point I would like to examine - the internal structure of the village and the relationship between its parts. Land revenue officials could most readily view the inhabitants of the village as a hierarchy: zamindari brotherhood - resident raiyat-landless labourer, a structure of superiority and inferiority echoed in the caste status of these broad groups. But it was clear to the anthropologically minded that the village community also had cross-cutting 'horizontal' rights and duties, making its members interdependent. W. H. Wiser's *The Hindu Jajmani System*, published in 1936, set out more completely than before the reciprocity of the roles of *jajman* (patron) and *kamin* (client) between the occupational castes from which village society is constructed. What he demonstrated was that though some segments had acquired superiority in political and economic power, in social and religious terms there was a mutual indispensability.
- 8 2 This was clearly the case in the period being examined. Thus when an infant was born in a Brahmin or Rajput family - high caste and member of the proprietary body - the services of midwife were provided by a *Chamar* woman, who not only lived and shared meals with the mother, but laid down conditions for her service. Similarly no ceremony could begin - and even today it is so - without the *Chamar's* attendance with his drum beat. If a Brahmin priest was essential at the time of the *yogyopariit* or sacred thread ceremony, so no less was the barber. Unless his demands were agreed to, no head would be shaved. All the functions of the village were considered essential and valuable. And in social relationships age determined respect, as forms of greeting display. What is more, Dumont has argued, this view of village society as an interdependent social whole is one deducible from and in accord with the formal theory of the Hindu social order.⁶⁹ That wholeness was echoed also in the assumption that remuneration should take the form of a customary right to a share in the produce of the village - in its grain heap after harvest. And as T. S. Epstein has argued, that right to basic subsistence was maintained even in years of bad harvest when the brotherhood members themselves went short of food. She argues, indeed, that the size both of the village settlement and of customary rewards was dictated by the needs of the working village for as many hands as possible at plough - time and harvest and by its ability to feed all those hands in regularly recurring years of poor harvest.⁷⁰
- 8 3 Why does this picture of the *jajmani* system not correspond with what we see around us, or what was observed in many areas even a century or more ago? Can a clue be found in the fact that *jajmani* was not complete in our period in the same areas in which Eric Stokes found the 'true' *bhaiachara* villages - areas like Haryana, where agriculture was not very secure and labour was very scarce. There the Jat communities, forming a very high proportion of the village body, were cultivators themselves and had a wide range of *kamin* castes in the village.⁷¹ It is in the rich, long-settled lands of the Ganga valley that the proprietary body comes to live off its rents, that tenants, too, employ semi-servile labour, that cash supplements and then supersedes payment by

a share in the harvest, and that the presence of a range of artisan castes - still carrying out their caste functions rather than becoming general labourers as *Chamars* did - is most often lacking. As the need for the village to muster all its manpower for defence dwindled under the Pax Britannica, and as the balance of land and population altered, making it no longer necessary to attract and retain labour, so the political and economic forces making for village interdependence weakened.⁷²

- 8.4 The new model of the village which historians seem to be creating is one in which economic power extends vertically in exploitative relationships. But those relationships are softened because factions within the dominant proprietorial castes, in their struggle for mastery within the village, seek to buy support within every level of its society.⁷³ The *jajman-kamin* relationship thus becomes a political one of leader and supporter. As Walter C. Neale put it in a provocative article, whereas an agriculture estate in Europe was organised in terms of productivity and profit, 'the associations of *mahal* were faction, power, clientele'.⁷⁴ The proprietor demands loyalty as well as rent from his tenants. What P. J. Musgrave argues, however, is that this system, no less than the *jajmani* system as portrayed by the Wiers, is an interdependent one. If the faction leader expects to be supported politically, even physically, by his *kamins*, he in turn must support them in their disputes and affrays, he must win a reputation for open-handedness, help his supporters with a loan when necessary, and in making his profit not spoil his image or alienate support by being too grasping and harsh. The *bania*, likewise a member of the dominant segment, has to strike similar balances, especially as he relies on the faction leaders to help him get his loans in. The balance of forces in no two villages are, or were, alike. What is more the records show that few villages were simple units, in Awadh large numbers were divided between two or more *taluqdar* estates, in Rajput areas many were shared between senior and cadet lines, often at enmity one with another, villages were recorded whose inhabitants had debts with as many as 60 *banias*. In all such cases more than one source of patronage and power existed. The threat of a switch of allegiance in such a village could extort a recognition of mutual ties and obligations even if older social and customary links, sanctified by religion were failing.
- 8.5 In the light of these observable and historically traceable phenomenon of village life that one is compelled to posit that Indian villages were horizontally organised having discriminable functional segments, labelled as castes. At this point any member of the audience may get up and very vehemently ask, 'If villages in North India were horizontally structured, why the people belonging to certain castes were called 'untouchable' and unworthy of undertaking higher pursuits in life?' It is an interesting question and apparently gives a fatal blow to the postulation made a bit earlier. But really it does not. As a matter of fact this question arises not from the basic structuring of the Indian village, but from the state of existence in which people of certain castes were pushed down by economic and political system and practices that prevailed.

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THE BHIL REVOLT OF 1913 UNDER GURU GOVINDGIRI AMONG THE BHILS OF SOUTHERN RAJASTHAN AND ITS IMPACT

VIJAY KUMAR VASHISTHA*

- 1 0 This paper deals with the Bhil revolt of 1913 under Guru Govindgiri and its impact on the Bhils residing in the former princely States of Banswara, Dungarpur, Idar and Sunth. It rectifies the fallacy of the historians¹ who invariably contend that under the spell of the *Swadeshi* movement, Govindgiri had organised the *Sampa Sabha* at Sirohi in 1905 and led the Bhil rising at Mangarh in 1908. The archival sources clarify that the Sirohi State was not the area of his activities nor was he influenced by the *Swadeshi* movement or Arya Samaj in initiating socio-religious reforms among the Bhils. The Bhil rising at Mangarh took place in 1913 and not in 1908 as claimed by the scholars. Further, the paper discusses that the socio-religious preaching of Guru Govindgiri so adversely affected the internal economy of the States, eroded the foundation of their social and feudal fabric and endangered their established authority that he came in armed conflict with them as well as the British Government at Mangarh in November 1913.

I

EFFECTS OF GOVINDGIRI'S PREACHINGS

- 1 1 Guru Govindgiri, a Banjara by caste and a resident of Bedasa in the former princely State of Dungarpur, was an ascetic of the *Bundi Dashnami* Panth (hermitage). In appreciation of the work of the Christian Missionaries among

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the tribals in the Mewar Hill Tract and Tandla, he engaged himself between 1908 and 1913 in the laudable task of improving the moral character, habits and religious practices of the backward community of Bhils of Dungarpur, Banswara, Idar and Sunth States. He preached monotheism and recommended worship of God on Sundays after bathing and washing, observe temperance and obedience to parents, forsake murders, theft, adultery, deception, etc., and desist from false evidence, forgo feelings of enmity towards others and regard all as the progeny of the same Creator and live peacefully with others, not to eat meat and kill animals, to follow agriculture and to maintain themselves thereby, and above all, to give up belief in ghosts (*virs*), witches (*Vantaras*), *Bhopas* (enchanters) and other superstitious beings and as a safeguard against them, to establish *Dhunis* (firepits) and *nishans* (flags) and to worship them.² Govindgiri also taught them to consider themselves as equal to the higher Hindu castes of Rajputs and Brahmins who were even declared to be inferior in such respect as keeping their women in a degrading position, the Rajputs practised the custom of female infanticide while both the Rajput and the Brahmin communities prohibited remarriage of young widows.³

- 1 2 The Bhils of Dungarpur, Banswara and Sunth States found these preaching acceptable and practicable so much so that by November 1913 there were about five lakh followers of this creed. These disciples established *Dhunis* as places of worship and gatherings, wrapped round their heads yellow strip of cloth, wore rosaries of *Rudraksh* round their neck, and carried iron tongs.⁴
- 1 3 These preachings of Guru Govindgiri had made the Bhils conscious of their degraded position as serfs, infusing among them feeling of self-esteem and improving their status in the Hindu Society and thereby made them less amenable to unquestioning obedience of the orders of the Rajput lords and the bureaucracy.⁵ This social change was greatly resented by the Rajput rulers on either side of the borders in Rajputana and Rewakantha, who desired them to continue as backwards for their own benefit. They began to feel that the gatherings at the *Dhunis* portended a Bhil rebellion against their States.⁶
- 1 4 Govindgiri also met active opposition from both the rulers & the liquor contractors, as his forbidding liquor to his disciples decreased its sale and adversely affected the revenue receipts in the Bhil inhabited State of Dungarpur, Banswara, Sunth and Idar. They also resented his growing influence among Bhils as his influence could be employed to subvert their authority. Therefore, the State officials proceeded to suppress the new sect by ejecting the preachers and harassing the converts in various ways. Pressure was brought to induce the Bhils to resume their habits of drinking. The prosecution of Govindgiri and his followers and the anxiety of each ruler to turn them out of the limits of his State brought them into collision at Mangarh in October-November 1913.⁷

II

BHIL RISING AT MANGARH (OCTOBER-NOVEMBER 1913)

- 2 1 The success of Guru Govindgiri in attracting many Bhil disciples in the Dungarpur State since 1907 created a flutter among the Raj officials and

liquor contractors specially during 1912 and early part of 1913. The Raja arrested and imprisoned him on the false charge of fleecing and deceiving the ryots, confiscated his savings and pressurised him to give up his religious faith by imprisoning his wife and children. Apprehending a commotion among the Bhils, he was forthwith released and exiled from Dungarpur in April 1913⁸. He and his preachers fled from village to village between April 1913 and October 1913, being constantly harassed by the State officers for continuing worship (*Bhakti*) and preaching among the Bhils. The preachers rebutted this harassment by inciting their followers against their Rajput rulers and claimed protection from them. The attempt of the Raja of Idar to arrest Govindgiri in his abode at Rojada (in Idar State), led him to repair to the hills in October 1913 with his followers and form a defensive position on Mangarh Hill situated on the border of Banswara and Sunth States. The occupation of Mangarh was in accordance with the traditional custom of the Bhils and it was resorted to draw the attention of the States to their grievances. In this grave situation Punja Dhirji of Dungarpur (Taluka Sunth) representing the militant section of Govindgiri's disciples came to the fore to resist the established authority of the Rajput rulers and to reestablish a Bhil Raj as a panacea to the Bhils against oppression and suffering⁹. The hot headed Dhirji Punja acting as the Secretary of Govindgiri, the latter being illiterate collected a large number of Bhils under the orders of the Guru for an armed revolt. He initiated the first act of aggression on 31 October 1913 by capturing the police Jamadar and the constable of the Sunth State who were sent up the hill for reconnoiter. This was followed (1 November 1914) by his unsuccessful attack on the fort of Partabgarh (under Sunth State). He demonstrated his tribal intolerance by looting the village of Bhamri (in Banswara) whose headmen had refused to join him. This prompted the 300 Bhils of Amja (in Banswara) to join Govindgiri on the hill and threatened Bhil rising in Kushalgarh, Banswara and Sunth States¹⁰.

- 2.2 The rulers of these States specially that of Banswara apprehended that the continuation of the strategic fort of Mangarh in the hands of rebels and the symptoms of Bhil risings in its bordering territories would make it possible for Govindgiri to build up by degrees a Bhil *Raj* within their dominions. Therefore, in order to suppress this rising, the troops under the command of the States of Banswara, Dungarpur, Sunth and Baria began to beleaguer the Mangarh fort from the 6th November 1913. This forced Govindgiri to send letters to Captain J.P. Stockley, Commander of Mewar Bhil Crops and to the Political Agent, Rewakantha on 13 November 1913 demanding redressal of the material grievances of the Bhils of Banswara and Sunth States. He peremptorily demanded the abolition of forced labour (*Veth* or *begar*), liberal forest, *Abkari* and revenue policy, freedom to his disciples to follow their religion and imposition of restrictions on the State officials for forcing his disciples to take liquor. He directed that the police warrants issued against Dhirji Punja and his ten other disciples alleging the charges of sedition, murdering the constable and burning the Gadara outpost should be withdrawn as they were innocent. Above all, he demanded the prerogative to appoint the Dewan of the Sunth State as well as the privilege of collecting

the levy (*lagat*) of *Bekh* (alms) from all communities to meet his expenses Captain Stockley did not reply to these demands except giving a written promise that the Bhils would enjoy religious freedom in all the States and districts under British protection. He expressed sympathy with their reform movement but ordered them to disperse and return home as it was rebellion to assemble in arms in such a large number on a hill.¹¹

- 23 The repeated warnings failed to dissuade Govindgiri and his followers from giving up their struggle. Rather their resolution to hold the hill stiffened owing to the delay of the British officers in attacking them. The attributed this delay to Govindgiri's, miraculous powers and spread the rumour that the *Sahibs* were afraid to *Babas* and they would be defeated in the struggle. At last the alarming news of the general conflagration of the Bhil risings in the neighbouring tracts of Banswara, Kushalgarh, Dungarpur and over the Bombay border forced the British officers to attack Mangarh on the 17th November, 1913. The Bhils offered a fairly determined resistance for sometime but later fled, several of them were wounded, while their leaders were captured. This news permeated the whole Bhil tract within forty eight hours and subsided the threatened risings.¹² The special Court which was constituted for the trial of rebels declared Govindgiri and Dhirji Punja guilty of waging war against the States of Sunth and Banswara while the latter was also declared guilty of murdering constable Gul Mohammed of the Sunth police. Punja was sentenced to transportation for life while Govindgiri was punished by ten years' rigorous imprisonment.¹³

III

IMPACT OF THE BHIL RISING

- 31 The Bhil rising of 1913 under Govindgiri resembled in violence and ferment the earlier Bhil rising of 1821, 1828, 1838 and 1881 in the southern Rajputana States, but it left a greater impact on the Bhils than those of the earlier ones. His doctrines led to the diminution of cases of drinking and petty crimes among the Bhils of Pachmahals, Southern Rajputana States and South-West Central Agency which showed that they were ready to listen to the voice of progress and reform.¹⁴ Colvin, Agent to the Governor-General in Rajputana had noticed during his tour of Southern Rajputana States in March 1914 that the Bhils of Banswara had made a great advance towards civilization as a result of the social and religious movement under Govindgiri. In the same strain he recorded "Large numbers of them have forsaken their old habits of strife, crime and plunder and have taken to regular agriculture and the cult of peaceful pursuits."¹⁵ This showed the popularity of Govindgiri in Banswara State and the benefits of his Bhagat Movement for raising the Bhils both morally and socially.
- 32 Govindgiri's preachings also raised the social aspirations of the Bhils, taught them to consider them equal to the higher castes and faded the awe of the Rajput *Thakurs* and officials among them¹⁶ and saved many of them from being converted to Christianity.¹⁷ However, the British military expedition

against the Mangarh Bhil Rising and punishing Govindgiri with imprisonment intensified hatred among the Bhils against the British authorities as testified by the fact that when in September 1914, Sir Elliot Colvin visited Kherwara, Dungarpur, Banswara and Kushalgarh, the Bhils did not come to meet him ¹⁸ The interaction of the Bhils of the Mewar Bhil Tract with the Bhagat Movement created political awakening among them and this made it easy for Motilal Tejawat to mobilize them to revolt against forced labour and high rate of land revenue in 1921-22 ¹⁹

- 3 3 The Bhil rising also forced the Rajput States to treat the Bhils tactfully and sympathetically. The States of Dungarpur, Banswara and Sunth abolished forced labour except for the State purpose and started land revenue settlement to give them relief. The Dungarpur State took a step further by framing rules for discouraging *dapa* (bride price) among the Bhils in 1918. The Sunth State also liberalised forest regulations and sanctioned free grant of timber to them for personal use while the Thakur of Pol (an estate subordinate to Idar State) introduced *Vigoti* (cash assessment) system in place of *Vaje* system (crop share) for revenue collection and regularised the system of *Veth* (forced labour) to avert further trouble in this quarter ²⁰
- 3 4 The Maharawal of Banswara showed greater enthusiasm than the other Rajput rulers by impressing upon his *jagirdars* the necessity of a more humane and kindly treatment towards the Bhils while the officials of the State were prohibited from interference with peaceful reforms of the Bhils and were enjoined to be sympathetic towards their religious and social aspirations. But no immediate measure could be taken in Rajputana to secure relief to the Bhil population from the harsh treatment of the *jagir* police, as any attempt for its abolition would have suddenly weakened the authority of the local *jagirdars* and resented by them as it would have disturbed their feudal rights ²¹
- 3 5 The sacrifices of the Bhil leaders at Mangarh inaugurated a new tribal policy in Dungarpur, Banswara and Sunth States according to which the British Government impressed upon them the need for non-interference in socio-religious matters of the Bhil community. Toeing this policy, for instance, Major R E A Hamilton, Political Agent of Southern Rajputana States suggested to the *Kamdar* of Banswara State on 19 November, 1913 that ²²

Every effort must be made to pacify the Bhils and whatever happens, no pressure is to be brought to make them buy liquor or revert to their old bad days, if the reform movement has got any hold of them. Their religious worship is not to be interfered with and both the *jagirdars* and State officials (especially police) are to be enjoined to treat them gently and kindly. If this is not done, a sense of injury will remain amongst them and they will take an early opportunity of renewing the struggle, in which they have been recently engaged.

- 3 6 The social and religious movement initiated by Govindgiri continued even after his death (1931) through dynastic succession and by disciples in the States of Dungarpur and Sunth. His *Dhunis* at Bansia, Limbi (in Sunth), Surata and Lasudia (in Dungarpur) represent the emblems of his faith and remind of his struggle for the cause of tribals. The Bhils of Dungarpur cherish the memory of their Guru by holding fairs and festivals on *Navaratri* and *Vaishkarnima* 23

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THE MONITORED INSULARITY OF COORG (1924-1947)

B. SURENDRA RAO*

I

- 1 1 The purpose of this paper is to take a look at an interesting but not-too-surprising facet, and product, of the British rule in Coorg in its last phase, as revealed in some of the transactions and debates in its Legislative Council between 1924 and 1947
- 2 2 The imperialist writings on Coorg have done much to celebrate the civilizing efforts of the British rulers in the little hilly state, and the success which attended them¹ Such Coorg historians as there are have not, significantly enough, questioned the imperialist claims, and have hailed what they have seen as a 'tiny model state'² The Anglophile Coorg elites had found themselves in the cosy comfort under the 'enlightened' British rule The Coorg administration for the British rule is not only seen in the general absence of national movement in the region but also in the lingering nostalgia for western culture which is felt there among the elites³ Historically this attitude can be partly explained as a product of the conscious efforts of the British rulers to treat the Coorgs as a special people, flattering their prowess and loyalty, underlining the uniqueness of their history and culture, granting them certain privileges, and on the whole, making them feel distinct and different This not only ensured a smooth, noiseless administration, but it also secured an isolation of the people and insulated them from the more troublesome

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infections of the external world. This insularity, which Nature was not averse to granting the region, was always monitored by the British rulers. Even in the last phase of the British rule (1924-1947), when Coorg was given a rare gift of Legislative Council, the trend was visible, and there were many indications that the British had not laboured in vain.

II

- 2.1 The Coorg Legislative Assembly was constituted and launched in 1924 as a "stepping-stone for fuller self-expression and for political expansion" of the people of Coorg.⁴ William Pell Barton, the Chief Commissioner of Coorg, who presided over its inaugural session, was quick to point out that in the Coorg Council the elected non-officials out-numbered the officials by three to one, and that it brought the people through their representatives into close touch with the administration.⁵ This was conceded as a reward for the sense of a 'sober and responsible citizenship' which they possessed. He also pointed out that the reasons for the delay in the introduction of constitutional reforms in Coorg were not appreciated by 'some of the more active political thinkers' who were inclined to advocate inclusion of the province in Madras "even at the risk of losing the national individuality evolved in over 1000 years of history".⁶ Evidently, the constitutional reform now afoot, however, delayed or unsatisfactory it might be, was designed to retain the national individuality which the Coorgs have acquired over centuries.
- 2.2 The members of the Council, who represented the various *Jamma*, *Non-Jamma* and European constituencies, generally expressed their loyalty to the Government and defended what they saw as their special, cherished rights and privileges. This was done by invoking the unique historical circumstances in which Coorg came under the British rule. As one of the members of the first Council put it,

Coorg came under the British rule, not by way of conquest or subjugation, but by the voluntary and unanimous accord of the people, and the people, before they handed over the management of the administration of their country to the then East India Company, obtained certain privileges and certain pledges from the Company, the chief among them being that whatever rights they had during the time of the Rajas must be perpetuated by the East India Company and their successors, and that their civil and social rights must not only be respected, but protected.⁷

The charming myth that Coorg was not a subjugated nation and that the British were there by invitation was invented by Col Fraser, indulgently approved by the author of *Gazetteer of Coorg*⁸ and the intrepid missionary, Herman Moegling,⁹ and has been eagerly lapped up by the loyal elites of Coorg. It

suit the British as it exonerated them of the charge of annexing a midget of a nation, while it made ample concession to the pride of a people, sparing them the embarrassment of having to relate their martial status with the ignominy of their subjugation

- 23 The debates and discussion in the Council generally revolved around the status and privileges of the *Jamma* holders, revenue matters, forest laws, etc and sometimes around proposals for improvements in different constituencies. Often, however, the 'special status' of Coorg would surface, nearly as the *raison d'être* of the Legislative Council. One of the privileges which the Coorgs cherished with great pride was the exemption from the Arms Act ¹⁰. In 1927 one of the members moved a resolution in the Council that the *Jamma* ryots be allowed to carry "revolvers like guns and rifles outside Coorg within British India, with only an exemption certificate from the District Magistrate of Coorg" ¹¹. The arguments in favour of the resolution revolved around the familiar theme that the Coorgs were 'a peculiar race' and as they were not a conquered nation they should be entitled to the honour of owning arms without licence ¹². While the official and European members argued against the claim that the special privileges of the Coorgs should be honoured even outside Coorg, the resolution was carried, with all but one non-European member supporting the resolution. This remarkable expression of Coorg identity, which was intermittently revealed in the Coorg fondness for gun-owning, had an unbroken record ¹³. It drew its sustenance from the uniqueness of the Coorg race and their history, loyalty to the British and the martial pedigree they claimed. The British could concede their claim up to a point, but not when it started overflowing its banks.

III

- 31 Notwithstanding the subtle prophylactic strategies which the British adopted in Coorg, the region could not altogether be kept out of the exposure to the varied moods of public opinion in India. One such instance is seen in an interesting debate in the Council in 1938 on a resolution moved by N. Somanna to recommend to the Chief Commissioner that "immediate steps be taken to amalgamate Coorg with a larger unit" ¹⁴. He referred to the unanimous views of the All-Parties' Conference held at Mercara, that it was no longer possible to keep the province separate and that necessary steps should be taken to merge it with a bigger unit. He also pointed out several economic, educational and cultural difficulties which a small, separate province of Coorg could not overcome. He hoped that it could ultimately be a part of the Karnataka Province when it would be formed. While the official members kept discreetly out of the debate, the proposal was vehemently opposed by many others. B. M. Cariappa held that the Government of India could not order the Coorgs to join Madras or Mysore, and certainly not before the consent of at 75 per cent of the population is taken. He harangued, ¹⁵

If they say they will not be in a position to give us subvention, I will straight away say 'We are not a conquered race, give us back our country' (Laughter) It is a definite thing We have given the country to them as a trust If they cannot manage, let them hand over, that means give us responsible government With responsible government I am certain that the people can run the administration

His confidence was shared by P I Belliappa, who pleaded, "So give a chance to those who want to be separate, they must be given full powers to shape the destinies of Coorg" ¹⁶ The resolution was put to vote and was declared lost, five voting for and eight against

- 3 2 The mood of the Council was indicative of the pervading opinion among the elites of Coorg on the issue of amalgamation of the province with a larger unit It was felt that nothing was to be gained by the Coorgs by being a part of a larger whole The fear of losing their identity which they had maintained for long was certainly central to the whole issue, although in the Council the abilities of the Coorgs for responsible government was projected as the clinching argument The neutrality of the official members was strategically conceived, and was expressed with the full knowledge of what was to happen to the resolution

IV

- 4 1 In 1939, with the outbreak of war, the Coorg Legislative Council passed a resolution moved by M M Belliappa overwhelmingly, recommending the Chief Commissioner to request the Government of India to "form a permanent unit of the inhabitants of Coorg in the Regular Army" ¹⁷ The resolution was being moved, it was said, "at a very opportune moment when an occasion has arisen to show our loyalty to the benign British Government" ¹⁸ It was justified on the ground that "there is something in the material in Coorg that could shine well in the army just as any other Indian martial classes" ¹⁹ The Europeans in the Council, like I M Fraser, Lt Col Murland and Ivor Bull spoke approvingly of the resolution ²⁰ However, some members like P I Belliappa, B M Cariappa and K C Karumbayaya suggested that the Council could wait till the Congress came to a definite decision as regards its attitude towards the War Evidently, by 1939 there were a few vocal sympathizers of the Congress in the Council, but they could only announce their neutrality on the issue To oppose the resolution would amount to questioning the credentials of the Coorgs for being considered as a martial race, and claim the singular honour of being offered a permanent unit in the regular army The European members could only appreciate this expression of Coorg loyalty, shown without reference to what the Congress had to say about the War They could also appreciate the eagerness of a people, long nursed as distinct ones, to be considered as such in the imperial army

V

- 5 1 The Coorg Legislative Council certainly provided the elites of the province occasions to express their hopes and aspirations, fears and misgivings within the permitted framework of loyalty. Sometimes it could also permit a few to let out their steam. The official and European members were generally disinclined to strain their vocal chords in sensitive debates, as they knew that the Chief Commissioner at Bangalore or the Government of India would reject such resolutions passed in the Council. In fact, the majority of the resolutions passed by the Council were either rejected outright by the Chief Commissioner, or were anaesthetized by a promise that the Government would look into the matter. But generally it had a dependable ally in the council itself which did not transgress the oath of loyalty it had taken. All that the Government had to do was to remind the members of the uniqueness of Coorg and its non-negotiability. After a time, they needed no such service. They were convinced of the honourable subjection to which they were bound to the British rule and the infinite benefits which flowed from it. Such privileges as *Jamma* or gun-owing were too precious to be lost, and the British rule which protected them was, except on some minor issues, beyond reproach.
- 5 2 The composition of the Council too helped in the promotion of the virtues of loyalty to the British rule. Though the non-officials outnumbered the officials by three to one, they largely represented the holders of 'privileged' *Jamma* tenure and European planters,²¹ whose interests were bound with the British rule. So long as the British did not disturb their status and privileges their loyalty could be taken for granted. The British could also present an excellent facade of the Council representing the region and its larger interests. They could also project the picture of the uniqueness of the province by highlighting the special character of its history and culture.
- 5 3 In so doing the British rulers also carefully monitored the industry of Coorg. It was expedient to keep the region protected from the nationalistic infection and ensure that Coorg administration was not unduly disturbed by it. The strategy of keeping Coorg insulated from the outside world by appealing to Coorg nationalism and defending some of the privileges which its elites jealously guarded succeeded in a large measure till 1947. It also created a magnificent illusion of a benevolent, sympathetic British administration in Coorg, and of the happy acquiescence of the people.

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DR. B.R. AMBEDKAR AND THE CONSTITUTION - MAKING IN INDIA

J.P. MISRA*

I

- 1.1 The form and spirit of the Constitution of India framed and adopted by the Constituent Assembly soon after independence constitutes the chief source of not only our political institutions but also their utility and efficacy in prescribing the values we cherish. In this stupendous task B. R. Ambedkar played a unique role in his capacity as Chairman of the Drafting Committee and as Minister of Law at the time. He laboured day in and day out for writing the Constitution of free India incorporating into it liberty, equality and justice. The present paper seeks to analyse how Ambedkar emerged as a great constitution maker of our times and put his heart and soul into this task.

II

- 2.1 Ambedkar had entered the Constituent Assembly with the only hope of safeguarding the rights of the down-trodden. But he was immediately called upon to play much wider role. Ambedkar explained this in the following words¹

I came into the Constituent Assembly with no greater aspiration than to safeguard the interests of the Scheduled Castes. I had not the remotest idea that I would be called upon to undertake more responsible functions. I was, therefore, surprised when the Assembly elected me to the Drafting Committee. I was more than

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surprised when the Drafting Committee elected me to be its chairman

- 2 2 This statement is significant for determining Ambedkar's role in Constitution - making for he not only fully justified his selection but added luster to the work he undertook. It may, however, be pointed out at the very outset, that Ambedkar and the other members of the Drafting Committee were not free agents; they had to work under the guidance of other agencies. In the most fundamental fields the ideas and decisions of Nehru, Patel and the Congress party had to be accommodated. Nehru and Patel, the combination of an idealist and the realist respectively, had the final word in many matters.² Ambedkar and the Drafting Committee had the stupendous task of incorporating into the draft of the Constitution the recommendations of various committees and produce a constitution in a coherent and acceptable manner.
- 2 3 The Constitution of free India, as it emerged from the Constituent Assembly, was chiefly the handiwork of this astute constitutionalist. His role in its making and adoption can be appreciated fully by considering, in an objective way, the nature of the political society he provided for free India and secondly, the legal and constitutional restraints upon authority in the form of Fundamental Rights. Thirdly it is also necessary to examine the provisions relating to the minorities. The best way to do it is to base our observations upon his own exposition of the Draft Constitution while he moved it for consideration and further in the light of the observations of the members of the Constituent Assembly. Ultimately it is proposed to make a final assessment of the stand Ambedkar took in respect of these provisions.

III

- 3 1 The Preamble of the Indian Constitution proclaims India as an "Independent Sovereign Republic". The Objective Resolution, on which the Preamble was based, not only indicates the source of the Constitution but primarily lays down the nature of the polity of free India. Though it is a Federal polity that we have in the Constitution nowhere it is referred to as such. Article I of the Constitution calls India an "Union of States" and the federal character of the polity is, therefore, implied though not explicitly written out. Ambedkar had his own explanation and justification to call our polity as "Union of States" and not a federation. He pointed out³

The Federation is a Union because it is indestructible. Though the country and the people may be divided into different States for convenience of administration the country is an integral whole; its people a single people living under a single emporium derived from a single source.

In these words Ambedkar emphasized the indestructible character of our Indian Union. He had hoped that with a single judiciary for the entire country and by providing a concurrent list of subjects and finally by providing for an

All India Service recruited on an all India basis with common qualifications it will be possible to achieve the required degree of unity in the life of the newly-born Republic

- 3 2 It is possible to hold that such an arrangement, as provided in the draft was, to a large extent, also shaped by personal views of Ambedkar on the subject. He was not a votary of a federal system, for he was a believer in a strong central government. It was particularly necessary in a country like India with centripetal and centrifugal tendencies operating. To the critics of the federal system in the constitution Ambedkar had this reply ⁴

Some critics have said that the Centre is too strong. Others have said it must be made stronger. The Draft constitution has struck a balance. However, much you may deny powers to the Centre it is difficult to prevent the Centre from becoming strong. Conditions in modern world are such that centralization of powers is inevitable.

- 3 3 In providing for a less rigid form of federalism, Ambedkar was guided by the principle that a Constitution is, after all, the expression of the will and needs of a people at a given time and he thought it would be fatal if one were to be guided by strict constructions of constitutional principles and patterns, as for example, the pattern of federalism. He was alive to the fact that no federation functioning in the world was an ideal or perfect one. There is nothing like that. I was functioning with innumerable variations. To Ambedkar "the constitution was merely a mechanism for purpose of regulating the work of various organs of the State" ⁵
- 3 4 Ambedkar's distinct contribution in this regard lies in the fact that he could overcome the temptation to be guided by rigid principles and provide for a system that would suit and work well. He had also the vision and forethought to look beyond the needs of a society which had a divisive tendency. No wonder Ambedkar provided for a stronger Centre only to overcome difficulties in the future which was the maximum he could do in the given circumstances. While providing a flexible federation Ambedkar was avoiding the extremes and following the golden mean between the unitary and federal forms. This was generally his approach in the making of the Indian constitution. He so designed it that it would be federal when possible and unitary when necessary ⁶. He discharged his duty with a great sense of responsibility not only to the House but to the posterity as well.

IV

- 4 1 The Constitution of India provides for a parliamentary system of government on the British model, in preference to the presidential form of the American model. The Drafting Committee under the stewardship of Ambedkar recommended after careful consideration the parliamentary system of government with its own justifications. Ambedkar all along defended the parliamentary system with a removable executive. He argued that such a

system with a removable executive provided greater degree of responsibility which was the need of the country ⁷

- 4 2 If Ambedkar's views expressed at this occasion were different from those stated a few years earlier there is need to explain the transformation. In the first place it should be remembered that his proposals as contained in his brochure *State and Minorities* were intended mainly to be the demands of a minority group. He had, therefore, to plead in it for and on behalf of the Scheduled Castes and lay emphasis on such things as would protect their interests at any rate. His plea for an irremovable executive was one such ⁸ But as Chairman of the Drafting Committee and as principal architect of the Constitution he could not afford to think only on a sectional basis and give expression to his personal views and preferences. He had to take into consideration various other factors. Secondly, there was the model of parliamentary system already provided for in the Act of 1935, though in a limited way, and Indians had become familiar with parliamentary institutions during the British rule. Thirdly, another important factor was that Prime Minister Nehru had already expressed his preference for the parliamentary system in his speech in the Constituent Assembly ⁹ He was the Chairman of the Union Constitution Committee on the basis of whose report the Drafting Committee was obliged to proceed. Ambedkar had, therefore, no alternative but to give legal shape to the parliamentary system with a removable executive by writing it into the constitution and justify its adoption in the Constituent Assembly. Ambedkar gave the following explanation justifying it ¹⁰

The Parliamentary system differs from a non - parliamentary system in as much as the former is more responsible than the latter but they also differ as to the time and agency for assessment of their responsibility — The Draft Constitution in recommending the parliamentary system of executive has preferred more responsibility to more stability

- 4 3 It is possible to hold that had the circumstances permitted him Ambedkar would have provided for a mixed type of executive. He had realised that a removable executive could work only where there was a greater degree of political maturity and constitutional discipline among the people who were called upon to work it. A removable executive could work smoothly and with grace only with sound parliamentary traditions

V

- 5 1 Ever since the freedom struggle was launched Indians were attracted towards the American Declaration of Independence. The demand for such fundamental rights for the people of India was one of the important planks all along the course of the freedom struggle. The Indian National Congress and various other organisations were demanding these basic freedoms for one and all. The Nehru Report provided for fundamental rights in 1928

- 5 2 When the Constituent Assembly met there was complete unanimity among its members regarding the need to provide for Bill of rights in the new constitution. Ambedkar, as the champion of the downtrodden was convinced beyond doubt as to the need for a Bill of Rights in the Indian Constitution. He had been pleading continuously for an elaborate system of fundamental rights for the minorities in particular and for citizens in general. His fight for social justice was the main plank in his struggle as a leader of the scheduled castes. He was convinced that social justice could not be secured to one and all unless it was enshrined in the constitution itself. In the course of the memorandum - *A Scheme of Political Safeguards for the Protection of the Depressed classes in the future Constitution of a self - governing India* that he submitted jointly with R. Srinivasam to the Minorities sub-committee of the First Round Table Conference he had laid down model Articles on Fundamental Rights based mostly on the American, Irish and the Burmese constitutions.¹¹ His views on fundamental rights are more elaborately expressed in his book *States and Minorities* which is itself in the form of a model constitution. Ambedkar largely depended upon the constitution of other countries where conditions analogous to those in India prevailed.
- 5 3 Ambedkar designed these rights with the chief objective of eliminating and abolishing inequalities. The safeguards he contemplated against a possible invasion of the State or the individual was through the judicial power guided by the due process of law. He had fully realised that rights without legal remedies were of no use. Due to Ambedkar's influence the fundamental rights as provided in the Indian Constitution were more elaborate and comprehensive than in the Bill of Rights in any other Constitution.¹² This was necessitated by the special problems of diverse religious, cultural and social conditions of a heterogeneous Indian society. He thought that these were also intended to provide not only security for an equality of citizenship but also certain standards of conduct, citizenship, justice and fairplay. It is in this part of the Constitution that the lofty principles adumbrated in the preamble were to find fuller expression.
- 5 4 Ambedkar maintained that reasonable restrictions were indispensable if the rights guaranteed were to be fully enjoyed by one and all. In reply to criticisms in the Constituent Assembly Ambedkar said¹³

The criticism in so far as it seeks to distinguish fundamental rights from non-fundamental rights is not sound. It is incorrect to say that fundamental rights are absolute while non-fundamental rights are not absolute. The real distinction between the two is that non-fundamental rights are created by agreement between parties while fundamental rights are the gifts of the law. Because fundamental rights are the gifts of the law. Because fundamental rights are the gifts of the state it does not follow that the State cannot qualify them.

- 5 5 As to the criticism on the provisions regarding the suspension of fundamental rights Ambedkar said ¹⁴

In certain cases, where, for instance, the State's very life is in jeopardy, those rights must be subject to certain amount of limitation. Consequently, the superior rights of the state to protect itself in times of emergency so that it may live to discharge its functions in order that the individual under the aegis of the State may develop must be guaranteed as safely as the rights of an individual

- 5 6 This able defence of the limitations of fundamental rights by Ambedkar is a tribute to the constitutional acumen which set at rest all misgivings and criticisms. Ambedkar's contribution in this regard lies in that he conceived a system of rights with necessary limitations in the interest of the individual freedom with the authority of the state. He evolved and incorporated a philosophy of rights based on the need for balancing individual liberty and the need for social control which alone could provide social justice

VI

- 6 1 Ambedkar strove throughout his public life for the emancipation of the untouchables in particular and other minorities in general. He was eminently suited to secure justice and fair play to them and pave the way for their all-round progress in a free and just society. His anxiety was not just to seek some concessions from the Government or to be content with a few more seats for those belonging to scheduled castes. Ambedkar was anxious, on the other hand, to make use of the opportunity of constitution-making for solving the problem of scheduled castes on more enduring grounds and for ever. The attitude he adopted at this juncture was one of mutual efforts and adjustments among the majority and minority communities in a spirit of give and take. He fully supported the provisions in the constitution recognising the rights for the religious and cultural minorities in the country
- 6 2 In this connection special mention may be made of Article 17 of the Constitution which abolishes the practice of untouchability in any form. In a simple and brief way this article abolished the age-old anachronism of our society. Ambedkar was the man who was destined to emancipate his unfortunate brethren
- 6 3 It has been pointed out that Article 17 did not create any particular right and privilege ¹⁵ Ambedkar was aware of this fact. But as he had pointed out earlier it was the only effective way in which the determination to eradicate this evil, root and branch, could be expressed emphatically. Untouchability was one of the greatest disabilities suffered mutely by nearly one-sixth of the country's population. If a right meant a remedy against a disability the fundamental right created in Article 17 definitely proved a great charter of deliverance to those people

VII

- 7.1 Ambedkar gave a note of warning on the nature and conditions of a true democracy in the country. He posed the question whether the Indian citizen would be having democracy in the real sense, in its economic and social aspects with the ushering in of the Republic. He knew fully well the inadequacies of the Indian society to serve as the base for a full-fledged democratic edifice. One such inadequacy was the "principle of graded inequality" which meant "elevation for some and degradation for other"¹⁶. So also was the situation in the economic field. It is for this reason that he said¹⁷

On 26th January, 1950 we are going to enter into a life of contradictions. In politics we have equality and in social and political life we have inequality. In politics we will be recognising the principle of one man one vote one value. In our social and economic life we shall, by reason of our social and economic structure continue to deny the principle of one man one value. How long shall we continue to deny equality in our social and economic life? If we continue to deny it for long we will do so by putting our political democracy in peril.

- 7.2 He also lamented that the absence of fraternity, a sense of common brotherhood of all Indians, that gives unity and solidarity to social life was conspicuous by its absence in India.

VIII

- 8.1 The making of the Constitution was an enormous task in which several individuals and forces exerted their pressure and influence. As chairman of the Drafting Committee B.R. Ambedkar had greater scope than any other individual for shaping the constitution. But it should be realised that it was a constitution written and finalised by adopting the most democratic method of open deliberation. The task of Ambedkar was to give the required shape to the constitution. He produced a formidable document incorporating the ideas and directives that emanated in the Constituent Assembly. Ambedkar expressed the ideas and directives in a coherent fashion using his unsurpassed constitutional skill and legal acumen. The constitution, therefore, bears his impact from the beginning to end.
- 8.2 There was another aspect, an equally important one, of constitution making with which Ambedkar was directly connected. He had the unique privilege of moving the draft constitution for consideration in the Constituent Assembly. He had to explain every clause of the draft and reply to the criticism from the members. It is in this work of Ambedkar that we have an opportunity to understand his basic political and constitutional ideas.

- 8 3 This formidable edifice that established a democratic machinery could not be the handiwork of one man. So, while we acknowledge gratefully the services of all the participants we have to single out Ambedkar for the honour and credit of being the principal architect of the Constitution of India. His contribution is substantial, significant and spectacular. He should be remembered not only as a great social reformer, a patriot, a vigorous champion of justice and freedom but much more as a great constitution maker that the nation could produce.

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WAHABIS IN THE HARYANA REGION

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It is intended in this paper to highlight the activities of the Wahabis in Haryana region. A brief study of the famous State-trial of Ambala of 1864 has also been made.

I

- 1 1 The later 19th century was a period of socio-political awakening and the growth of new spirit. The socio-religious movements with regional differences, were more or less identical in character, because the focus was on the social and religious uplift of the society. These movements in India produced a multifarious intellectual expression of the social and cultural transformations.¹ The Wahabi Movement presented a serious challenge to the British Authority.² It was revivalist in nature, socio-political in contents, and very influential in impact. To the British Government the Wahabi was synonymous with 'traitor' and 'rebel'.³ Its main objectives were the eradication of social evils, the revival of their old religion and the political awakening among the Muslims of India. Its revivalism urge consisted primarily of the belief in the coming of a Messiah promised by God, who would make a clear sweep of existing political, social and religious evils of the times and restore Islam to its pristine purity and old glory.⁴
- 1 2 Originally started in Arabia by Muhammad-ibn-Abl-al-Wahab⁵ (1703-1792), it was primarily a religious⁶ or puritan Islamic movement which believed in the absolute unity of God.⁷ It was a popular Muslim revivalist movement. Its main object in the beginning was the abolition of tribalism in Arabia.⁸ It was the driving force in the expansive messianic movement which transcended tribal

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barriers and division during the later half of the 18th century⁹ However, the movement was regarded as 'heretical' by orthodox Muslim world and its expansion in Arabia had met with the disapproval and dismay¹⁰ In the second decade of the nineteenth century the Ottoman Sultan ordered Mohammad Ali Pasha 'the founder of Modern Egypt' to drive the Wahabis out of Mecca and Medina and destroy their power base in Najd (1818-1822)¹¹

- 1 3 In India the main factors responsible for the rise of the Movement was the prevailing socio-religious degradation and the increasing loss of political power to the non Muslims¹² In the Indian context its main object was to establish an Islamic State with an Islamic social order¹³ Its leader was Syed Ahmed (1786-1831) of Rae Bareilly, now a district of U P He tried to bring revival in Muslim Community by means of three fold activities, "the exaltation of the word of God, the revival of the spirit of faith in word and deed, and the practice of Holy War"¹⁴ He toured a number of towns and cities when his activities were highly admired In 1824 he founded "a system by which they (followers) affected one of the greatest revivals known to Indian history, and which has been alive the spirit of revolt against the British rule during 50 years"¹⁵ The head-quarter of this activity was selected Sithna, in North-Western Frontier as the base of operations
- 1 4 The Wahabis in India launched a movement for the overthrow of the Sikh kingdom in Punjab and the British rule from India Syed Ahmad had created a well knit organisation from Dacca to Peshawar,¹⁶ and established his centres in all the important towns of the country In India its headquarters was at Patna¹⁷
- 1 5 After the death of Syed Ahmad Barelavi in 1831 more attention was paid to the organisational side of the movement inside India Under the leadership of Ali - brothers of Patna - Wilayat Ali and Inayat Ali - Patna now became the most active centre of the movement¹⁸ In fact the Wahabi movement fast gained a political movement in British India Besides Patna, a number of subordinate Zones and circles all over the country were established Local preachers to each Zone were allotted They distributed pamphlets collected *Zakat* and other funds and transmitted them to the headquarters at Patna Agents were also appointed for the recruitment of volunteers¹⁹

II

- 2 1 The Haryana region was one of the major centres of its activities Some of the Muslim disgruntled Zamindars formed it²⁰ Besides Delhi some notable centres in Haryana region were Thanesar, Ambala, Pehowa and Panipat In fact a number of State-trials to some of the prominent Wahabi leaders in India, highlighted their activities More particularly, the Ambala trial of 1864, the most significant one, explained the character and course of their movement in Haryana region For instance, Robert Montgomery, Judicial Commissioner of Punjab, reported that the Muslims of Patna and Thanesar were in Correspondence with the 64th Native Infantry near Peshawar and urged it to revolt²¹

- 2 2 Maulana Mohammad Jafar *alias* Peru Khan, son of Mian Jiwan, aged 28 years was the nucleus of all the activities of Wahabi Movement in Haryana. Thanesar was described by the British as one of the main depots and Jafar as 'one of its chief organisers',²² who though born in a poor family, simply a petitioner writer in 1856, became a *lambardar* of Thanesar. In Judicial proceedings he was called as a prosperous businessman. Muhammed Jafar considerably helped the Wahabis in fighting the British authority.²³ He was a disciple of Walayat Ali of Patna.²⁴ Muhammed Jafar soon became the incharge of the north-western region of India. Even W W Hunter, one of the main critics appreciated Jafar as earnest and 'conscientious' man for those who made no pretension to loyalty.²⁵ Another associate of Jafar was Husaini Thanesari, son of Muhammed Bux, age 25 years. Another notable leader of Haryana was Maulana Muhammed Qasim of Panipat. He was one of the closest associates of Syed Ahmad. He went to Sithana, the headquarters of the North-Western Frontier and walked with the tribal chief Syad Akbar Shah. He also wrote inspiring letters to Maulana Wilayat Ali and Inayat Ali, the leader of the Patna centre.²⁶ Similarly, Muhammed Shafi of Ambala, son of Muhammed Taqi was quite active. He was a meat contractor and supplier of meat to Europeans in all the contoments from Ambala to Naushera.²⁷ Abdul Kareem was also an associate of Muhammed Shafi.
- 2 3 However, it would not be incorrect to discuss in some details the arrest of Muhammad Jafar in Dec 1863, which disclosed the widespread network of the Wahabi activities in the region. In May 1863, Ghuzzan Khan, a Pathan Police Sargeant at *chowki* Panipat, saw some suspicious persons travelling at G T Road in Panipat and enquired of them as to where they were going. He was informed that they had come from Bengal and were going to the Frontier for waging war against the British Government.²⁸ Enthusiastically, the passengers invited the Sargeant also to join them. But the Sargeant became alarmed and arrested them promptly and produced them before the local authorities.²⁹ However, in the court of the Extra-Assistant Commissioner, Ambala, they were acquitted and ordered to be set free. Ghuzzan Khan took this acquittal as a disgrace and a personal insult. He took personal initiative and deputed his son to go to the Frontier centre and try to learn everything he could about the activities of the Wahabis.³⁰ On his return the son reported the existence of a widespread network for transmission of men and money from all over India to the Frontier in which Thanesar was one of the main depots and Jafar was one of its chief organisers.³¹
- 2 4 Ghuzzan Khan gave the government detailed information as conveyed by his son. Investigations were made by the government of Punjab and Parson, the Superintendent of Police, Ambala searched the house of Jafar at Thanesar in Dec 1863. Muhammed Jafar escaped to Delhi. However, some letters were found in his house which mentioned the names of Muhammad Shafi and some persons of Patna.³² Consequently, Shafi and his nephew Abdul Kareem were arrested at Ambala. Parson knowing the flight of Jafar, annoyed and tortured, beaten and humiliated the family members of Jafar.³³ Along with the younger brother of Jafar, Parson went to Delhi. Even at Delhi, to search Jafar, Parson

created a reign of terror, All the gates of the city and the inns were closed thousands of persons were searched and about a hundred were arrested ³⁴ In Delhi too Parson missed Jafar by a few hours However, Jafar was arrested at Aligarh and brought back to Ambala

Similarly, Husaini of Thanesar who was deputed by Jafar to take the gold *Mohar* to the Frontier was also arrested on his way at Pipili, the *tehsil* headquarter of Thanesar On the bases of the seized letters at Jafar's house a number of arrest were made at Patna

- 25 After the preliminary Committal proceedings in the Court of Tighe, The Deputy Commissioner, Ambala, the Session Trial opened in the court of Harbert Edwards, the Session Judge, Ambala, in April, 1864 In fact, in the State-trial at Ambala the activities of the Wahabis in India came to light ³⁵ The Judge was assisted by four Assessors - two Hindus and two Muslims In all eleven persons faced the charge of waging war against the Queen Victoria under section 121 of Indian Penal Code Among these 11 persons, four persons belonged to Haryana region They were Muhammad Jafar, Muhammad Shafi Abdul Kareem and Husaini of Thanesar

Muhammad Jafar in his Memories discussed in details the torture methods used by the government to press the guilt of all the accused persons They were severely beaten and threatened to hanging ³⁶ On behalf of the prisoners not much was said in defence Only Shafi, who was a prosperous contractor, employed a lawyer Jafar did his own cross-examination and argued his case

The Judgement consisted of more than one hundred pages of the proceedings was delivered on the 2nd May 1864 Muhammad Jafar, Muhammad Shafi including Yahaya ali of Sadiqpur, Patna were sentenced to death and the rest to long sentences of imprisonment and to transportation for life Properties of the convicts were confiscated

- 26 It would be worthwhile to know the nature of the crime of these prisoners On the basis of the text of the Judgement, WW Hunter made some observations ³⁷ Regarding Muhammad Jafar he wrote "It is impossible to exceed the bitter hostility, the treasonable and mischievous ability of this prisoner He is an educated man and a headman in his village There is no doubt of his guilt and no palliation of it"

About Husaini of Thanesar, he commented, "He was a confidential agent and go-between of the prisoners, Muhammad Jafar and Muhammad Shafi in their treason and that he was seized in the act of conveying 290 pieces of gold from Jafar to Muhammad Shafi for remittance to the Queen's enemies"

Similarly, about Abdul Kareem, he observed that, "It is proved against Abdul Kareem that he was the confidential agent of Muhammad Shafi (the me.-supplier) in cashing the Patna money orders for treasonable purposes"

Muhammad Shafi was originally sentenced to death but on turning approver, he was reprieved and set free after having been in jail for two years

- 27 The sentences were referred to Roberts, the Judicial Commissioner, for confirmation. Finally after the consultation with the Home Government, the judgement was delivered on the 24th August, 1864. Some changes in the original judgement were made. The capital punishment given to the three accused persons was commuted to transportation for life.

Meanwhile during the trial the prisoners were sent to Ambala jail and then transferred from Ambala to Lahore. On the 22nd Feb 1865, their journey between these two places being performed on foot³⁸. They were then transferred from Lahore to Multan jail in the end of October, 1865. Finally, they were sent to Andaman Islands in Jan 1886 via Karachi, Bombay. During the journey the prisoners were given the severe and harsh and humiliating treatment³⁹. In various jails also brutalities were inflicted upon the prisoners. Life of the prisoners in Penal Settlement i.e. Andaman Islands was not normal. Muhammad Jafar had himself written a detailed description of his life as a prisoner. However, by 1888 the Wahabi Movement had been suppressed. Most of the Wahabi prisoners were released. Muhammad Jafar before his departure from Andaman wanted to convert his house into a Mosque and put it under Waqf (trust) for the local Muslims but the government did not allow for this lest the mosque became a centre for further Wahabi intrigue⁴⁰.

III

- 31 In consequences of the Ambala and other State-trials and other circumstances, the Wahabi Movement was thoroughly crushed in India. With the exit of Jafar, the Wahabi activities came to cessation in Haryana region. Though the whole movement failed yet the Wahabi fundamentalism remained alive and has left its impact. The evidence produced in these trials revealed the nature of the movement against the British and proved this was the first planned and highly organised revolutionary movement than the uprising of 1857. However, the revolutionary spirit of the Wahabis did not leave any anti-British movement among the Muslims in the twentieth century.
- 32 Being a purely Muslim movement for the revival of their community and for establishing the Muslim rule in India against the British as well as other 'infidels', it could not be appreciated by the other communities. As the basis of the movement was purely religious not political, and its inspiration came from communal and not from patriotic sentiments, it prepared the ground for the communal outlook among the Muslims, and it gave an impetus to separatist tendencies in Indian Society and widened the gulf between the Hindus and the Muslims.
- 33 Secondly, the Movement gave a turn to the politics which came to be dominated by religious dogmas.
- 34 Thirdly it also revived and kept alive the desire for freedom and to rule over India among the Muslims, which can be seen throughout the freedom movement in the country.

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LALMOHAN GHOSH AND THE EMERGENCE OF INDIAN NATIONALISM

KEKA BOSE*

I

- 1 1 Of the numerous politicians that India produced in the 19th century, Lalmohan Ghosh (1849-1909) will be remembered in history for his political ideal, attainment and patriotism which contributed to the cause of India's independence
- 1 2 Born in an upper middle-class Kayastha family in Krishnanagar, in 1849, Lalmohan's father Ramlochan a member in the Judicial service of the Government of Bengal, was also a close friend and associate of Raja Rammohan Roy. It was from his father that Lalmohan inherited a progressive, liberal, reformed patriotic outlook which stimulated his political career. His elder brother Manmohan, also in the legal profession, actively participated in the nationalist politics of the day. In 1869, Lalmohan left for England to qualify as a Bar-at-Law and later joined Calcutta Bar in 1873.²
- 1 3 The services of such a man were soon found necessary in India. Meanwhile, the Indian Association under the leadership of Surendra Nath Banerjee had started a campaign in 1877 against the reduction of the age limit from 21 to 19 for the open competitive examination in the Indian Civil Service. The underlying object of the movement was the awakening of the spirit of unity and solidarity among the people of India. To mobilise nationalists all over India, Surendra Nath toured different provinces in 1877-78 which helped to strengthen nascent Indian nationalism. An all India memorial on the Civil Service question was prepared to be addressed to the British House of Commons. It contained a powerful plea for the modification of the orders of the secretary of state for India by raising the maximum age limit from 19 to 22.³

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- 1 4 The Indian Association selected Lalmohan Ghosh to be its delegate in England to give a suitable expression to the Indian side of the civil service question in England. An active patriot, Lalmohan visited England in 1879 with numerous memorials for presentation to the parliament ⁴
- 1 5 On reaching England, he met Mr W E Gladstone, who was then the leader of the opposition (later Prime Minister) and John Bright, the Statesman and orator of the time. Lalmohan made a brilliant political deliverance on "the Duty of England to India" presided by John Bright and eminent personalities at Willis Room, St James, London, so admirably, that he soon won over John Bright to the Indian cause and created a lasting impression on the English audiences ⁵
- 1 6 The effect of the meeting was instantaneous. Within 24 hours, the Rules for creating the statutory civil service was laid on the table of the House of Commons and the bill was passed. Under the parliamentary statute of 1870, the government had been empowered to make direct appointments of natives of India of proven merit and ability to the coveted civil service. For seven years, the Government of India had slept over the matter. But Lalmohan Ghosh's presentation of the civil service case created such a profound impression, having behind it, the sentiment of a united India, that the Rules, which had been delayed for seven years, were published within 24 hours of that meeting ⁶
- 1 7 The efforts of Lalmohan Ghosh was not altogether in vain. It was true that the statutory civil service evaded the great moral issue involved in Indian grievance framed against the Secretary of states regulations regarding civil service examinations in England from 19 to 22. Besides the right of nomination given to the Indian government helped to keep their hold on the Indian people. Despite these theoretical objections, the statutory civil service opened up before the Indians, the posts of a District Magistrate or judge and even without passing the civil service examination in England. But the real significance of Lalmohan Ghosh's deputation to England was far more moral than political for it added considerably to the pride and strengthened the conceit of intellectual equality with the British. Lalmohan's work indeed opened a new chapter in Indian history and disclosed the importance of Indian deputation to England ⁷
- 1 8 As early as 1879, Lalmohan foreshadowed the birth of Congress when he said "the various races are being gradually welded together into one common nationality, they are beginning to co-operate with each other in the discussion and agitation of political questions and the national pulse is beginning to beat with unison". In the course of his parliamentary speeches, he mentioned the dire effect of the famines, he asked for permanent settlement throughout India, protested against the practical evasion of the permanent settlement in Bengal by the imposition of public works and road cess, condemned the increase of land tax in Northern India and Punjab, the increment of salt tax by 40%, the small limit of exemption of income tax, deviation of 1½ Million Sterling from Famine Insurance Fund and the opium trade. He condemned the repeal of the import duties on cotton goods, the Arms Act and the exclusion of Indians from the army, a policy which was calculated to irritate the feeling of the Indians

He also pleaded for the separation of the judicial and executive functions of the Magistrates. He pointed out the absence of any system of popular representative in India and alluded that "the time was not far off when the voice of a united nation would make itself heard in England that would demand for a constitutional Government". Lalmohan returned to India in 1880 and was accorded a reception by Kristo Das Pal at Town Hall, Calcutta for his commendable efforts in upholding India's cause in England.³

- 19 Two months later Lalmohan again left for England. This time Lalmohan upheld the unhappy condition of his country under the system of alien domination established by England's political wisdom under Lord Lytton's viceroyalty before the English statesman. He felt that the English should realise the nature and extent of the change that India had been undergoing.⁹

II

- 20 Lalmohan pleaded for the repeal of the Vernacular press act and other high handed acts of Lord Lytton on Indian policy. He submitted the opinion of the Indians before the opposition leader Gladstone and other members of the liberal party so well that Gladstone himself pointed out in the parliament how the literary Indian organ "Somprakash" had been confiscated by the notorious Vernacular press act of 1878. Afterwards, when Gladstone became the Prime Minister of England, having committed to this policy when in opposition, he had to repeal the gagging Vernacular press act in 1882.¹⁰
- 21 Lalmohan addressed several meetings during his stay in England where he upheld the position of India stating that 'the Government of India had unmistakably manifested a desire to depart from the Justice and generous confidence of the British' and that the present administration in India was disposed to consider the people hostile rather than as the loyal subjects of the sovereign". Lalmohan pleaded for the larger employment of Indians in the public services and for the adoption of a just and liberal policy by England in her dealings with India. He also emphasized the urgency of introducing representative legislatures in India and offered the practical suggestion that municipal towns should be recognised as constituencies for elections.¹¹
- 22 Back in Calcutta in 1880, Lalmohan resumed his practice at the Bar and in 1882 actively participated in the meeting held for thanking Lord Ripon for repealing the Vernacular press act.¹²
- 23 In 1883, India was convulsed by the Anglo Indian agitation against the Ilbert Bill. The civil service agitation had already revealed the essential unity of Indian aims and aspirations. The nationalist feelings were whetted further by the Ilbert Bill agitation. This psychological background producing a great commotion throughout the country. The bill, supported by Lord Ripon and introduced by Ilbert, the Law member in the viceregal legislative council in 1883 led to a serious controversy rousing anger among both the communities Indians and Europeans. It sought to abolish judicial disqualifications based on race distinctions and to invest the native Magistrates in the interior with powers

over European and British subjects ¹³

- 2 4 The European community in India vehemently opposed the bill. With anger and indignation against the authority of the Government, a campaign Indian culture and character was started by the Europeans under Mr. Branson, a barrister of Calcutta bar who delivered a violent speech at a meeting in Dacca in 1883 not only attacking Indian men but also cruelly defamed Indian women and branded the Indians with absolute disqualifications to sit in judgement upon European criminals ¹⁴
- 2 5 This hurt the sentiments of the Indians and an agitation in favour of the bill was organised by the Indians and a fitting and telling reply challenging Branson's provocative speech was given by Lalmohan Ghosh at Dacca. Lalmohan, in his formidable speech, "was more than equal even in the strength of its vituperations, to the vulgar exhibitions of Mr. Branson". The immediate effect of Lalmohan's fiery speech was the boycott of Branson by the Bengali Solicitors, his practice fell and he had to compulsorily retire from India and "fly far from the country". The Indian solicitors of Calcutta, incensed with nationalistic feelings had taught a lesson to impudent Europeans. Ultimately even Lord Ripon could not have his own way and had to concede to pressure from home and abroad and the jurisdiction of only the District Magistrates and the session Judges was acknowledged in principle ¹⁵
- 2 6 The Ilbert Bill controversy proved a turning point in the history of Indian nationalism. The failure of the agitation for the Indians provided much food for thought to the nationalists who now felt the need of a broader line of action. It also marked the beginning of a fierce struggle for equality between the Europeans and the Indians and produced results of far-reaching significance for both the Communities. An Anglo-Indian defence Association was hurriedly formed where English, Europeans and Anglo-Indians tried to defend their special judges. Sarcastically Lalmohan Ghosh commented "a motley crew, of each possible shade, of each possible hue, white, grey, black and brown, red, yellow and the pacca-born and eight anna eu, Russian and Greek, Armenian and Jew" ¹⁶
- 2 7 The "motley crew" raised an agitation all over India but it was far less organised. While it partially stirred up the public in Bengal and Bombay, it produced hardly any effect in Madras, N.W. Provinces, Punjab and other presidencies ¹⁷
- 2 8 Along with the Ilbert Bill agitation, the contempt of court case of Surendranath Banerjee (1883) caused unprecedented public agitation. Surendranath was sentenced to two months imprisonment for contempt of court in a passage published in his paper "Bengalee". He condemned in 1883, Justice Norris of Calcutta High Court for having ordered the production of a holy idol in court and bluntly remarked that such a person was unfit to be a judge in the High Court ¹⁸
- 2 9 The sentence of imprisonment on Surendranath touched off a public agitation. Once again Lalmohan Ghosh was fighting his country's cause in England. He

made a number of speeches on his old friend Surendranath's behalf, on the "Seats redistribution Bill" and the impression he produced on the English audiences was phenomenal¹⁹

III

- 3 0 It won for him the friendship of many local liberals in England who induced four different constituencies to adopt him as the candidate in their elections. Lalmohan Ghosh chose an Irish constituency, the country of Deptford and contested the seat as the liberal party candidate but was unfortunately defeated. After a few years, Dadabhai Naoroji, however, became the first Indian member of parliament. Therefore Lalmohan was a pioneer to contest for parliamentary honours in this respect. As Lord Ripon claimed that "Lalmohan was the first Indian who had been chosen as a parliamentary candidate and added that one may well be proud of the confidence he had earned of so many Englishmen"²⁰
- 3 1 Lalmohan Ghosh returned to India in 1884 and resumed his practice of the Calcutta Bar, in 1885, he was unanimously elected the representative of the Presidency group of Municipalities in the Bengal legislative council. His work in the council was quite in keeping with that he had rendered to the country outside it. One of the most powerful speeches he delivered as member was directed against the Jury notification of Sir Charles Elliot, the Lt Governor of Bengal, which was eventually withdrawn partially due to his effectual criticism²¹
- 3 2 But curiously enough, such a person did not take an active part in the deliberations of the Congress movement before 1890 in which year he spoke in the Calcutta Congress on the expansion and reform of the legislative councils. In 1896 and 1897, he took an active part in the Bengal provincial conference held at Krishnagar and Natore respectively. Abanindranath Tagore paid a tribute to his brilliant oration delivered in Bengal at the Nator Session²²
- 3 3 In 1903, Lalmohan was elected president of the nineteenth Indian National Congress held at Madras in recognition of his varied services to the country. He firmly believed that Indians would eventually achieve their rights by constitutional means²³
- 3 4 Lalmohan Gosh's social and political ideals were derived largely from the liberal humanism of Victorian England. He firmly believed in the necessity of western education for Indians as a force to unite the people into one nation²⁴
- 3 5 He became the first Congress president to make an elaborate plea for the introduction of compulsory primary education in India. He said that it was the duty of those who had received the blessings of education to extend that blessing to the masses. He reminded his audience that the ignorance of the masses would make them entirely apathetic towards all questions affecting the welfare of the country and because the ignorant people were liable to be excited by unscrupulous agitations²⁵

- 3 6 In the presidential address of the Madras session of the Congress, Lalmohan reminded the delegates that the aim and object of the Congress was to introduce popular element into the autocratic constitution of the Indian government. If the British aspired to be the leaders of the Indian people should be careful that their own acts were not condemned as autocratic by the Indians themselves ²⁶
- 3 7 He further questioned the propriety of maintaining an army in India much larger than was required and added that the British army was maintained not to defend the country against domestic enemies or against the invasions of war-like peoples of adjoining countries but to maintain the supremacy of the British power and the government and on which India's money was spent ²⁷
- 3 8 On the industrial and economic problems Lalmohan explicitly said that "the British policy killed our indigenous industries and a liberal administration imposed excise duties on our cotton manufactures which steadily drained our national resources which by imposing burdens on the agricultural population increased the intensity and frequency of famines in India" ²⁸
- 3 9 During the agitation over the partition of Bengal in 1905, Lalmohan suggested that the main object of this movement was to develop the resources of our country and to revive the indigenous industries which had been killed by the pressure of foreign competition. Defending the cause of the Swadeshi movement, Lalmohan upheld that the purpose behind the movement was to draw attention of the British public to Indian political question ²⁹

IV

- 4 0 In 1906, he gave his last speech at the Calcutta Congress. However, towards the end of his life, his failing health prevented him from taking an active part in politics though he lived to witness the introduction of the Morley-Minto reforms in 1909 ³⁰
- 4.1 Lalmohan will be revered in India for his contribution in the political regeneration of his country by the process of constitutional agitation. His fearless and cogent criticism of the British authority was his particular contribution in the emergence of Indian nationalism. He boldly criticized the mistakes of the Indian government by appealing to the justice of the English on the basis of arguments and facts ³¹
- 4 2 Such a man was Lalmohan Ghosh who emerged as a pioneer in fighting India's cause in Great Britain. His task was indeed a difficult one, but the effective manner in which he carried it out made the work of his successors easy. By his tact and skilful oration, he made the cause of his country, the cause of the better mind of England. The success which he attained testified his power of sound judgement, sobriety of thought and faith in the justice of the cause he represented. His ability to impress upon the English mind had a profound impact. Indeed, he rendered considerable service on India's behalf in England ³²

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CUNNINGHAM'S HISTORY OF THE SIKHS AND THE PARLIAMENTARY DEBATE ON THE SECOND ANGLO-SIKH WAR

G. KHURANA*

I

- 1 1 J.D. Cunningham's *History of the Sikhs* which covers the period only upto the end of the First Anglo Sikh War contributed in no small degree to a number of issues connected with the Second Anglo-Sikh War. A study of Broughton Papers preserved in the India Office Library, London, makes this more explicit than has hitherto been believed.
- 1 2 Cunningham's book appeared at a time when Punjab was already in the process of annexation. It was this exigency which had compelled Cunningham to rush his work to the press post haste. He was keen to make every possible attempt to stall the extinction of the political power of the Sikhs in Punjab, albeit without risking his own career.
- 1 3 The British had all along followed in Punjab a policy of self aggrandizement which was epitomised by the two Anglo-Sikh Wars. However, neither the British public opinion at large nor the Parliament favoured the unscrupulous policy of the East India Company.¹ In February 1849 Mr. George Thompson, a leading M.P. repeatedly requested the government of John Russell to place before the Parliament all papers relating to the Multan episode and the Punjab War as the little information generally available was not enough to justify a war.

as such ² On February 27, he even made his motion to the Queen on the basis of her speech requesting her to direct all papers before the Parliament ³ John Hobhouse, the Earl of Broughton, who was President, Board of Control, East India Company, resisted all pressure and Thompson was constrained to withdraw his motion

- 1 4 However, before the debate on the vote of thanks could be concluded, Cunningham's *History of the Sikhs* was published in England on March 19, 1849. The government won the vote of thanks with a considerable margin, but George Thompson again gave his notice about the Punjab policy based on the Parliamentary Papers. Hobhouse came to know that Thompson's chief reliance was on a "good for nothing book" by Captain Cunningham, the Resident at Bhopal ⁴ This book had called into question the sagacity of the British policy in Punjab and quoted in support of his argument the passages from the despatches relating to the Secret Committee, some of which had not been produced in the Parliamentary documents. This was much more injurious to the government because it clearly established that the government was wilfully suppressing the facts which should have been placed before the nation. The two factors put together naturally gave much strength to Thompson's contention.
- 1 5 Broughton Papers contain a few loose leaves entitled 'Sikh Affairs - Notes for Speech' ⁵ The notes state that three sets of papers had already been presented, the last of which was in March, 1844. These, along with the details of arrangements under which the Punjab was to be administered during the minority, have never been objected to and on the 2nd of March, 1846, both Houses of Parliament voted unanimously that the aggression of the Sikhs in 1845 was unprovoked. The notes also explain the circumstances under which the treaty of 9th March, 1846 was altered at the request of the Lahore Durbar. Then these pages refer to the subsequent events "detailed in papers now presented". Regarding the Second Anglo-Sikh War the Earl of Broughton asserts that "Never was War more just and necessary - it has been forced upon us."
- 1 6 These notes are accompanied by the copious extracts without any reference to the source ⁶ I have been able to trace these extracts to Cunningham's *History of the Sikhs*. What appears to be most intriguing is that these excerpts convey the impression diametrically opposite to Cunningham's analysis of the British policy towards Punjab. For example, one of the paragraphs in the extracts taken by Hobhouse reads as follows ⁷

From the moment the Sikh army became predominant in the state, the English authorities had been persuaded that the machinery of government would be broken up, that bands of plunderers would everywhere arise, and that the duty of a civilized people to society generally, and of a governing power to its own subjects, would all combine to bring on a collision, and thus measures which

seemed sufficient were adopted for strengthening the frontier posts, and for having a force at hand which might prevent aggression, or which would at least exact retribution and vindicate the supremacy of the English name. These were the fair and moderate objects of the British Government, but the Sikhs took a different view of the relative conditions of the two states.

Hobhouse had cut the last sentence to suit his convenience as will be obvious from the next few lines.⁸

They feared the ambitions of their great and growing neighbour, they did not understand why they should be dreaded when intestine commotions had reduced their comparative inferiority still lower, or why inefficiency of rule should be construed into hostility of purpose, defensive measures took in their eyes the form of aggressive preparations, and they came to the conclusion that their country was to be invaded. Nor does this conviction of the weaker and less intelligent power appear to be strange or unreasonable, although erroneous for it is always to be borne in mind that India is far behind Europe in civilization, and that political morality or moderation is as little appreciated in the East in these days as it was in Christendom in the middle Ages.

- 17 Again Hobhouse quoted at length Cunningham's description of the internal turmoil at Lahore, the desire of Maharaja Sher Singh and the Sindhianwalas to become tributaries and the awe inspired by the army in the minds of Gulab Singh, Lal Singh and Tej Singh. "These men considered that their only chance of retaining power was to have the army removed by inducing it to engage in a contest which they believed would end in its dispersion, and pave the way for their recognition as ministers more surely than if they did their duty by the people, and earnestly deprecated a war which must destroy the independence of the Punjab".⁹ Once again Hobhouse skipped the next few lines which could have balanced the preceding full page quoted by him. Cunningham had discreetly added to his description that, "Had the shrewd committees of the armies observed no military preparations on the part of the English, they would not have heeded the insidious exhortations of such mercenary men as Lal Singh and Tej Singh, although in former days they would have marched uninquiringly towards Delhi at the bidding of their great Maharaja".¹⁰
- 18 As expected, Hobhouse could have his way in the Parliament, but the crafty manner in which he tried to tear out paragraphs from Cunningham's book does provide some insight into the mental makeup of this person who virtually controlled the Indian affairs.

Highly embarrassed by some of the disclosures of Captain Cunningham, he had craftily tried to use this very book to silence his opponents. His annoyance with Cunningham was indeed great and he immediately directed Lord Dalhousie, to remove him from his post if the Secret despatches used by him had not been published by the Government ¹¹

II

- 2 1 Action was initiated against Cunningham on 13th June, 1849 ¹² Hobhouse expressed his satisfaction in this regard ¹³

I am glad you have commenced operations against Cpt Cunningham. I say, as I said before, that an example is wanted, to show that the Company's servants are not sent to India to write libels against their superiors but to do their duty at their respective posts, submissively and honestly

- 2 2 Cunningham tried to defend his conduct on the ground that the publication of the book had been permitted by the Court of Directors "on the discretion of the author" ¹⁴ However, this explanation was turned down and Cunningham removed from political employment ¹⁵
- 2 3 Ignoring the proper sequence of events, G B Malleon has squarely blamed Dalhousie for the dismissal of Cunningham. Malleon's opinion has been prefixed to Cunningham's book in the form of 'An Appreciation' ¹⁶ The popular image of an imperialist which Dalhousie enjoys has gone a long way in giving credence to this opinion. However, it was not he but Hobhouse who forced action against Cunningham. In all fairness it must be added that at one stage Dalhousie even decided to recommend Cunningham's case to the Secret Committee. To quote his draft, "I do not believe he acted in wilful disregard of the Court and that howsoever unfounded the supposition really is, he did suppose that Y H Court had permitted him to Publish his work" However, before this recommendation could be despatches, Dalhousie received Hobhouse's letter dated September 1, 1849, virtually censuring him for the award of a medal to every officer and soldier who had participated in the Punjab Campaign. Smouldering under deep humiliation and fully knowing the opposition of Hobhouse to Cunningham, Dalhousie dropped his recommendation and merely forwarded Cunningham's representation ¹⁷
- 2 4 Thus Cunningham's history did succeed in putting a question mark on the propriety of the British policy towards Punjab. It came handy to Thompson for embarrassing the government, but more than that it cut short the promising career of a historian and a political officer with a difference, one who viewed Punjab not merely as another territory awaiting British arms, but a land of possibilities, where a new experiment in the history of mankind was afoot in the form of Sikhism ¹⁸

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THE 'SYLHET RESOLUTION' OF 1926 ; WHY DID THE CACHAR LEADERS VOTE AGAINST ?

J.B. BHATTACHARJEE*

I

PROBLEM

- 1.1 A special session of the Assam Legislative Council in January 1926 passed by a majority a resolution recommending the transfer of Sylhet district to Bengal. This resolution, among others, was opposed by all the three members of the Council from Cachar district. That the Cachar members unitedly opposed the resolution is well known from the contemporary historical writings,¹ but why they opposed the resolution has not been clearly reflected upon in such writings. It is, therefore, necessary to examine the views of these members in right perspective to straighten a controversial issue.

RETROSPECTION

- 1.2 The districts of Sylhet and Cachar in the Surma (Barak) Valley were transferred from Bengal to the newly created province of Assam in 1874 against the wishes of the people of those districts. The memorials submitted by a large number of individuals and organisations against the transfer on the grounds of historical, geographical, cultural and linguistic affinity of the valley with Bengal were ignored by the colonial administration which insisted that a

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strong frontier province was necessary for defence and development² The people in Surma Valley, however, agitated throughout the rest of the British rule for re-union with Bengal. The agitation gradually took the form of a constitutional battle. The decision of the Indian National Congress at Calcutta session in 1917, which was attended by forty delegates from the Surma Valley, to accept the principle of linguistic provinces for its own organisational purposes gave a filip to the re-union movement in Surma Valley. The District Congress Committees of Cachar and Sylhet were accordingly affiliated to the Bengal Provincial Congress Committee. The same year (1917), a delegation from Surma Valley urged upon Montagu for the transfer of Sylhet to Bengal. This was followed by a memorandum submitted by the Sylhet People's Association to Montagu-Chelmsford Reform Committee to the same effect. In 1918, a resolution recommending the creation of linguistic provinces moved by K K Chanda (Silchar) was negatived in the Imperial Legislative Council. K K Chanda and a few other Surma Valley leaders then issued a public statement in favour of the demand. Same Year (1918), a demand for the reconstitution of Bengal on linguistic basis was voiced in the Bengal Provincial Conference³

- 13 A resolution moved by B N Choudhury (Sylhet) recommending the transfer of Sylhet was keenly debated in the Assam Legislative Council in 1924. The prominent Assamese leaders like R K Hatibaruah, Nilamani Phukan and others strongly supported the resolution. The Cachar leaders wanted that in case Sylhet goes to Bengal, Cachar must also go. Accordingly, the resolution was amended to accommodate Cachar. The official members and tea-planters were against the transfer. However, the modified resolution recommending the transfer of both Cachar and Sylhet was passed by the Council by 22 to 18 votes. The Government of Assam made it clear that it shall not stand on the way of transfer provided it does not affect the status of Assam as a Governor's province⁴

ISSUE AT STAKE

- 14 The matter remained open for sometime as no assurance was received from the Government of India either approving the transfer or about the continuity of Assam as a Governor's province after the transfer of Cachar and Sylhet. A demand raised by Raja Prabhatchandra Barua and others for the transfer of Goalpara (which was also transferred to Assam in 1874) to Bengal confused the situation further. It was generally felt that the transfer of Sylhet alone shall not affect the status of Assam, but the situation shall be otherwise in case Cachar and Goalpara were also to be transferred. The Sylhet leaders, on the otherhand, intensified their agitation for re-union. Accordingly, a special session of the Assam Council met in January 1926 to consider a resolution for the transfer of Sylhet. The Council passed this resolution by 26 to 12 votes. All the Indian members from Sylhet and the Brahmaputra Valley, except two Muslims from Sylhet and three Muslims from Brahmaputra Valley, voted for the resolution, but all the three Indian members from Cachar (two Hindus and one Muslim) voted against this 'Sylhet Resolution'. As stated already, the Council passed the resolution by a majority⁵

CACHAR'S CASE

- 1 5 Although the 'Sylhet Resolution' of 1926 had no impact on the Government of India and the Council itself reversed its position two years later,⁶ it is important to note that the members from Cachar opposed the resolution recommending the transfer of Sylhet. But it must be more important for the historians to know why did the Cachar leader oppose the resolution? "The general Assamese opinion", as noted by a historian, "was that Cachar was historically, if not linguistically, an integral part of Assam"⁷ Amalendu Guha, however, correctly noted that the Cachar leaders "were opposed to Sylhet's transfer to Bengal unless Cachar was also transferred"⁸ Infact, to understand the minds of the Cachar leaders it is better to refer to the statements of these leaders themselves. Two of the three Cachar members, namely, Bipin Chandra Deb Laskar and Rashid Ali Laskar participated in the debate and the texts of their speeches are available in the proceedings of the Assam Legislative Council. Bipin Chandra Deb Laskar made it clear that he supported the resolution in 1924 because at that time the proposal was for the transfer of both Sylhet and Cachar. But now that the resolution is for the transfer of Sylhet alone he is unable to support it. He said,⁹

Now the leaders from Sylhet are saying that they will draw out Cachar if Sylhet is included in Bengal. But the people of Cachar refuse to be satisfied with the false assurance given to them by the Sylhet district because of their previous behaviour and all the permanent citizens of Silchar strongly asked me to protest against the transfer of Sylhet to Bengal, that is why I am protesting against the transfer of Sylhet of Bengal. If I accept the proposal regarding the transfer of Sylhet to Bengal I shall be a betrayer before the people of Cachar. The leaders of Sylhet district cannot expect to get whole hearted support from the representatives of the Cachar district because of intriguing attitude meted out to them. Cachar always followed Sylhet, that is why the people of Cachar are anguished today. The leaders of Sylhet are giving assurance that they will add Cachar to Bengal after the inclusion of Sylhet to the same. The people of Cachar cannot rely upon the assurance of the leaders of Sylhet as they did not wait for the Cachar people in their struggle for reunion with Bengal. Due to this reason, I am protesting against the resolution. So far as I know, not a single member of Cachar will agree to this resolution.

Maulavi Rashid Ali Laskar, another member from Cachar, also said that the resolution passed in 1924 included Cachar and Sylhet and 'unless Cachar was included in that resolution there was every likelihood that the resolution would

have been defeated at that time ' He also dwelt at length with the history of Cachar "According to history", he said, "the district of Cachar at least did not belong to Assam, though I find that by mistake it has been said that Cachar is an Assam district But how is this ? The people of Cachar were not conquered As soon as they accepted the British rule of their own accord it was annexed to Bengal, and it was under the Commissionership of the Dacca Division, and there are records in the Silchar records office to bear this out, and when it came to Assam it came along with Sylhet " Finally, he said,¹⁰

As for the people of Cachar, these people have not migrated from the Assam Valley, they have not migrated from the hills, they have not dropped from heaven The Cachar people are descendants of Sylhet But because they happen to be in a separate geographical limit and because they obstruct a hill district, the Lushai Hills, and for the cost of which the district pays, because of that alone they are to suffer from the Assam Valley ? Their position is that they do not want to go to Bengal, their main object is to remain with Sylhet If Sylhet remains they want to remain, if Sylhet goes to Bengal they want to go also That is the position of Cachar I represent not only my own constituency but I represent the opinion of the entire district

The third Cachar member, Harendranath Chakraborty, it appears, did not participate in the debate, as his speech is not found in the proceedings However, he also voted against the resolution All the Cachar members thus unitedly opposed the 'Sylhet Resolution' It should also be noted, as Guha did, that all the three Cachar members moved a separate resolution recommending the transfer of both Cachar and Sylhet to Bengal, although this 'Cachar Resolution' was defeated in the Council ¹¹

SUMMING-UP

- 1 6 Evidently, the members from Cachar opposed the 'Sylhet Resolution' in the Assam Council in 1926, firstly, because the resolution recommended the transfer of Sylhet only and, secondly, because they wanted both Cachar and Sylhet to be reunited with Bengal In their speeches in the council, they made it clear that Cachar and Sylhet together formed the Surma (Barak) Valley and the people in these two districts were geographically, historically, culturally and linguistically inseparable from each other Sylhet alone should not be transferred, because the people of Cachar were also 'Sylhetee' by language and culture In other words, by opposing the resolution for the separation of Sylhet they opposed the vivisection of the Surma (Barak) Valley

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THE NON-COOPERATION MOVEMENT IN AJMER-MERWARA

INDIRA VYAS & G.S. VYAS*

I

- 1 1 The failure of the revolutionary movement, the passing of coercive measures in the form of the Rowlatt Act of 1919, atrocities of Jallianwalla and the Khilafat movement roused a fierce spirit of resistance among both Hindus and Muslims against British rule. Mahatma Gandhi, in order to channelise the powerful current of enthusiasm among the masses for the national struggle of independence, conceived the idea of Non-cooperation movement. Under his guidance, the Congress adopted the resolution regarding Non-cooperation in a special session at Calcutta in September 1920. It recommended the renunciation of Government titles, the boycotting of the legislatures, law courts and educational institutions. It was reaffirmed at the annual session of the Congress at Nagpur in December 1920. The annual Congress session at Ahmedabad of December 1921 expressed its determination to continue the movement for the attainment of '*Swarajya*' through *non-violent of hartal* and picketing of foreign goods and liquor.¹
- 1 2 There was already widespread dissatisfaction and unrest among the people and workers of Ajmer regarding the Act of 1919 and the disturbances in Punjab. When Rowlatt Act was passed in 1919, Chand Karan Sarda opposed it and organised a complete hartal in Ajmer protesting against the Rowlatt Act. From March 1919 to April 1919 processions were taken out, and a call for strike was given. An assembly was held at Sadhu Ashram, near the Ana Sagar.

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lake on March 21, 1919 Chand Karan Sarda was a born revolutionary who struggled zealously to free India from the British bondage and his example and speeches created political awakening among the people of Ajmer He suggested that there should be *satyagraha* and *non-payment of taxes* The time for words had passed away, and time for action had come He took an active part in the Non-cooperation Movement at Ajmer The Government arrested him and charged him of distributing the '*fatwa*' that the military and police services under the British were against religion He was sentenced to one year's imprisonment which he underwent in a Gandhian spirit

1 3 In one of his speeches he said

Mother India is to be freed, and freedom cannot be achieved without sacrifice You should not cooperate with the bureaucracy which crushes your freedom, do not obey their unjust laws Even if you have to go to jail for breaking these laws, you should go there smiling, thinking the jail to be a pious temple of freedom, wear the cloth made in your own country, enroll yourself as social workers whatever work is entrusted to you, do it fearlessly, courageously Independence will come to you by itself, I hope you will try to continue peaceful non-cooperation even after my going to prison

In another speech he said

We have to teach to the world a new lesson We have to show how we can achieve independence with the divine weapons of peace and Non-cooperation We should not disturb peace from our side in this holy war for independence This way India will give message to the world and other dependent nations will follow India

- 1 4 He used to stand in the Naya Bazar Chopar and repeated slogans of '*Vande Matram*' He used to make the people sing '*Nahi rakhni, nahi rakhni, sarkar Zalim nahi rakhni*'²
- 1 5 By September 1920, Mahatma Gandhi had started the programme of Non-cooperation, which evoked a healthy response in Ajmer Chand Karan Sarda, on the occasion of special session of the Congress, declared the renunciation of his practice as a lawyer by which he used to earn thousands of rupees Since then he took active part in the movement Arjunlal Sethi asked the Vakils to leave their practice and assured that the Congress would pay rupees hundred per mensum to them He asked people to remove their children immediately from Government schools which made them slaves and cowards
- 1 6 Several political meetings were held in Ajmer attended by two to three thousand persons during the first half of February, 1921 Allegations against the authorities were made to the effect that people were being thrown into jail,

their houses were being looted and that the military were being used to oppress the inhabitants³

- 1 7 Political activities continued in Ajmer. A series of meetings attended by five hundred to five thousand persons were held in middle of February, 1921 in Ajmer. Gauri Shanker Bhargava and Chand Karan Sarda were the principal speakers. They said that time was ripe to bid for liberty as England was weary and Ireland was engaging her attention and that seventy thousand British could not stand against millions of Indians⁴

II

ACTIVITIES IN DISTRICTS

- 2 1 The Non-cooperators did not confine their activities only to Ajmer city but efforts were made to spread the Non-cooperation Movement in the Districts too. On January 30, 1921, a deputation of the Congress Committee visited Pushkar and established a Congress Committee there. On February 3rd and 4th Chand Karan Sarda and a party of Non-cooperators delivered lectures in Pisangan where eight hundred persons assembled and about sixty local people were enlisted as members of the Congress Committee. The volunteers in Ajmer city were applying their energies to persuade students and the public in general to boycott various functions held under the auspices of the government. The appeal had no doubt some effect⁵. In Beawar, Chauth Mal Agarwal helped to establish the Congress in 1920. He vowed to use *Swadeshi* goods till the last day of his life. Onkarnath Bakliwal left his Government job during the Non-cooperation Movement⁶
- 2 2 On February 26, 1921 under the leadership of Gauri Shanker Bhargava and Chand Karan Sarda, the annual flower show was boycotted, only about twenty five percent of the usual attendance being recorded. Roads leading to Daulat Bagh were picketed by volunteers in uniform and the city band led a procession of volunteers round the city eventually taking up its position at the gate of the flower show. A decrepit donkey dressed up to represent title holders was displayed, and as each person arrived, he was bombarded with arguments and entreaties not to enter the gate. When these attempts failed, cries of *lanat* or shame were raised. Many Europeans on entering the gate were greeted with shouts of '*Ghandhi ji ki Jai*'⁷
- 2 3 On April 6, 1921, the Punjab events of 1919 were commemorated by complete hartals at Ajmer, Beawar and Kekri. At Ajmer a mourning procession was organised on this occasion, the students were bearing mourning badges and carried black flags. It passed through the city with a cart of spinning wheels. 'Swarajya receipts' were circulated for sale. A filthy coat offered by a man on behalf of the Tilak fund was sold for auction for rupees fifty⁸
- 2 4 As a result of the provocative speeches delivered in Ajmer and the surrounding districts, particularly in Pisangan, the Commissioner issued orders under

section 144 Criminal Procedure Code, prohibiting the following agitators from speaking in public in Ajmer-Merwara for two months-Chand Karan Sarda, Abdul Kadir Beg, Swami Narsingh Deo, Radha Krishan, Gauri Shankar Bhargava and Arjun Lal Sethi. But when they defied it, on April 27, 1921 Arjun Lal Sethi was arrested in Ajmer under Section 144 of Criminal Procedure Code. The news of his departure by 11 30 pm train reached the city and mob rushed to the station and prevented the train from starting until three on the next morning. The mob grew defiant and noisy. Some of the persons indulged in stone throwing while others laid on the line in front of the engine and prevented the train from moving, still others, presumably railway employees, threw gravel and sand into the delicate parts of the engine. Eventually, the mob dispersed on an appeal of Maulvi Moinuddin.⁹

- 2 5 Chand Karan Sarda was arrested on 7th August, 1921, and he humbly underwent imprisonment. Non-Cooperation Movement was adopted by the general masses too. On June 16, 1921 Lectures were delivered in Ajmer and more than ten thousand people promised to buy, sell, and wear *Swadeshi* cloth. In the fourth week, of June 1921, one hundred thirty six traders promised not to sell foreign cloth. On June 31, 1921, all the tailors of the city promised to stitch two times *Swadeshi* to foreign cloth for same charges. The Panchayats of *Khatiks* and *Luhars* vowed to use *Swadeshi* goods.
- 2 6 In August 1921 a huge meeting was held at Ajmer. For hours, foreign head dresses and caps continued to be thrown and burnt in bonfires. In Nasirabad and Kekri too foreign cloth bonfires were lit.¹⁰ On 6th August, 1921 a large *Dhobi Panchayat* was held in which they agreed to wash *Swadeshi* cloth four times to the ratio of one time foreign cloth. In second week on September 9, 1921 seventy nine cloth traders signed a pact not to purchase foreign cloth to be sold. People promised to wear *Swadeshi* cloth. In the second week of September 1921, lectures were delivered on *Swadeshi* in Nasirabad. All the thirty-six traders signed not to buy or sell foreign clothes. In the third week of September, a meeting was held at Kekri in which two thousand persons promised to adopt *Swadeshi* goods. In Beawar a Kisan Conference was held on September 10-11, 1921, eight hundred people vowed to use *Swadeshi*. They took off foreign clothes. On September 13, 14, 1921 a meeting of ladies was held in which five hundred of them took vow to wear *Swadeshi* cloth. They said that they will start picketing. Khadi caps were given freely in Ajmer in exchange of foreign caps.¹¹
- 2 7 These were the days when volunteers filled *Thelas* with Gandhi Caps, took away imported felt caps of people and gave Gandhi Caps instead to wear. Many valuable imported clothes of women were collected. A big 'Ravana' was made of these things and on the arrival of the Prince of Wales on November 28, 1921 at Ajmer which was burnt in front of a big meeting at Dhai-Din-Ka-Jhoopra.¹² On November 17, 1921 there was a hartal at Ajmer and picketing at liquor shops which were forcibly closed and posters prohibiting picketing were removed by the volunteers.¹³

- 2 8 On February 1, 1922 a successful resistance was observed at a garden party which was given in honour of Lieutenant Colonel Patterson, who was vacating the office of Commissioner. It was picketed and parties of non-cooperators abused and jeered at the guests as they arrived and departed.¹⁴ Though the Chauri Chaura incident led Gandhiji to suspend the mass movement, which was endorsed by the Congress Working Committee on February 12, 1922, the enthusiasm in Ajmer for defying the British authorities remained unabated.

III

ACHIEVEMENTS OF NON-COOPERATION MOVEMENT

- 3 1 The Non-Cooperation movement found response in Ajmer as there were determined and devoted workers like Arjun Lal Sethi, Thakur Gopal Singh Kharwa, Chand Karan Sarda, Lalta Prasad, Baba Narsingh Deo, Chandrika Prasad, Rai Sahib Mithan Lal, Gauri Shanker Bhargava (all from Ajmer), Nathu Lal Vakil of Beawar, Pearey Lal Johri of Nasirabad, Maulvi Muninuddin and Durga Prasad Choudhary. These leaders carried the message and philosophy of Mahatma Gandhi to the people of Ajmer. Durga Prasad Choudhary had discontinued studies and joined the Non-cooperation movement, Chand Karan Sarda left his practice as a lawyer and Onkarnath Bakliwal of Beawar too left his Government job and joined the movement.
- 3 2 In Ajmer, there was a healthy atmosphere for Non-Cooperation Movement. The activities of the Congress were well organised with its office located in the Dharmshala of Gauri Shanker Bhargava - known as the Ghasiram-ki-Dharmshala. Here, Mahatma Gandhi, Tilak, Pael, Ansari, Pandit Madan Mohan Malviya and others stayed during their visit to Ajmer.
- 3 3 The outstanding feature of the movement in Ajmer Merwara was that it was fairly widespread. People became conscious of their political rights, joined processions against the government, criticised the Rowlatt Act as inhumanly repressive measure and voiced their determination to free the land from the shackles of the British government. Though the government tried its best to crush the nationalistic spirit of the people by following a repressive policy, putting people behind bars, declaring section 144 of Criminal Procedure Code, etc., but it failed to suppress the movement because it was backed by the people's support.
- 3 4 Hindus and Muslims co-operated in a meeting of the citizens of Ajmer and viewed with distrust and scorn the proposal of the Amer Municipality to impose water, wheel and pilgrim taxes in Ajmer and passed a resolution that, in spite of this protest, the municipality imposed the taxes, the citizens of Ajmer would refuse to pay them. This feature proved a source of success of the movement.¹⁵
- 3 5 Promotion of *Khadi* was another salient feature of the movement. In Ajmer-Merwara while the population was 6,17,000, the number of '*Charkhas*'

introduced were 1,23,000 which was an index of the success of the aims of the movement¹⁶ The constructive side of the movement was the *Khadi* and the *Charkha spinning* The boycott of foreign goods gave a staggering blow to British trade interests in India *Khadi* became the official uniform for all Congressmen The Congress became a mass movement¹⁷

- 3 6 After Chauri-chaura incident, the movement was called off by Mahatma Gandhi in February 1922 But it cannot be doubted that this movement was of great historical importance It ushered in an era, in the political life of the country, put a new life into Indian nationalism It succeeded in creating political awakening and urge for freedom among the masses

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G.D. BIRLA'S ATTITUDE TOWARDS CONGRESS : FROM THE YEAR OF DEPRESSION TO THE OUTBREAK OF THE SECOND WORLD WAR

SHRADDHA JHA*

I

- 1 1 If one looks at the history of India's Freedom struggle, one finds that it was only by the mid 1920s that the Indian capitalist class started perceiving its long term class interests which paved the way for its consistent and open anti-imperialist stance. The earlier hesitation on the part of the capitalists stemmed primarily from their apprehension that any opposition to the policy of the foreign government might jeopardise their business interests as well as their existence.

- 1 2 The reason for this apprehension is obvious. In fact, the capitalist class was impaled on the horns of a dilemma because of the various trends which emerged in the political and economic spheres in the country during 1920s. The socialist government which emerged with Kisan Sabha and Workers Sabha compelled them to come to terms with the British as they felt that the British government alone could prevent its further growth. The period of 1920s also marked economic constraints due to economic depression which induced the capitalists to come closer to the Congress so as to ventilate their grievances through a political forum. As both the trends constituted a threat to capitalism, the apprehensions of the capitalist class can very easily be imagined.

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- 1 3 G D Birla, a leading capitalist of the 20th century, also could not remain uninfluenced by these trends. If one looks at the role of Birla, one finds that his approach after 1930 had been one of a mediator between Gandhi and the British. In a letter to Purushottamdas on 16 Jan 1931, he wrote "If we are to achieve what we desire, the present movement should not be allowed to slacken. We should, therefore, have two objects in view, one is that we should jump at the opportune moment for a reconciliation, and the other, that we should not do anything that might weaken the hands of those through whose efforts we have arrived at this stage."¹
- 1 4 To understand the reason for the adoption of a mediating role by the capitalists in general and Birla in particular, one has to take into account the interplay of historical forces prior to 1930s.
- 1 5 From 1927 onwards, the relation between the government and big businessmen was getting progressively strained due to a number of factors. The refusal of the government to devalue the rupee was having an adverse impact on their interests. There was also a rejection by the government, on the recommendation of the report of 1927 Indian Tariff Board, of their demand for a rise in the duty on the imported cotton goods. This induced many businessmen approve of the hostile attitude taken by the Congress towards the Indian Statutory Commission. Birla wrote to Thakurdas on 12 Nov, 1927 "About the Statutory Commission I cannot suppress my indignation. It should be entirely boycotted."²
- 1 6 But the labour strike which had engulfed the Indian industries made capitalists eager for a settlement between the Government and the Congress. This explains why Thakurdas and Birla acted as intermediaries between the Government and the Congress during the Bardoli struggle. Birla consistently tried to ensure that the Bardoli struggle be kept aside from the wider issue of political struggle. He also insisted that the businessmen should deposit the excess revenue with the government and not with Vallabhbhai. He wrote on July 25, 1928 "In this way while the Government can feel that they had their way, Mr Vallabhbhai in his turn can feel that he was in no way concerned with such payment."³ G D Birla himself deposited the revenue in the Government treasury.
- 1 7 What Birla always tried was not to get entangled with any side whether it be Congress or the British but to safeguard the class interests of the business class. For this he did not hesitate to change sides if he felt that his class interests were in danger.
- 1 8 This is quite evident from the following letter which he wrote to Gandhi in 1928, on the eve of the launching of Civil disobedience movement.⁴

The leaders (i.e. Congress) have not got substantial power at their disposal. They are not in a position to guarantee that if the millowners agreed to spin and weave cloth only above a certain count, the leaders

would see that the stock of the mills would be sold at a reasonable profit But in the absence of any such guarantee from the leaders it would be futile to talk seriously of the mills regulating their profit or production Even if the millowners were patriots - and I know a section of them is so - they could not enter into an agreement with a party which is not in a position to fulfill its own part on the contract

This clearly shows that it was business interests rather than selfless patriotism which guided G D Birla in his decisions Wherever he found the policies of the Congress directed by Gandhiji coming in the way of his business, he either totally boycotted it or changed sides

- 1 9 When the Civil disobedience Movement was launched in the 1930s, the Industrial leaders had no intention of losing whatever leverage they still enjoyed with the authorities, despite their sympathy for the nationalist cause and protests against the discriminatory policies of the government Birla assured Samuel Hoare, the then Secretary of State, through a letter dated 14 March, 1932, of having never taken part or financed the civil disobedience movement ⁵
- 1 10 As, by this time, the left wing party had gained a prominent position in the Congress, Birla and his compatriots could not afford to remain totally aloof from the Congress Birla could clearly foresee that it was only Gandhi who could keep the left wing in check He wrote to Samuel Hoare on 14 March, 1932 that "He (Gandhiji) alone is responsible for keeping the left wing in India in Check To strengthen his hands, in my opinion, is to strengthen the bond of friendship between the two countries" ⁶
- 1 11 In a series of letters from 1931, Birla refers to his attempt to bring Congress close to the British Government In a letter of 6 August 1932, he mentions "I have been, during my interviews, only impressing the great need to secure Congress cooperation" ⁷
- 1 12 All this shows that when the very base of capitalism was threatened by socialism, the capitalists like Birla realised the utility and importance of Congress and came to its side Here it would be useful to refer to what Birla wrote in his letter to Walchand Hirachand on 26 May, 1936, which is suggestive of his approach to the problem ⁸

We are all against Socialism and yet nothing is done to carry on augmentative propaganda and even people like Vallabhbhai and Bhulabhai who are fighting against socialism are not being helped Apart from this, our duty does not end in simply opposing socialism Businessmen have to do something positive to ameliorate the condition of the masses

- 1 13 What is of significance here is that Vallabhbhai, while fighting for the cause of the peasants at Bardoli, had not been given any financial help during the Civil disobedience movement for ameliorating the condition of the masses but Birla was ready to help him for the cause when his own business interests were endangered by socialism. Similarly, his very remark as to do something positive to ameliorate the condition of masses seems hollow if one looks at his actions to impede progressive rural movements. Being himself a Zamindar of Chottanagpur, Birla's concern was always for the Zamindars and money lenders who were being deprived of rents and interests. On the issue of abolition of Zamindari, his view was that acts like abolishing Zamindari or socialising accumulated wealth would hardly add much to the existing income of the masses. He wrote "Bread is not going to come out of Zamindari"⁹ A very good example of his materialistic attitude is evident from his letter to Miraben in 1939 that "I have spent nearly 8 lakhs on the Zamindari and my income just now is zero. So *even if you start an anti-zamindari campaign I would not be disturbed*"¹⁰ The portion of the letter underlined unmistakably uncovers his attitude, namely, that till any campaign did not harm his financial position, it did not bother him.
- 1 14 Moreover, if he had any real intention to ameliorate the condition of the masses he would not have tried to arrest the growing influence of Kisan Sabhas. Kapil Kumar writes that efforts were to check the Kisan Sabhas not directly but through the use of money power, government help, Gandhi's influence and the rightwing.¹¹ An example of this is Bihar Kisan Sabha which in August 1937 organised a peasants march to the Assembly house with the aim to remind the Congress Ministry of its promises to the peasants during the election. 10 Dec, 1937 saw the Congress leadership putting a ban on Kisan Sabhas and the Congress under the guidance of Rajendra Prasad, Patel and Azad entering into an agreement with the landlords in Bihar. When all this was going on, Mahadev Desai wrote to G D that - 'the situation has decidedly improved in Bihar'¹²

II

- 2 1 But does this mean that Birla had a say in the decision making of the Congress? B R Nanda, in his article "Business and Politics", has mentioned that some historians have been misled by the fact that Birla and his fellow capitalists wrote letters to Gandhi or pleaded in person for a particular course of action at a certain time. This does not prove that Gandhi acted at their bidding, he took his own decisions on critical issues such as the launching of non-cooperation, civil disobedience in 1930, the signing of Gandhi-Irwin pact in 1931 and the withdrawal of civil disobedience in 1933.¹³ If he had any effective influence on Gandhi, Birla would have prevented him from launching such non-violent movements. The following letter to Mahadev Desai from Birla on 8 March, 1940, clearly testifies to this.
- 2 2 "You know I hate civil disobedience Movement. In the name of non-violence, it has encouraged violence. In the name of construction it has destroyed many

things The truth is that none believes in non-violence Everybody in political circles wants upheaval I can say for myself that I have no living faith in it "14

- 2 3 In 1938, Mahatma told off Birla, when he sought support for a bargain with Lancashire for its supposed advantages in the economic terms, in the following words ¹⁵

What you say is correct from the economic point of view
But I look at it, and I ought to look at it, as a national
political issue We cannot enter into any agreement with
Lancashire which will bind us to buy their cloth

It is obvious that had Birla enjoyed any say in the affairs of the Congress, Gandhi would not have rejected his offer

- 2 4 The relationship between Gandhi and Birla was based on mutual respect and affection and Gandhi always treated G D Birla as his son Birla mentions in a book, "In the Shadow of the Mahatma", that Gandhiji's influence over him was more through his religious character - his sincerity and search for truth - than his power as a political leader ¹⁶ Regarding his work relating to untouchables for whom he created hostels and schools, he expressed "Needless to say, my own experience as an out-caste from my own community greatly increased my sympathies with the depressed classes and made me further Bapu's campaign for the Harijans "17
- 2 5 Though, being a staunch industrialist, he had no strong faith in Charkha, G D made it a habit to work on it everyday About wearing khadi dress, he wrote to Bapu that he used to wear it for Bapu's satisfaction
- 2 6 Birla certainly had no influence on Gandhiji and Congress He tried to come close to Congress and Gandhi by lending support to the programme of khadi, charkha and the upliftment of untouchables It was through these activities that Birla came close to Gandhi and tried his best to keep him informed about the intentions of the British Government
- 2 7 He, in one of his letters, mentions that " the position of the businessman is rather peculiar He is neither a Congressman nor a Governmentman So he does not know where he stands My own feeling is that during the next few years businessmen will suffer at the hands of the Government and their own countrymen "18 It was this predicament which was responsible for his vacillation from one side to another He remarked on 21 Aug , 1941, when the Second World War was going on ¹⁹

It is better that we kept quiet against the high taxation
We would then at least be consistent, logical and honest
But it would be hypocrisy of the extreme type if we talked
and pleaded for something in the interest of agriculturists
while we are not prepared to restrict our own profits

- 28 So, at a time when the whole country was crying and pleading for price-control and reduction in taxation, the capitalists like G D Birla were keeping mum as their business interests always prevailed on social and national interests
- 29 In the aforesaid background, one has to be sceptical of the view that G D Birla was imbued with high ideals of nationalism while functioning as a mediator between Gandhi and the British Government

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THE MYSORE NAVY UNDER HYDER ALI AND TIPU SULTAN

RAJ KUMAR*

I

- 1 1 Recent Indian historical works on the British rule in India suffer from neglect of naval perspective. We understand from the available sources that Hyder and Tipu possessed naval forces but no systematic research work has been conducted on this subject so far in spite of stray reference ¹
- 1 2 The decision of Hyder and Tipu Sultan to fight British colonialism and their recognition that the secret of the success of the East India Company lay in their sea-power led them to contemplate the establishment of a strong navy ². In doing so their strategy was to seek the help of the European rivals of the British - the French, the Dutch and the Portuguese. They also succeeded in attracting some British citizens who helped them to build and also command some of their ships ³
- 1 3 Hyder created a naval fleet, some good ports and ship building yards ⁴. Tipu possessed a number of men of war and had about 10,000 men manning a variety of ships. He issued marine regulations in 1796⁵ and ordered immediate building of 40 warships at Jamalabad, Wajidabad and Majidabad ship-yards
- 1 4 Contemporary British records state clearly that Hyder Ali and later Tipu Sultan were most formidable enemies of the British ⁶. They maintained a steadfast alliance with the French against their common adversary ⁷. Evidence also exists

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of their efforts to maintain good relations with the Portuguese.⁸ The Mysore rulers had also entered into alliance with Afghanistan, Muscat, Turkey and Versailles.⁹ This necessitated the building of a strong fleet. Moreover their English enemies were strong on the sea, their Portuguese neighbours relied on their navy in their struggle with Indian states. The Peshwa possessed a fleet of his own. And the conquest of the Malabar coast put them in possession of the famous ports and the ship building yards of that region.

- 1 5 We have evidence to state that Hyder Ali had built vessels in the East India Company's marine yards at Honavar in 1763.¹⁰ He is reported to have a large fleet which the East India Company is claimed to have destroyed in the year 1768.¹¹ We also understand from the same report that Hyder Ali was going to re-establish the fleet.¹² The Portuguese evidence proves that by 1765 the Mysore navy possessed thirty vessels of war and a large number of transport ships which were commanded by an Englishman with some European officers.¹³ The Portuguese records further explain how Hyder Ali planned to build the most powerful fleet in Asia by building a stockade above the waterline in the gulf of Baticul in 1778.¹⁴ Unfortunately, we understand that in 1780 Admiral Edward Hughes dealt a fatal blow to this rising maritime power.¹⁵
- 1 6 But we know that Tipu's fleet had practical existence as early as 1787.¹⁶ Tipu's interest in the navy is evident from his letter to Ghulam Hussain dated 27 September 1786.¹⁷ The Mysore sovereign turned his thoughts seriously to build a navy after the defeat of 1792. A separate Board of Admiralty was established in September 1796¹⁸ and express orders were issued to the building of forty warships and a number of transport ships at Jumalabad, Wajidabad and Majidabad dock-yards and other places all over west coast. The details available in the *hukum-nama* leaves us in no doubt that the Mysore navy would have been the most powerful fleet in Asia and would compare favourably with the best fleet in existence anywhere in the world but for the sudden death of Tipu in 1799.

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HINDU ELITE AND THE ARYA SAMAJ IDEOLOGY & RESPONSE IN THE NINETEENTH CENTURY PUNJAB

SHYAMALA BHATIA*

I

- 11 The story of social change and politics in Punjab after its annexation by the British in 1849 holds a special interest in the study of rise and growth of Indian nationalism. There were, of course, similarities between socio-political development in Punjab and that in rest of India. For one thing, it was English education that proved to be the most modernising influence in the country after the British conquest. It was education that gave birth to a new social class, the educated middle class. The large majority of this class, all over the country, were Hindus. It is this class that provided leadership for social as well as for freedom movement in the country. It is this class that mobilised masses behind it in the struggle for freedom of the country from foreign rule. But similarity between developments in Punjab and rest of the country ends here. There were two distinctive features of this development which need close attention. One was that unlike the rest of India, in case of Punjab it was the non-Brahmans among the Hindus who took to English education zealously. In Bombay, Madras and Bengal presidencies, the Brahmins were in the forefront of those receiving western education and manning administration under

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the British and at the same time providing leadership to the social and political movements in the country But in Punjab the Khatri and Vaishyas played that role

- 1 2 The second distinctive features in Punjab was the influence of Arya Samaj The Samaj stood out against caste distinctions by birth This provided legitimacy to Khatri, Aggarwals and Aroras to rise to the top of Hindu Society, a position traditionally reserved for Brahmans A study of the influence of Arya Samaj on Hindu society in Punjab, thus provides valuable insights into social change and politics in Punjab not only in the hundred years following annexation till India got independence but also into the turn Punjab politics has taken after independence This paper attempts to bring out the role English education and Arya Samaj played in shaping the course of social and political history of Punjab after its annexation by the British
- 1 3 Punjab in 1840's was the home of three religious communities Numerically speaking the Muslims were in majority Under an administrative system where numbers counted they would be politically dominant community But the Sikhs though small in numbers constituted an important section of the society, it had been the ruling elite and the new rulers respected and admired the Sikhs for their valour and martial qualities
- 1 4 But the Hindus, at the time of annexation of Punjab to the British territory in India were in a peculiar position For centuries they had been dominated First by the Muslims and then by the Sikhs While on one hand this strengthened the survival instinct among them, on the other it also influenced the Hindu social system Here caste bonds were never very strong and Brahmanical influence never significant That in other parts of India Brahmans occupied a respected and venerated position among the Hindus, Punjabis came to know only when they travelled outside Punjab¹ In Punjab itself it was said "A *Dum*, a Brahman and a goat are of no avail in time of need" and "As famines come from the desert, so does the evil from a Brahman"² Thus in a turbulent area like Punjab the traditional Hindu social and religious leaders had no social standing and lacked leadership qualities
- 1 5 What the Brahmans lost, the Kshatriyas and mercantile castes gained The Punjabi Kshatriyas or Khatri as they were called here, occupied a very different position in Punjab as compared to other parts of India They claimed to be direct descendants of "Kshatriyas of Manu", but here they were administrators and monopolised trade and professions requiring literacy qualification³ Ganesh Das, himself a Khatri, writes that Khatri were descendents of Raja Bharat and Raja Jasrath When they began to live in Punjab they severed connection with Rajputs and other castes of Hindustan and began to call themselves Khatri "Having abandoned rulerships, they began to earn their living by service, clerkship, trade and gradually the rulers (Muslim) realised their competence and gave them inducement to accept

service as qanugo, Amini, Chaudhri, Faujdari, Munshigiri"⁴ This book, giving graphic details of Khatri administrators was written by Ganesh Das in 1849 and was duly presented to Sir Richard Temple, the then administrator of a part of Punjab. The Khatri had, as early as 1849, recognised the importance and implication of political change that had occurred.

- 1 6 The new rulers, on their part, soon recognised the admirable qualities of the Khatri for themselves. As Sir Campbell remarked, "They are in fact all that Mahratta Brahmans are in Mahratta country besides engrossing the trade which Mahratta Brahmans have not they are not usually military in character, but are quite capable of using the sword when necessary these Khatri are most acute, energetic and remarkable race in India. The Khatri are staunch Hindu while giving a religion and Priests to Sikhs, they are comparatively seldom Sikhs. They are generally educated. No village can get on without the Khatri who keeps accounts, does the banking, buys and sells the grain. They seem, too, to get on with the people better than most traders and usurers of their kind"⁵ Thus the Khatri possessed ability, astuteness, foresight and social acceptance, the major qualifications for becoming leaders.
- 1 7 The British rule, that brought in its wake, western education, new employment avenues, disregard for inherited distinctions further helped Khatri and similar castes to forge ahead. Their response to new forces unleashed by the British rule was characteristic and quick.
- 1 8 Khatri, Aroras and Brahmans soon realised that key to new skills and professions was the knowledge of English language. The Khatri were among the foremost castes which joined the new schools opened by government and missionaries. By 1891, there were, per 1000, 218 Khatri, 203 Aroras, 102 Brahmans as compared to 71 Sayads and 62 Sheikhs who had literacy qualifications⁶ But differences between members of two communities become even more glaring when we see figures for literates in English. In 1911, Per 10,000 males knowing English, there were 801 Khatri, 225 Aroras, 209 Aggarwals, 198 Brahmans as compared to 272 Sheikhs and 219 Sayads⁷.
- 1 9 The English educated Hindu-Khatri, Aroras and Brahmans, became lawyers, doctors, teachers, gazetted, officers and factory owners. "The Khannas, Kapurs, Chopras, Malhotras, Sahnis, Dhawans, Talwars, Puris to mention only some among the Khatri, Batras, Kumars among Aroras, soon they spread all over Punjab government civil list, the medical service of the army and professions of lawyers, barrister, doctors, scientists and professors"⁸ Their dominance in all these fields in late 19th century Punjab was unquestionable. Many of these Hindus rose from humble beginnings but through hard work, strength of character and acquisition of educational qualifications, they soon came to earn respect and prestige at the hands of fellow Punjabis. Men like Lala Lajpat Rai, Lala Harkishan Lala, Pandit Munshi Ram, Pandit Lekh Ram, Lala Hans Raj, to name a few, achieved name and fame, not only in their chosen professions but also as leaders of social and political movements.

- 1 10 Bonds of education and work brought these men of different social and caste background together. It also gave them a natural position of leadership in town and community. But western education also isolated them from fellow Punjabis. Absence of strong religious ties in Punjab society and western education made them set their face against many old customs, and it was characteristic of Punjabi society that they were seldom censured for it, infact there was even some grudging admiration.⁹ Socially they began to feel alienated. Some of them emulating British, even began to live outside the city limits. Admiration for English men also made them copy their rulers life style-dress and eating habits. But here also they failed-tradition bound women successfully resisted their attempts. Thus, while these middle class men had won respect and also possessed the ability to lead the society, they still lacked organisation, ideology and religious sanction to emerge as social and political leaders and gain social acceptance. As the preamble of Draft Scheme, proposing starting of D A V College at Lahore stated, "foreign education produced a schism in society. An educated class has been created - a class which moves by itself, a class incapable of materially influencing or being influenced by the uneducated masses."¹⁰ Here stepped Swami Dayanand Saraswati to show them the way to emerge as an elite and bridge the gulf.

II

- 2 1 Dayanand Saraswati understood the alienation these educated men were feeling, "The Europeans do not care for you, while the natives of the country look upon you as followers of an alien religion" and urged them to read Vedas and "Profit by the knowledge embodied in them." He also challenged them to "recognise their mistake and further the cause of the country."¹¹ He blamed the ignorant Brahmans for falsifying Hindu religion had appealed to the educated Hindus to "read the Vedas and embrace vedic religion" for clearing all doubts as well as for enlightenment. He also instilled in their minds pride for India's past glory and told them that the way to recapture that glorious past was to "act in accordance with the Vedas." More importantly, he impressed upon the Hindus that the land of Vedas and Shastras had "no right to sink into the role of mere critic or imitator of European letters."¹²
- 2 2 After recalling the greatness of ancient India, Dayanand tried to foster strength, initiative and sense of responsibility among the educated Punjabis. He asked them of "what use was their knowledge to others?" He told them that they were "selfish and had not helped others profit by their knowledge."¹³
- 2 3 Swami Dayanand repudiated the principle of caste by birth and emphasised the right of all to be educated. He remarked "when all classes are well educated and cultured no one can set up any false and fraudulent and irreligious practices." He told the Kshatriyas that they were real cause of

advance in knowledge, religion and government and of increase in wealth because "they never live on alms, and therefore, can have no reason to be partial in religious or scientific matters" and only "if the Kshatriyas are educated can they judge the soundness of teachings of Brahmans" ¹⁴

- 2 4 The educated Punjabi Hindu's response to Swami Dayanand's ideology was quick and overwhelming. He gave them sound arguments to defend their religion, he gave them a mission in life, he told them to unite to further the cause of the country ¹⁵ "If you are able to achieve something for the good of mankind by a Samaj, then establish a Samaj" ¹⁶ By performing a Shuddhi or purification ceremony to readmit converts to Hindu religion, the Swami also showed a way to the Hindus to increase their numerical strength. His repudiation of caste by birth appealed to Khatri Hindus who could now hope to get religious sanction for their upward social mobility. Lala Lajpat Rai, an Aggarwal Vaishya or Guru Dutt and Lala Harkishan Lal, both Aroras by birth, could now hope to become social leaders or Lala Munshi Ram and Lala Hans Raj both Khatri could attain status reserved for Brahmans in traditional Hindu Society ¹⁷ They were told by the Swami that world is not an illusion but a battlefield where every individual has to work out his own salvation.
- 2 5 Arya Samaj's emancipating ideology and nationalist fervour had immense attraction for the emergent middle class. The doctors, lawyers, teachers, government translators constituted 80% of Lahore Arya Samaj committee of 72 members in its year of inception in 1877 and out of this 80% were Khatri. The Samaj represented the cream of the educated Punjabis. Similarly over 70% of the total members in Samajes established in other parts of Punjab also were Khatri and, over 60% of them were highly educated and professionals ¹⁸ Swami Dayanand appeared to them to have answers to all their questions. He showed them the way to assert their superiority in social and religious fields and showed them the way to end their isolation by undertaking community development projects, particularly in the field of education. The Arya Samaj fostered "strength, initiative, sense of responsibility and power of rebellion" ¹⁹ - among the educated Hindus. Understandably Swami's success in Punjab was considerable.

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RAJA NAHAR SINGH OF BALLABGARH AND THE REVOLT OF 1857

HARI SINGH*

I

- 1.1 The aim of this paper is to assess the role of Raja Nahar Singh in the Revolt of 1857. Historians, journalists and other literary personalities have seen Raja Nahar Singh with a myopic lense. Some glorified him as a national hero while others condemned him as a loyalist to the British. It is necessary for us to re-assess his role in keeping with the complex nature of nationalist politics in 1857. This brings us face to face with the reality of his having been hanged till death in Jan. 1858 for his role in the First war of Independence. The question which naturally comes to our mind, if he was a loyalist, why was he awarded the death sentence? Why was his property declared as 'prize' for the army? And why was his kingdom ruined? An humble attempt has been made here to describe the historical process which deepened the tragedy of Ballabgarh state in 1857-58, on the basis of archival records, trial proceedings and other contemporary writings.
- 1.2 The Revolt of 1857 is a glorious chapter in the history of our national movement. On 10th May, 1857 an armed struggle erupted against the British rule, starting from the army in Meerut, it spread to other sections of our society. The people of Haryana participated in this movement with great enthusiasm. Due to excessive taxation, political oppression and racist policies of the British an atmosphere of unrest, revolt and violence prevailed in this

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region In the Mewat area of Gurgaon district, poor peasants fought pitched battles against the British forces At village Roopraka, Captain Drummand and his contingent had to face violent resistance, in the battle that ensued in which 400 Mewatees were killed ¹ At many other places the poor peasants sacrificed their lives for the emancipation of their motherland The statement of Brig Showers who came to crush the rebellion in Gurgaon district is self-revealing ²

The time I entered the Gurgaon district I was in enemy country that in all my engagements and during my march I was prepared to the attacks by the enemy horse I had to anticipate an attack from every village I passed

- 1 3 British rule in Gurgaon district virtually ended when in the wake of the rebellion William Ford, the collector of the district accompanied by his officers ran away towards Hodal. He tried to cross over the river Jamuna to the United Provinces but had to return against protest from the people on the other side of the river ³ These events were taking place in the vicinity of small state of Ballabgarh, ruled by young Raja Nahar Singh To be able to appreciate his role in 1857, it is necessary for us to go little deeper in the history of the state ⁴
- 1 4 Ballabgarh, the name is probably a corruption of the word Balramgarh, the fort of Balram, its founder ⁵ In 1705, Gopal Singh a Jat Zamindar of the village Alawalpur came and settled in Sihi village, near Ballabgarh (Faridabad) During the time of the later Mughals, highway robbery was common due to weak administration Gopal Singh took advantage of the situation and built up his political power and accumulated lot of wealth through highway robbery and by plundering travellers on the Mathura road ⁶ Murtza Khan the local Mughal official in Faridabad pargnah recognised his prowess by appointing Gopal Singh as Chaudhri of Faridabad Pargnah For his administrative duties he was allowed to keep a share of one anna in the rupee on the revenue Gopal Singh died in 1711, succeeded by his son Charan Das, who seeing how weak the imperial grasp was growing even in nearer districts, appropriated the revenue and openly refused to make it over to Murtza Khan For this defiance, in 1714, Murtza Khan imprisoned Charan Das in Faridabad Fort until he was released by his son Balram ⁷
- 1 5 Charan Das and Balram with the aid of the Bharatpur Raja, Surajmal killed Murtaza Khan In 1739, the king of Delhi gave the titles of *Naib Bakshi* and *Rao* to Balram who then built the stone fort palace of Ballabgarh After some time Balram was killed by Murtaza Khan's son His sons Kishan Singh and Bishan Singh remained in possession of the Ballabgarh fort and were in 1762 nominated Kiladar and Nizam of this parganah by the Raja of Bharatpur In 1774 the Maharaja of Bharatpur dismissed them from his service and they died about the same time In 1775 Ajit Singh, son of Kishan Singh and Hira Singh, son of Rai Bishan Singh presented themselves before the Emperor at Delhi and agreed to deliver possession of the Ballabgarh parganah to the royal authority Najaf Khan of the Imperial establishment was deputed to take it Ajit

Singh was appointed Kiledar and Nizam of Ballabgarh while Hira Singh was taken away by the Nawab Najaf Khan to Agra. The next year he came back and Ajit Singh was formally entitled Raja, and Hira Singh was called Raja and also Salar Jang. The revenue of Ballabgarh was estimated at Rs 120000/- and it was made an *Istamrar* tenure of 60000 rupees. Meanwhile, the administration of the country came into the hands of Madhoji Scindhia who remitted the amount which Ajit Singh was paying. Ajit Singh was murdered by his brother Zalim, but was succeeded by his son Bahadur Singh. In 1803 on the approach of General Lake, Bahadur Singh sent his son Pirthi Singh and Hira Singh sent his son Ganga Prasad to the English army. Bahadur Singh was confirmed in his position in 1804 by the British Government and received next year the parganas of Pali and Pakal in return for undertaking the police arrangement of the road. He built the town of Ballabgarh, which is also called Ramganj.⁸

- 1 6 Bahadur Singh died in 1806 and was succeeded by his son Narain Singh who also died in the same year. His son Anrudh Singh succeeded him and ruled till 1818. Anrudh Singh was succeeded by his minor son Sahib Singh who died childless in 1825 and was succeeded by his uncle Ram Singh. Ram Singh died in 1829 and Nahar Singh his son came to power. The earlier years of his reign saw great mischief and intrigue caused by Abhe Ram and Pirthi Singh the ministers through whose mismanagement the estate fell into debt. In 1839 Abhe Ram was dismissed and Nawal Singh the maternal uncle of Nahar Singh came into power, he ejected Pirthi Singh and became the actual ruler though all acts continued to be done in the name of Raja Nahar Singh.⁹
- 1 7 In 1840 with Nawal Singh becoming absolute ruler, disputes ran high and disorganisation increased, so the British Agent was appealed to and his interference sought. Eventually Kanwar Madho Singh a grand nephew of Raja Bahadur Singh was put in charge but the plan failed and pargana Fardabad was taken under British management. The young Raja Nahar Singh protested against this arrangement and when he attained his majority the territory was restored to him. Nahar Singh continued to reign until 1857.¹⁰

II

- 2 1 Raja Nahar Singh, was 32 years old in 1857. He was a smart and handsome youth, with large expressive eyes and broad shoulders. He kept moustaches, wore the traditional headgear, the Indian pagree, which was bejewelled and his neck was adorned with beautiful garlands of diamonds and mother of pearl.¹¹ In his age feudal chieftains like him indulged in vices like drinking and kept a large number of wives and concubines. However, Raja Nahar Singh was different. He was moderate, disciplined and charitable in disposition. His subjects were happy with him. He was secular in outlook but a patron of Hindu religion.¹²
- 2 2 Raja Nahar Singh was a ruling chief and possessed the attributes of sovereignty. He may not have complete independence and possibly was not

a sovereign according to the Austinian conception but it is certain that he did wield supreme powers within his small territory. He was no doubt dependent upon another supreme power ruling at Delhi in certain matters, but so far as his own territory (28 villages) was concerned he had full rights.¹³ Basically, he was a feudal chieftain of the Mughal Empire. He held his land under service tenure, the district of Ballabgarh was conferred to his grand father Anrudh Singh on the condition of controlling a system of police between Delhi and Mathura, the area was formerly very dangerous, infested with robbers and dacoits.¹⁴

- 2 3 Raja Nahar Singh had a hold on the main communication channel from Agra and other places in the East. Mughals had full faith in his capacity to control this area. During the revolt of 1857 in compliance of the orders of the Emperor Bahadur Shah regarding the protection and management of the highway between Ballabgarh and Badarpur and thence to Delhi Gate of the city, he fixed thanas and Tehsils in the village Pali and in the town of Palwal and Fatehpur.¹⁵ He kept a constant watch on the road upto Mathura.
- 2 4 On 20 May, 1857, he informed the Emperor Bahadurshah that the inhabitants of village Pali and Palwal had broken in reckless violence and had taken to highway robbery and plunder.¹⁶ He enlisted new foot soldiers and cavalry for protecting the highway. He stationed some sowars, near the old Delhi fort for the purpose of bringing daily news of the happenings in Delhi.¹⁷ These people were available to the Emperor, for any service. On 25th May 1857, Raja Nahar Singh took possession of the district treasury and town of Palwal. He also took charge of the small town of Fatehpur.¹⁸ Both Palwal and Fatehpur were British territories though once ruled by Raja Nahar Singh's ancestors, under the former king of Delhi.¹⁹ In fact, the revolt provided him a chance to regain his ancestral estates. This was the main cause of the anger of the British against him.
- 2 5 Raja Nahar Singh had employed an English officer, named Munro, who controlled all his correspondence with the British. Munro is believed to have stated that he considered him a native of the country and not an European.²⁰ In fact it had been a practice with local chieftains and kings to employ Englishmen to help them in administration and deal with the East India company through them. Raja Nahar Singh did the same. However, it is but natural that during the revolt, people suspected the confides of all the English Officers. It is on record that Mr. Michael Civil Engineer, railways and fifty others had taken shelter at Ballabgarh.²¹ Raja sent them to village Nugla, subsequently, they stayed at a private house in Ballabgarh. Munro called them at mid night and forced them to leave as their stay was considered dangerous.²² At this stage there was a revolt in the army of Ballabgarh and a considerable number of Raja's forces also joined the revolt. The Agra soldiers on way to Delhi also joined them at Ballabgarh and forced Raja Nahar Singh to hand over Munro to them on the promise that he would not be killed.²³ The angry mob did not keep its promise and murdered Munro. In fact the two Englishmen Munro and Auk were traitors to the state of Ballabgarh and were

ruining it. The seal of Raja was with Munro and he often corresponded directly with the Emperor and the British officials on matters of state, after Munro's death the Raja's brother took possession of the seal.²⁴ Raja had also been sending Camel riders in different directions for news about the position of the English troops. For the protection of his estate, he got a large number of rifles and muskets manufactured which were subsequently seized by the British army from the quarters of his servants.²⁵

- 2.6 Many Indian soldiers had deserted the British army and some had joined the rebellious forces of Ballabgarh, as is clear from the recovery of the uniforms of the 3rd cavalry and 32nd infantry regiment from the Ballabgarh fort.²⁶ In fact the Purbiah soldier was welcome in the districts of Gurgaon, Rewari and Hissar. He was not welcomed in the rest of the Punjab.²⁷ It is but natural that the soldiers coming from the east also mingled with the rebellious forces of Ballabgarh.
- 2.7 In Nov. 1857, the British army approached the fort of Ballabgarh.²⁸ The revolt was crushed in Delhi on Sept. 1857 and soon after the British forces fanned out to suppress it outside Delhi. At Ballabgarh the situation had become worse due to the mutiny in the army as well as in the palace forces of Raja Nahar Singh. No resistance was offered to British army. Besides this, due to adverse economic position no new soldiers could be recruited. Economic factor was the prominent factor in the collapse of the revolt at Ballabgarh as it was a small state and its revenue was less than its expenses.²⁹ The maternal uncle of Raja Nahar Singh, mismanaged finances and had squandered a lot of wealth. His officials and trusted servants also proved treacherous.³⁰ They misappropriated and embezzled eleven lakhs and twenty five thousand rupees from the state treasury. His Prime Minister, Hakeem Abdul Haq alone had misappropriated rupees one lakh, Mukta Parshad Vakeel rupees 15,000, Nissan Ali, Deputy Prime Minister rupees 10,000/-, Sher Ali Khan, ADC of his Prime Minister, Abdul Haw rupees 25,000/- and Raja Lall Dewan rupees 10,000/-.³¹
- 2.8 Most of his officers who had deserted and embezzled his money got settled in Delhi. In order to avoid inquiry and in self-defence, they spread rumours of double dealing regarding Raja Nahar Singh. Bahadur Shah was made to believe that, "Raja of Ballabgarh was outwardly a servant of the King but in heart in league with the British, that he was collecting ammunition for selfish interests and that he had closed the road for travellers and traders."³² Besides this, economic condition of Raja Nahar Singh further deteriorated because commercial transactions which he had with Calcutta, Kanpur, Delhi, Ambala and Lahore were ruined and also his mercantile stores were plundered and devastated.³³ Despite economic constraints he continued to meet the demands of 1200 soldiers of the rebellious army for twenty days.³⁴ It further depleted his economic resources.
- 2.9 Raja Nahar Singh was arrested by Brig. Showers of the British army on 6th Dec. 1857, after the trial by the Military court he was declared a rebel and hanged till death on 9th Jan. 1858 in Chandni Chowk Delhi.³⁵ His body was

not handed over to his family Ballabgarh forts and palaces were subjected to indiscriminate plunder as though the palace had been besieged and valuables carried away by the besieging army after desperate resistance on the part of the besieged ³⁶ The British troops entered even that part of Ballabgarh palace where the royal ladies lived, the troops not only snatched their cash and jewels but even their clothes were not spared ³⁷ A large number of the Raja's horses, bullocks and Rathes were carried off and appropriated by the British arm ³⁸ His estate was confiscated and his other possessions were declared as prize to the army Ballabgarh, the prosperous town was ruined by demolishing many buildings It appeared as though a reign of terror had been let loose on Ballabgarh and its people suffered the most

- 2 10 After his arrest Raja Nahar Singh was produced before a European military Commission of Delhi for trial Deputy Advocate General of India framed the following charges against him ³⁹

that he being a subject of the British Government in India, did at Ballabgarh between 10th May 1857 and 1st December, the same year, hold treasonable correspondence with those who were in open rebellion and hostility against the British Government by supplying them with troops both Cavalry and infantry

- 2 11 Besides this, Raja was alleged to have supplied money, provisions and arms to the rebels further by sending troops to Palwal for the purpose of Usurping unlawful authority over it and openly levy and wage war against the British Government The whole or a part of such conduct was considered a heinous crime under the provisions of Act No XVI of 1857 of legislative council of India ⁴⁰
- 2 12 R M Courtney, the counsel, who pleaded the case of Raja Nahar Singh, presented evidence in support of the loyalty of his client to the British Firstly, the occupation of Palwal was explained as a friendly act It was to save it from disorder that he had occupied it in times of emergency when all the British officials had fled ⁴¹ Secondly, it was explained that except for minor gifts of six gold mohars on ceremonials no monetary help was provided to the king of Delhi The demand of Rs 25,000/- was not complied with instead Raja conveyed to Bahadur Shah in a communication that his economic condition was weak ⁴² Next point which we have to take note is that he wrote three letters to the British authorities, all dated 15th June, 1857

- 1 To viscount canning, Governor General of India
- 2 To George Anson, Commandor-in-Chief in India
- 3 To J R Colvin, Lt Governor of North-Western Provinces, Agra

These letters provide us a clue to the mishandling of situation by Munro, his trusted English Officer, who handled correspondence independently It is possible that these letters may have been written to keep the balance of

politics It was argued by the prosecuting lawyer that letter to George Anson was written when he actually had died at Karnal and this fact was well known ⁴³ However, this evidence was dismissed

- 2 13 Raja Nahar Singh, did not give any help to District Collector William Ford when he was running for his life around, he even ignored him ⁴⁴ It was argued against him that he would not have left Palwal had there been no revolt in his own army and palace Compulsions of the situation were such that communication had to be maintained with the royal house in Delhi, thirty sowars of Raja Nahar Singh under Dafedar Kalander Bux were stationed at Delhi, however, they were considered as spies and turned out of Delhi ⁴⁵ It was due to the treacherous act of Raja Nahar Singh's own officials who had conspired against him and had given the impression that he was a friend of the British
- 2 14 In the case against Emperor Bahadur Shah also, sixteen letters were put up by prosecution These letters had been written by Raja Nahar Singh to the Emperor A close examination of these letters shows that Raja Nahar Singh, treated the Emperor as his leader, overlord and master He gave a detailed description of his activities and constraints in meeting him personally, since it was not advisable to leave Palwal unattended ⁴⁶

III

- 3 1 Now the question arises as to why Raja Nahar Singh was hanged The British could not have treated him leniently In order to break up the political power of the native princely states, it was considered necessary to crush all opposition Raja Nahar Singh of Ballabgarh alongwith the Nawabs of Jhajjar, Dadree and Farukhnagar were tried and hanged till death for their complicity in the revolt of 1857 ⁴⁷ All these princes belonged to the Haryana region and the British could not risk a combination of these native rulers in the neighbourhood of Delhi

Another explanation is that with the death of Raja Nahar Singh, the political power of Jat rulers could be crushed R C Majumdar, the noted historian has stated that in Eastern Punjab (Haryana) Mutineers were joined by civil population at several places like Hissar, Hansi and Sirsa ⁴⁸ As already explained in Gurgaon district also civil population had rebelled So, it was imperative politically for the British that they must crush all those who could provide leadership to the people against the British even in the future History provided sufficient proof of the rebellious nature of the Jats The Jats living in the districts of Haryana, immediately to the West of Delhi came under British supremacy as a result of second Maratha War ⁴⁹ But they put up a brave resistance and there was a revolt in Bhiwani in 1809 ⁵⁰ The reputed failure of the British in the first Burmese war had led to the more formidable rebellion there in 1824 ⁵¹ The insurgents consisting of Jats, Bhattis and Mewatis had plundered Government property and proclaimed that British authority was at an end ⁵² During 1857 some Jat villages in Karnal district refused to pay

revenue. They drove out the Government officials, burnt Government buildings and committed robberies and murdered the British.⁵³ Consequently, in 1857 the British got a chance to crush the Jat power which was emerging in Northern India since the time of Gokal Jat of Mathura who had rebelled against the Mughal Empire during the reign of Aurangzeb.

- 3.3 Raja Nahar Singh has been treated unjustly by some writers. In one research work, he is branded as an opportunist, while the same writer praises him as a nationalist in another paper.⁵⁴ Contradictory statements about the role of Raja Nahar Singh have led to confusion. Some other writers have attributed to him some battles which he never fought against the British.⁵⁵ Had he done so, the British prosecution would have brought this fact to the notice of the court in his trial proceedings. Similarly, Metcalf writes that Raja of Ballabgarh was virtually Governor of Delhi during its seizure.⁵⁶ However, this fact is also not mentioned in his trial proceedings.
- 3.4 From a study of available record and analysis of the circumstances, it appears that Raja Nahar Singh was a feudal Chief who was in a difficult position, his estate lay within 20 miles on the Agra Road and was surrounded by traitors to his state and turbulent population on every side, thus he was swept by the force of tide into rebellion and was hanged for disloyalty to the British during the Revolt of 1857. It can be argued that he had the safety of his small kingdom of Ballabgarh uppermost in his mind. This was a common factor with all the other feudal chiefs and kings in 1857. Due to lack of resources, treachery of his officials and rebellion in his own army, he became isolated and lost his kingdom to the British army. Even his relations were not spared, his uncle Gajpat Singh and brother-in-law Lala Ram, were also arrested, but released in 1858.⁵⁷ Ballabgarh villages were transferred to Gurgaon district⁵⁸ and thus came to an end the independent state of Ballabgarh whose Raja as well as the people paid the prize of rebellion against the British.

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Har Singh Raja Nahar Singh of Ballabgarh and the Revolt of 1857

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GENEOLOGY OF RAJA NAHARSINGH OF BALLABGARH

GOPAL SINGH (TEWATIA JAT OF SIHI)



CHARANDAS



BALRAM



KISHAN SINGH



BISHAN SINGH



AJIT SINGH



ZALIM SINGH



HIRA SINGH

(MURDER BY ZALIM SINGH)



BAHADUR SINGH (BUILT TOWN OF BALLABGARH)

(D-1806)



NARAIN SINGH



ANRUDDH SINGH (1818)

UNCLE

RAM SINGH (1825)



SAHIB SINGH (MINOR SON)

DIED CHILDLESS IN 1825



NAHAR SINGH

(KING IN 1829)

(1829 TO 1857)

ZALIM SINGH

COLLECTIVE FINES : A MEASURE OF SUPPRESSION OF THE QUIT INDIA MOVEMENT IN THE AGRA DISTRICT

AMIT MUKERJI*

I

- 1 1 The Quit India Movement of 1942 hastened the process of demolition of the Imperial edifice of the British. Following the arrests of the prominent leaders on the morning of August 9, 1942, there was a mass upsurge all over the country. In Bihar and Eastern U.P., "the movement attained the proportions of a rebellion".¹ The U.P. Government fortnightly report for the first half of August refers to a "new and more dangerous phase of the movement started about the 14th of August, with the interruption of communication and the stirring up of trouble in the rural area".² In the West-Central area of U.P., Agra was an organisational centre for the planning and execution of sabotage activities.³ Sabotage activities in the Agra district generally took the form of attacks on government buildings, and the transport and communication systems. The government made a determined effort to crush the movement by arming itself with draconian measures. Whipping of suspects, detention of people under the Defence of India Rules, rigorous imprisonment of the activists for any period of time, imposition of collective fines on 'troublesome areas' were some of the major forms in which state violence was used to suppress the movement.⁴ These, indeed, were "illegal actions" by the government, to defend which resort was made to "an Ordinance of a type for which there was no precedent in British Indian History".⁵ As we shall see presently, the imposition of collective

fines was used as an effective deterrent for suppressing the Quit India Movement in Agra district

1 2 The Collective Fines Ordinance came into force on May 13, 1942, and was "amended on August 19, to apply to the disturbances"⁶ This ordinance extended to the whole of British India. It empowered the government to impose a collective fine on the inhabitants of any area who were even remotely suspected of committing an offence which prejudicially affected the defence of British India. The District Magistrates were entrusted with the responsibility of imposing collective fines on any area as they may deem necessary. However, while imposing such a fine, a District Magistrate was to follow the guidelines given below

- 1 (a) Resident *Zamindars* were fined 15% of the land revenue payable by them in the village concerned
- (b) Tenants were fined 10% of the rents recorded in their *khatas* (ledgers)
- (c) Money-lenders and businessmen were fined 15% of their annual income
- (d) If a *zamindar* was non-resident and had his servants living in the village each of such servants was fined to the tune of his two months salary
- (e) Others were fined 8 annas of Re 1/- per head according to the balance required to be collected
- 2 The following classes were normally exempted from paying collective fines (a) Muslims, (b) Scheduled Castes, (c) Widows, (d) Permanent invalids, (e) Pensioners, (f) Government servants
- 3 As regards realisations, cash was collected as far as possible. Householders too were fined.⁷

1 3 It is no doubt true that the muslim participation in the Quit India Movement was not high,⁸ but the government's policy of exempting them from their share of fine was sharply criticised. It was accused of pursuing a deliberate policy of communal vindictiveness.⁹ There is not a single instance to show that when collective fine was imposed on and realised from the inhabitants of the various villages of Agra district, any amount was realised from the muslims. As regards the scheduled castes, there is an interesting letter written by the then Indian District Magistrate of Agra to the Commissioner, Agra Division, suggesting that despite the government order, no exemption from collective fine should be given to the scheduled castes of *Barhan* (Tehsil Etmadpur) because they actively participated in looting the seed store, following the burning of the railway station. This suggestion did not find favour with the superior authority and the maximum burden of the fine on the *Thakur Zamindars*, who were suspected of harbouring the saboteurs. Similarly, the government's attitude towards the government employees was liberal. It realised that in order to break the back-bone of the movement, the whole

hearted cooperation of the subordinate government servants was essential. Since the sabotage activities usually took the form of attacks on government property, this class was used to counter it. Exemptions from paying collective fines were given especially to the railway employees, and the military and the police personnel. Furthermore, suitable rewards were given to those who helped in apprehending the saboteurs or prevented the commission of an act of sabotage.¹¹ Thus it may well be said that the Indian members of the bureaucracy, the Muslims and the scheduled castes were used as tools to suppress the movement in the Agra district as elsewhere.

- 1 4 During the course of the Quit India Movement, collective fines were imposed and subsequently realised from the inhabitants of 41 villages in the Agra district. Collective fines running to a total of Rs 90 lakhs were imposed on all areas affected by the movement in India. The share of the Agra district was Rs 65,695/- with village *Barhan* and *Shamsabad* paying a maximum of Rs 5,000/- each.¹²
- 1 5 The collective fines ordinance was absurd and the procedure of its realisation repressive. In fact, as confessed by Maurice Hallet, the Governor of the United Provinces,¹³

collections were made at times before government sanction was given. Collection was made at times without regular assessment, and was taken at times in kind at a valuation. All this was necessary as the essence was speed, but the rough and ready immediate realisation of collective fines was not covered by law.

This is clear from the way collective fines were realized in Agra. In the damages caused to government property in the August 1942 movement in Agra district, it was not always possible to ascertain whether the inhabitants of a particular village were either directly involved in an act of sabotage or were in a position to know anything about its occurrence. Innocent villagers, for no fault of their own, became victims of this repression. Fines were collected within 24 hours following the incident of sabotage and no need was paid to the paying capacity of the villagers.¹⁴ This was a clear violation of the government directive. Villagers often had to part with whatever little jewellery or bronze vessels they had in order to pay their share of the fine. In the first few weeks of the movement, owing to incessant rains, flood like conditions prevailed all over Agra district. The *Kharif* crop had been ruined, and the houses of villagers destroyed or badly damaged. The peasants and ordinary house-holders had no means by which they could pay their share of collective fines. On the inhabitants of the village *Bhandai* which was badly affected by floods, collective fines amounting to Rs 1,550/- had been imposed. The tenants and the landlords apprised the District Magistrate of their miserable condition and their inability to pay such an excessive amount. This had no effect on the District Magistrate and collections were made on the spot either

in cash or in kind ¹⁵ Similar representations filed by the villagers of other areas also did not merit the attention of the District Magistrate. Some exceptional individual cases were considered for exemption as was the case of Thakur Ummed Singh resident of *Nagla Bel* (Tehsil Etmadpur) who represented to the District Magistrate, Agra to refund the fine imposed on him on the basis of his loyalty, faithfulness and assistance given to the administration in suppressing the 'recent disturbances' duly testified by the S D M of the area ¹⁶ Thus this was a case of providing relief to a loyalist, who had acted as a tool in the hands of the government for suppressing the movement

- 16 The repression that the people of Agra district faced in the form of payment of collective fines reveals well the nature of the British Imperial rule. The alien administrators governed India in a manner which suited them the most. No doubt, this repressive measure which was used to ebb the tide of the movement gave a temporary lease of life to their rule, but the eventual collapse of the Empire had become inevitable

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- 15 The village is less than 2 miles from the Canal Inspection House Bad, which was burnt by a mob, some of whom were suspected to belong to this village. Four fish plates were also removed from the railway line. One of the residents of this village, Kishori Lal, a Congressman was believed to have taken an active part in the various acts of sabotage committed in the area - Dept XVIII, File No 30, R A A, *Bhartiya Swatantrata Sangram mein Agra ka yogdan*, pp 169-171
- 16 *Appendix II*

APPENDIX - I

FINES IMPOSED UNDER COLLECTIVE FINES ORDINANCE IN AGRA DISTRICT

Sr. No.	Village	Amount of Fine	Sr No	Village	Amount of Fine
<u>ETMADPUR</u>			<u>AGRA</u>		
1	Barhan	5000/-	1	Midhakur	3000/-
2	Anwalkhera	3000/-	2	Bhandai	1550/-
3	Rupdhanu	900/-	3	Bad	4000/-
4	Chokra	1200/-	4	Rohta	2000/-
5	Benai	1600/-	5	Pachgain	2000/-
6	Hassanpur	400/-			
7	Uncha	800/-			12550/-
8	Pesai	600/-			
9	Bandhnu	900/-	<u>FATEHABAD</u>		
10	Naya Bans	450/-		Shamsabad	5000/-
11	Serkha	700/-			
12	Bawan-Lodha (Goberdhan)	1100/-	<u>KIRAOLI</u>		
13	Usmanpur	700/-	1	Kiraoli	
14	Sarajai Ram	500/-	2	Abhedonpura	
15	Nagla Bel & Gumani Bas	2100/-	3	Abhuapura	4000/-
16	Nagla Pachori	500/-	4	Puramana	
17	Nagla Dhakel	1000/-	5	Runkuta	3000/-
			6	Raiba	3000/-
			7	Bahar	1000/-
			8	Deoratha	1000/-
		21450/-			
					12000/-
<u>FIROZABAD</u>			<u>KHERAGARH</u>		
18	Gundan	2000/-	1	Jonai	1500/-
19	Rupaspur	525/-	2	Murkhia	1500/-
20	Kurri-Kuppa & Hamlet	1100/-	3	Sikandarpur	350/-
21	Basdeopur	220/-	4	Kagarol	3000/-
		3845/-			6350/-
<u>BAH</u>					
1	Bateshwar	2500/-			
2	Parna	2000/-			
		4500/-			

Total amount of fine imposed and collected = 65,695/-

APPENDIX - II

Application for the exemption/reduction of fine by an individual

To

The Collector,
Agra

Sir,

It is respectfully submitted that the applicant is a resident of Nagla Bel. He has been a member of Etmadpur sub Committee and was appointed as Vice President of Aman Sabha, Agra, on 20.9.40, on which place he has worked to the entire satisfaction of the Government. He has always been helping the Govt. in every possible way and has been subscribing in war fund from time to time. In short, he and his family has always been loyal and faithful to the Government.

But, in Barhan case a fine of more than Rs 300/- was imposed and out of which Rs 250/- have been realised from this applicant. The poor applicant is unable to bear this heavy burden and prays that your honour, after having made full inquiry through S D O or other Officer of my loyalty and faithfulness to the Govt. may be pleased to order to refund the said fine and not to realise any further fine from this humble applicant. It is further prayed that, collective fine was imposed on Nagla Bel only. But the applicant pays Rs 308/- as land revenue of the Samindari situated in Nagla Bel. The rest of the Zamindari of the applicant is in Semra and other villages on which no collective fine has been imposed. But the fine from the applicant is being realised having regard to all his zamindari situated in other villages also. Hence, it is submitted that if any fine is imposed on the applicant it should be in accordance with his zamindari situated in Nagla Bel only on which collective fine has been imposed.

Humble applicant
Th. Ummed Singh, Thakur,
R/o Nagla Bel

Note of S.D.M.

Undoubtedly the applicant is *very loyal to Govt*. He sent 35 men to S O Ahran to assist him during the recent disturbances. He and his brothers also went personally to his assistance. There is, therefore, a very strong case in his favour from exemption of collective fine imposed upon him.

Note

Ummed Singh Thakur's application was considered favourably and exemption was granted.

AN HISTORIOGRAPHICAL CRITIQUE OF WILLIAM LOGAN (WITH REFERENCE TO MODERN KERALA HISTORY)

P. VENU*

I

INTRODUCTION

- 1.1 No serious historical work is completely negated. It is included and superseded in the subsequent writings. This is what usually happens where there is a dynamic activity of historiography. Unfortunately historiography of Kerala, after its spade-work having been done by William Logan, has not yet achieved that dynamism. The 'monograph stage' of its development is taking so slow and an imbalanced course that the process of inclusion and supersession of Logan's work has not been logically completed. What we still find is 'Loganism' persisting with its positive and negative influences. The present paper is an attempt to critically review the works of William Logan against the background of the emerging historiography on modern Kerala.

II

LOGAN. OFFICIAL CAREER

- 2.1 We do not have much information on Logan's family background. To depend on an available source¹, Logan was born in 1841 to a rich tenant farmers' family of Berwickshire in Scotland. A brilliant student at School, and educated

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at the University of Edinburgh, Logan got through the coveted Indian Civil Service examination and joined the Civil Service under Madras Presidency in 1862. After passing the vernacular tests in Tamil, Telugu and Malayalam, Logan was initially appointed as the Assistant to the Collector of North Arcot. Since 1866 his venue of service was almost completely confined to the District of Malabar which he served in different capacities in its judicial and revenue departments.² During the period between 1875 and 1888 Logan happened to act as the Collector and District Magistrate of Malabar intermittently for about 8 years.³ In November 1888 Logan returned to his homeland after resigning his office in the British Civil Service. The details of his post-retirement activities are not available. He seems to have led the life of a wealthy 'country gentleman' until his death at Edinburgh in April 1914.⁴

III

HISTORICAL STUDIES

- 3.1 The long Malabar service of more than two decades provided Logan with an adequate opportunity to get well-acquainted with the Kerala society and culture in the 19th century. His thorough knowledge of Malayalam language and intimate familiarity with even the inside corners of his vast District immensely helped him have a deep understanding of the life, customs and manners of the people of Kerala.⁵ It was this equipment added with his rich administrative experience that came beneficial to Logan when he looked into the history of Kerala.
- 3.2 Logan's keen interest in history was sufficiently evident when in 1879 he edited with notes *A Collection of Treaties, Engagements and Other Papers of Importance Relating to British Affairs in Malabar*, a result of his "search of materials for an historical and descriptive account of Malabar among the Tellichery Factory Records".⁶ This compilation has proved a remarkably valuable source book for the history of pre-British and British Periods of Kerala history.
- 3.3 The erudite historical researcher in Logan made his first appearance in 1882 through the *Report on the Malabar Land Tenures* which Logan submitted to the Madras Government in the capacity of the Special Commissioner to "inquire into and report upon" the "general question of the tenure of land and of tenant right in Malabar" and certain allied subjects.⁷ The time of the appointment of the Commission was the one at which the 'outrages' of the Mappila peasantry were still continuing. For the preparation of his Report Logan made use of information gathered, not only from petitions directly presented to him by people at practically all parts of the District, but also from an intensive search in the voluminous records of different sorts including old land grant deeds and literature of historical nature. The facts and conclusions arrived at in the Report were of so analytical and critical nature that it matched any serious historical work. With an historical perspective of the evolution of agrarian relations in Malabar, Logan, out of his detailed study of the records

and information gathered, concluded that the basic cause that invited tensions and conflicts in the agrarian relations was the British Government's land revenue policy which erroneously recognised the 'janmi' (landlord) as absolute proprietor of land with right to evict his tenants. As against the existing official view which characterised the revolts of the Mappila peasantry as acts of 'religious fanaticism', Logan formed the opinion that the mappila outrages were designed

"to counteract the overwhelming influence, when backed by the British courts, of the 'janmis' in the exercise of the novel powers of ouster and of rent raising conferred upon them. A 'janmi' who, through the courts, evicted, whether fraudulently or otherwise, a substantial tenant, was deemed to have merited death, and it was considered a religious virtue, not a fault, to have killed such a man, and to have afterwards died in arms fighting against an infidel government which sanctioned such injustice."⁸

Thus Logan found the so-called 'fanaticism' as a mere instrument through which the boiling discontent of the peasantry in South Malabar found its expression.

- 3.4 As a scope of this paper does not permit any further discussion on this work of Logan, it is to be cut short by highlighting a remarkable aspect of his studies on the agrarian problems that Logan connected historical studies with the need of social change. Social transformation through legislation was a basic thinking of Logan. It should be noted that Logan's desire of effecting institutional changes in land tenure and 'Marumakkathayam' (matrilineal system) came to be realised in the 20th century. Land question has ever since been the basis of social transformation in modern Kerala. As one authority has put it "all serious discussions about tenancy reform in Malabar start from Mr Logan's report."⁹ This is a legacy of William Logan who, probably unconsciously, initiated the study of many a socio-economic issue created by colonial rule.¹⁰
- 3.5 No doubt, it is the *Malabar Manual* that declared Logan an authentic historian of Kerala. This again was an offshoot of his official work associated with the decision by Madras Government to bring out separate District Manuals narrating the history and culture of each District as well as the administrative and other subjects of importance concerning it. The task of the preparation of a Manual for Malabar was quite naturally entrusted to Logan on account of his erudition and rich experience in the region. The *Malabar Manual* published in 1887 in two volumes will still amaze anyone who may look at the immensity and complexity of the subjects dealt within it and the sources of information ascertained and obtained for them. As for the plan of the Manual, the mass of written materials, that is, the text, has been included in the first volume, the second one being just a collection of Appendices to the first one. The first volume, therefore, becomes historically more important.¹¹ The detailed

content-wise description of the chapters is out of scope of this paper. It is only suffice to observe that the *Manual* constitutes a mine of information for any researcher not only on history, but on anthropology, Sociology and economic development of Kerala as well. The chapter on History compiled after consulting the then available varied sources gathered through sustained research, is still regarded unsurpassed, particularly those sections on the period from 15th to the late 19th century. Of the seven sections constituting the 'History' chapter, the last three deal with the history of 'The Struggle for the Pepper and Piece Goods Trade (1663-1760)', 'The Mysorean Conquest (1766-1792)' and 'The British Supremacy (1792 to date)'¹², all dealing with the pre-modern and modern period of Kerala. What we get here as history is a "strictly" chronological narrative, though analytical, account of the political and administrative development. In fact the socio-economic history of the period must be picked up from the chapters on 'The People' and 'The Land'¹³.

IV

HISTORICAL VIEWS AND APPROACHES

- 4.1 As has already been hinted, we are not provided with sufficient data regarding the personal historical background of Logan, nor has Logan left any stray writings regarding his general views on history. Hence we are left with the sole option of catching scent of Logan's historical idea from his own compilations referred to.
- 4.2 Though Logan also belongs to the genre of Administrator-historians of 19th century India, he stands singularly exceptional in terms of the vision of the past, treatment of subjects and scholarly humility. To Logan history meant 'progress'¹⁴. Progress definitely means 'change'. But, unfortunately, like many other Western thinkers obsessed with their 'Euro-centricism', Logan also could find 'no change' and therefore, 'no history' in Kerala until the coming of the foreigners¹⁵. But Logan 'discovers' that without change, history and progress, the people of this region maintained perfect 'happiness' throughout the time! Hence he accepts a special philosophy of history with regard to Kerala: "happy is the people who have no history"¹. Fortunately for us, this type of 'sentimentalism' on the part of Logan does not seem to have seriously affected his re-construction of the 'history' of Malabar, which was his appointed task.
- 4.3 This kind of 'idealisation of the past' of Malabar, however, cannot be written off as mere 'sentimentalism' on the part of Logan as one authority thinks it to be¹⁶. It is here that we have to detect the bias of Logan, the bias in favour of the tenants in the region. Logan, himself hailing from a tenant farmers' family of Scotland, expresses a high regard for the Nayers, majority of whom were tenants of Malabar, particularly in the northern part. The "central point of interest" in the history of the Malayalis, according to Logan, is the "position" the Nayar caste occupied in the civil and military organisation of the region¹⁷. They acted as the "protectors of the rights of all classes" by preventing them

from being curtailed and discussed¹⁸ They were "the eye", "the hand" and "the order" in the body politic and as such functioned as the "bulwark against the tyranny and oppression of their own rulers" and thus "secured for the century a high state of happiness and peace"¹⁹ The Nayars, constituting themselves as "the distribution of the authority" - a "Parliament" - in the region, worked for "the maintenance of the customary observances" This "so unique and so lasting" position of the Nayars would have continued "for centuries on centuries to come" "but for the foreign intervention"²⁰ So what Logan concludes is that for a right understanding of Malabar and the Malayalis the "all-powerful influence" of the Nayar community "should be firmly grasped" above all things²¹ This 'tenant' (Nayar) bias in Logan at times adversely affects his otherwise logical constructions However, it must be stressed, his 'sympathy' with Nayars was not part of a consistent 'caste-oriented' research method which Logan's was not really But the sort of observations he made did have so an impact on the next two generations of historians that a 'caste' school of historiography was really born²²

- 4.4 Generally Logan is critical and analytical in his approach His critical assessment of certain acts and policies of the British Government in Malabar is the pinnacle of this quality in him²³ It does not follow that Logan was perfectly free from all the bias of a colonial administrator His British bias can easily be detected with reference to his use of particular source materials, his characterisation of Tippu, the idealisation of the Nayar caste and so on But in general matters, we feel Logan more 'objective' than the other 19th century Administrator-historians This is because Logan analyses the past in the light of the evolving historical process He had a better apprehension of the dynamic relationship between the past and the present, a relationship in terms of both continuity and change The tendency in Logan to avoid unnecessary details, and the concern for only those facts which are of some consequences reveals this truth Being not emotionally involved in the region and having no patron-prince to eulogise, Logan was able to present a balanced historical perspective In a sense Logan was the first 'secular' historian of Kerala Unlike the writer of The Travancore State Manual, Logan does not bring God into his explanations²⁴ Logan's view of history as progress (which provides a good standard of interpretation), his search for 'general cause' (which creates a sensible historical narrative useful to the present), his imaginative understanding (which makes no anti-Kerala thrust of the 'James Mill model') and his critical and analytical method (which explains rather than describes), all make him exceptional among his contemporaries

V

LOGAN AND THE EMERGING HISTORIOGRAPHY

- 5.1 Logan's work is a significant contribution to the understanding of a number of problems which are of considerable importance in modern Kerala history The "main object" of Logan's *Manual* itself was to arouse interest on the points

which he could only briefly touch on²⁵ But as we have already distanced ourselves from the time of Logan considerably some of the position and propositions of Logan should, from the present point of view, be quite unwelcome Let us see the foresightedness of Logan himself

"Many things I would no doubt find wherein my knowledge was defective, and many more still in which fuller investigation would throw new, and perhaps altogether different light on what seems plain enough now"²⁶

The very nature of the work Logan undertook and his several limitations would provide no scope for any complete analysis of problems dealt with The modern history of Kerala as we see it in Logan's work was really contemporary history to its author The full implications of the evolving contemporary historical process should not have necessarily come to the comprehension of Logan, however, keen an observer he was of it

- 5 2 Since Logan's time we have received a certain number of monographs on modern Kerala history But all do not come upto the mark²⁷ Two of the apparent trends of the emerging historiography on modern Kerala are to be taken note of Kerala still seems to look forward to its 'Western' scholars to come and 'interpret' its historical process! Storm is felt only when one Victor Fic or Lieten, Robin Jeffrey or Nossiter, Rolland Miller or Stephen Dale takes up the pen!²⁸ An idea that the majority of these 'western' scholars try to provide is that the whole economic and political Kerala is being shaped by the ideology and organisation of caste and religious communities This shows, in a sense, the 'negative' influence of William Logan The second future is the reluctant progress in the application of new ideas and methods of history for analysis This is particularly true of certain 'native' work which seems stuck to the 'stage of factography' The common feature traceable to the two categories of works, with a few exceptions, is that they all centre round the 'problems' of Logan, some around his 'negative' elements and others around the 'positive' in him but with little new advancement What this shows is that Logan has not been included and superseded logically
- 5 3 As regards the first trend of historiography referred to above it is interesting here to note an observation made by Logan a century back "research (in Malabar) is likely to yield a more abundant store of highly interesting and importance information To do the subject full justice, however, that harvest should be reaped, that store should be accumulated by a native of the soil"²⁹ But no satisfactory advancement has been made in this direction An attempt at writing a comprehensive history of modern Kerala of analytical nature is a crying need of the time³⁰ The bulky two-volume *History of Kerala* published in Malayalam by the Kerala History Association containing contributions from different historians in the state has a major section on modern history Unfortunately the total theoretical position of the work, which conceives social

history of Kerala as a 'collection' of separate 'histories' of various caste and communal groups, is a great handicap to bring out certain realities of the historical process of the modern times in a comprehensive way³¹

- 5 4 The need of the application of new concepts and methods of history to Kerala is highly felt when we are repeatedly feeded on simplified 'analysis' which presents modern Historical developments merely in terms of 'clashes and compromises' among various caste and religious groups. This was not really Logan's stand. As an administrator and historian he much aware of the conflicts and interests in society, the search for the cause of which he largely made outside caste and religion. This welcome feature often gets marred in the emerging historiography.

VI

CONCLUSION

- 6 1 The main task now set before the historiography of modern Kerala is to trace the evolution of modern Kerala society from its pre-modern beginnings. In the 16th and 17th centuries Kerala was undergoing a 'progressive' transformation which witnessed the emergence of a 'national culture' (a linguistic-cultural integration) which was the expression of an emerging 'community of economic life' (a national market). It was the gradual development in agriculture and crafts and the subsequent growth in trade, both domestic and foreign, that created this 'national market'. Kerala's trade relations with the modern European Companies played a significant role in the process. This economic development had an impact on the political system of the region which now saw the rise of three major powers in Kerala-Calicut, Cochin and Travancore. The emerging 'national market' made the numerous petty kingdoms ineffective and outdated. The new major powers desired a new state system less dependent on the feudal subordinates militarily and administratively. This major power even wanted to bring the whole of Kerala under their respective control. The trend towards the evolution of a 'Kerala nation', consequent on the socio-cultural and economic integration of the region, would certainly suit this process of political unity. But that 'progressive' process was put an end to by the super-imposition of British colonialism on Kerala by the 19th century. The logical conclusion of the process of evolution of Kerala into a 'nation' was hindered. Colonialism kept Kerala politically divided as it was in the 18th century. All former ruling classes of Kerala, from the major three powers and the several petty feudal kingdoms to nobles and landlords, accepted the colonial supremacy. When Cochin and Travancore were allowed to continue as separate state in subordination to the supreme power, Calicut and the petty kingdom were deprived of political power, but were given certain privileges and regular pensions. The 'Madambis' (noble families) and 'janmis' (landlords) were given their lands back with absolute ownership rights over them. Thus the establishment of British rule practically did no harm to the rights and privileges of the erstwhile ruling classes of Kerala except in terms of the loss of political rights.

- 6.2 The British rule, however, brought about tremendous changes in the socio-economic fabric. The 'market economy' which had started evolving in the pre-British period was further strengthened by the British in their interests and Kerala was drawn into the vortex of world market. The native mode of production was replaced by an exclusive system of production for market. However, the colonial rule did not allow the market-oriented production to develop into a large scale capitalist industry as its logical conclusion. The result was that Kerala did not witness those fundamental changes in its social orders that usually accompany the capitalist transformation of a region's economy. Hence, even after the long 150 years' British rule Kerala remained predominantly an agrarian region. But, from the Kerala point of view, the agrarian sector also underwent a distorted development. Legalisation of the ownership of land, and its becoming a commodity in the market, coupled with the large scale expansion of 'cashcrop' cultivation (capitalist farming) badly affected the cultivation of foodcrops, particularly rice. As regards food production Kerala became a deficit land. In the case of rice and other consumption goods imports grew tremendously. The substitution of the 'natural economy' by a 'commodity economy' helped only a microscopic minority in the society. In large extent a major part of Kerala's economy was controlled by foreigners, mainly the British. This did not create sufficient ground for the development of an indigenous capitalist class which would lead Kerala to a real industrialisation process.
- 6.3 The changes in the agrarian sector brought only miseries to Kerala peasantry. The transformation of 'janmis' from a 'ruling authority' to a class of rent-receiving parasites created over increasing tensions in the agrarian relations. This ultimately led to the outbreak of peasant revolts as were witnessed in south Malabar which drew Logan into serious historical studies.
- 6.4 What has been stated above is a tentative outline with the help of which a history of modern Kerala can be reconstructed. Such an attempt may benefit from the 'positive' elements in Logan. As Logan was the first serious historian to trace the evolution of society, his 'partial' reconstructions on the many issues discussed above will be of much use to the present historians.

NOTES AND REFERENCES

- 1 Sri K.K.N. Kurup, *William Logan - A Study in the Agrarian Relations of Malabar*, Calicut University, 1981 Appendix A
- 2 British Malabar consisted of practically the northern part of the present State of Kerala, extending from the region of Chavakkad in Trichur district in the south to Kannur in the North
- 3 See also William Logan, *Malabar Manual*, vol II, reprint, New Delhi, 1989, Appendix XIV
- 4 K.K.N. Kurup, *op cit*, p III
- 5 Logan was familiar with other parts of Kerala as well. Since the Princely States of Travancore and Cochin were under British Paramountcy, Logan chanced to have contact with these regions. He had also once acted as Resident to Travancore and Cochin.
- 6 See William Logan, *A Collection of Treaties, Engagements and Other Papers of Importance Relating to British Affairs in Malabar*, reprint, New Delhi, 1989, p V

- 7 William Logan, *Report of the Malabar Special Commission, 1881-82*, 3 vols , Madras, 1882
Also see his *Malabar Manual*, vol I, reprint, Trivandrum, 1981, pp 652-656
- 8 This remark originally made in the *Report* is reproduced in the *Manual*, vol I, p 656
- 9 T C Varghese, *Agrarian Change and Economic Consequences Land Tenures in Kerala, 1850-1960*, Bombay, 1970, p 57
- 10 For further discussion of the problem see K K N Kurup, *op cit* , which is an attempt to trace the legacy of Logan in the tenancy legislation of Malabar, K N Panikkar, *Against Lord and State*, Delhi, 1989, pp 104 ff, Conrad Wood, *The Moplah Rebellion and its Genesis*, New Delhi, 1987, introduction and chapter I
- 11 The first volume is thrown into four chapters 1 The District 2 The People 3 History 4 The Land
- 12 That is upto Logan's time
- 13 The two volumes of the *Manual* have gone through several reprints See *Malabar Manual*, 2 vols , reprint, New Delhi 1989
- 14 This is what can be easily inferred from Logan's Preface to the *Manual*, vol I, p X
- 15 *Ibid*
- 16 See M G S Narayanan, "K P Padmanabha Menon" in S P Sen, ed , *Historians and Historiography in Modern India*, Calcutta, 1973, p 380
- 17 *Manual*, vol I, p IX Logan does not seem to have believed in the principle of the nobility of any caste He views caste as a 'political institution' introduced or developed by the Nambutiris See also *Manual*, Vol I, pp 145 f
- 18 *Ibid* , p IX
- 19 *Ibid* , p X
- 20 *Ibid* , p IX
- 21 *Ibid* , p X
- 22 Since the time of Logan there has been a series of books with 'Nayars' as its theme of discussion See for example F Fawcett, *Nayars of Malabar*, First published in 1901, reprint, New Delhi, 1985, T K Gopal Panikkar, *Malabar and Its Folk*, first published in 1900, reprint, New Delhi, 1982, K M Panikkar, *A History of Kerala, 1498-1801*, Annamalai Nagar, 1960, Robin Jeffrey, *The Decline of Nayar Dominance*, New Delhi, 1976
- 23 See *Report* and *Manual*, *passim*
- 24 See V. Nagam Aiyar, *The Travancore State Manual*, 3 vols , first published in 1906, reprint, New Delhi, 1989, *passim* At the end of the chapter on 'History' the author makes the people of Travancore "Unitedly pray to God" for blessing "Our King with health and long life", vol I, p 647
25. *Manual*, vol I, Preface, p IX
- 26 *Ibid*
- 27 The State Manuals and works of K P Padmanabha Menon, almost contemporary to Logan's have their meagre share on the history of 19th century Kerala See V Nagam Aiyar, *op cit* , C Achyuta Menon, *Cochin State Manual*, Ernakulam, 1911, K P Padmanabha Menon, *History of Kerala*, 4 vols , first published between 1924 and 1937, reprint, New Delhi, 1983 and his *History of Cochin* (Malayalam), 2 vols Trichur, 1912-14

Among the monographs and general works that appeared after 1950 the following can be noted Adrian C Meyer, *Land and Society in Malabar*, Bombay, 1952, Ashin Dasgupta, *Malabar in Asian Trade, 1740-1800*, Cambridge, 1967, K M Panikkar, *op cit* , T C Varghese, *op cit* , Victor M Fic, *Kerala Yenan of India-Rise of Communist Power, 1937-1969*, Bombay

1970, Kerala History Association, *History of Kerala* (Malayalam) 2 vols , Cochin, 1973, C K Kareem, *Kerala Under Haidar Ali and Tipu Sultan*, Cochin, 1973, K K Kusuman, *Slavery in Travancore* Trivandrum 1973, A P Ibrahim Kunju, *Mysore-Kerala relation in the Eighteenth Century*, Trivandrum, 1975, Rolland E Miller, *Mappila Muslims of Kerala - A Study in Islamic Trends*, New Delhi 1976, Robin Jeffrey, *op cit* , R N Yesudas, *British Policy in Travancore 1805-1859*, Trivandrum 1977, N Rajendran, *Establishment of British Power in Malabar*, Allahabad, 1979, T J Nossiter, *Communism in Kerala*, London, 1980, Stephen Frederic Dale, *Islamic Society on the South Asian Frontier Mappila of Malabar, 1498-1922*, Oxford, 1980, K K N Kurup, *op cit* , G K Lietaen, *The First Communist Ministry in Kerala, 1957-9*, Calcutta, 1982, K N Panikkar, *op cit* , Conrad Wood, *op cit* , M Gangadhara Menon, *Malabar Rebellion*, Allahabad, 1989 The list is not exhaustive

28 See note No 27

29 *Manual*, vol I, Preface, p XI

30 A notable attempt to broadly interpret the modern Kerala history from a Marxist point of view has been made by E M S Namboodiripad, *The National Question in Kerala*, Bombay, 1952 His *Kerala Yesterday, Today and Tomorrow*, New Delhi, 1967 and *Kerala Society and Politics - A Historical Survey*, New Delhi, 1984 are the revised and enlarged versions of the original book A Malayalam version of this, periodically revised and enlarged, has also been published The latest title of the book is *History of Kerala from Marxist Point of View* (Malayalam), Trivandrum, 1990

31 See note 27

TO BE OR NOT TO BE : NATIONAL PARTY OR HINDU BODY CONGRESS AND COMMUNALISM

SUCHETA MAHAJAN*

I

- 1 1 In the crucial years, 1945-47, the basic strategy of Hindu communal organisations remained one of trying to bend the Congress to accommodate their position¹
- 1 2 Why was accommodation rather than opposition the first choice of the Hindu communal forces? Essentially this stemmed from a realistic assessment of their own weakness relative to the immense strength of the Congress, which continued to command the allegiance of the large majority of Hindus, whatever might be their dissatisfaction with it. If the Congress could be got to make substantial concessions to the Hindu communal demands, it would represent a more substantial advance for Hindu communalism than what it might achieve via the slow uphill path of building bases among Hindus.
- 1 3 Moreover, the Hindu communal leaders sensed that this was no longer a remote possibility. The Congress was steadily being forced to retreat before the determined advance of Muslim communalism and what better opportunity could there be for pressing for the adoption of a new approach than the failure of the old ways? The expectation was that many congressmen, who had been communalised by the riots, would come out openly in support of a change in Congress strategy.² The political situation seemed to offer a possibility never

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known before of effecting an ideological shift of the Congress. The challenge before the Hindu communal forces was "could they make the possible real?"

II

SHOULD THE CONGRESS ALLY WITH HINDU BODIES?

- 2.1 The first overture of the Hindu Mahasabha to the Congress came in the winter of 1945 in the form of S P Mookerji's suggestion to Rajendra Prasad that the parties should come to an electoral understanding. The Hindu Mahasabha, it was argued, could then represent Hindu interests in the Assembly, something the Congress, being a national body, could not openly do. Rajendra Prasad conveyed this offer to his colleagues, pointing out that the money and workers conserved by avoiding a contest with the Mahasabha in the general constituencies could be used to fight the Muslim League more effectively. His own predilections were cautiously stated: "I would like without detriment to the Congress position to have some understanding with him if possible"³
- 2.2 Patel firmly ruled out an alliance on two grounds. First, the politics of the Mahasabha was dubious,⁴ secondly, the party was unlikely to win any seats.⁵ Maulana Azad, who was then Congress President, agreed with Patel.⁶ Nehru not only rejected the offer, but analysed at length why "it would be wrong policy and harmful for us to enter into pacts and arrangements with the Hindu Mahasabha"⁷. He conceded that a pact would enable the Congress to direct all its efforts to winning Muslim seats. "And yet there is another and, as we think, more important consideration even from the point of Muslim seats." The secular credentials of the Congress, already under attack by the League, would be further questioned. "They will again emphasise, as they have done in the past, that the Congress is the Hindu Mahasabha in a different guise." Muslim seats could be won only if the right atmosphere was created before the elections and issues raised to a level above that of communalism. A pact with the Mahasabha would prevent this from emerging. "This will take away from the straight and semi-revolutionary appeal of the Congress functioning without compromises with other groups."
- 2.3 Nehru's fears that any dealings with the Mahasabha would create anxiety among Muslim supporters of the Congress soon came true in Punjab where the Congress leaders persuaded the Mahasabha leader, Gokul Chand Narang, to step down in favour of a Congress candidate. The National Workers' Conference protested strongly against the Congress having any truck with Hindu communalists and was unmoved by the consideration that the Congress stood to gain a seat in the bargain.⁸ When S P Mookerjee pressed the matter again in December 1945 he could hardly have expected the summary dismissal he got from Patel. "The Hindu Mahasabha should be dissolved and its members should join the Congress"⁹. Mookerjee, obviously, had no intention of accepting such friendly advice. In fact with time he was more convinced than ever of the correctness of his original assessment that the

Congress and the Mahasabha must work together if they had to defeat the League, which had now added the lethal weapon of direct action to its armoury. An year after his first overture, he wrote to Jayakar "The Congress in its own interest should encourage the Hindu Sabha which alone can properly deal with the reactionary League" ¹⁰

III

WAS THE CONGRESS ESSENTIALLY A HINDU BODY?

- 3.1 When it became clear that the Congress was not willing to ally with Hindu organisation, Hindu communal elements now adopted the tactic of persuading the Congress to function as a *de-facto* Hindu body. The argument went that it was the most natural position for the Congress to adopt- most of its followers were Hindus and it was the duty of the Congress to safeguard their interests. Moreover, over the years the Hindus had made immense sacrifices for the national cause, in fact it could be said that the Congress "has been kept alive only by their blood". The Muslims had made far less sacrifices, the number of Congress supporters among Muslims had generally been few and now only a handful of Muslims remained with the Congress. Surely then it was a misconceived policy to alienate its faithful Hindu supporters and woo the elusive Muslims?
- 3.2 Perhaps the most assertive statement of this position was the open letter of the Hindu Relief Committee, Meerut, to the U.P. Government, entitled, 'Why this anti-Hindu Policy?'. The specific anti-Hindu and pro-Muslim actions objected to were the imposition of a collective fine of Rs 2 lakhs on Hindus only (though many of them were victims in the December riots), detention of Hindus without trial, refusal to remove Muslim officers who were known to be pro-League or reduce the over representation of Muslims in the administration. The Congress was warned that far from gaining something, it would have to pay dearly for such policies. The Muslims would not be won over and the Hindus who had stood by the Congress would be compelled to forsake it ¹¹

"Your policy of unfairly appeasing the Muslims is misconceived. This will never make the Muslim League friendly to India's aspiration and will only strengthen its venom. You may personally be Godly but we are men and we want justice and we believe in Shylock being paid in his own coins. The vast majority of the Hindus of this province are nationalist and Congressites and wish Congress all success. The Congress has been kept alive only by their blood and it would be a sorrowful day if on account of biased communal politics like those of your government we may have to decry as partial and unjust the very institution which is so dear to our hearts."

- 3 3 In similar vein was the letter written by Banwari Lal Gupta, 'just a Hindu', to the President of the Hindu Mahasabha. He too began with advocating taking a tough line with the Muslims.¹² "We should tell Muslims firmly that if you want to live as human beings in India, you may do so, else you must pack your bags and *jathis* on your camels and take off for Arabia". The letter went on to suggest that an appeal should be made to the Congress not to forsake the Hindu cause. "We do not want to compel it to abandon its path but it should not sacrifice the interests of Hindus for the wrongful happiness of the Muslim minority". The Congress was after all "the symbol of the sacrifice and devotion of the Hindus" and it should be reminded of this fact.
- 3 4 Nationalist Muslims came in for special attack because it was felt that their presence in the Congress was the stumbling block to the Congress accepting that it was a Hindu body. The tactic was to question their loyalty to the national cause, imply that their sympathies were really with the League and point out that in any case they were too few to be of importance. A provocative pamphlet titled 'Existing Dangers and our Duties', published by the Kalyan Weekly, Gorakhpur, which began by relating tales of brutality on Hindu victims in the Calcutta riots in horrific detail, went on to castigate the Congress for pandering to Muslims. "It is a fact that the nationalist Muslims are Muslims first and nationalist afterwards, which is clear even from the speeches of Maulana Abdul Kalam Azad".¹³ Even Shantilal Shah, a Congressman of Bombay, was of the view that Azad was "a little soft on the League".¹⁴ Why then should the Congress continue to "sacrifice the Hindus for these handful of so called nationalist Muslims"?¹⁵
- 3 5 The argument that the Congress should accept its essentially Hindu character was not a new one. The British had always maintained that though the Congress had pretensions to be a national party, it was merely a body of Hindus. The Muslim League had never ceased to demand that the Congress recognise that it was a Hindu party and that the League was the sole spokesman of the Muslims. Jinnah had been totally unwilling to accept Nehru's offer that the Congress would recognise the League as the predominant voice of Indian Muslims if the League in turn conceded that the Congress represented "such Muslims as have thrown in their lot with the Congress". The bone of contention, it was evident, was the nationalist Muslims. Muslim and Hindu communalists seemed to be in agreement on one issue- that the Congress should forsake the nationalist Muslims.
- 3 6 The issue became contentious as early as July 1945 when Jinnah insisted at the Shimla Conference that no other party could nominate a Muslim as its representative in the Executive Council. The Government held no brief for the Congress but could not let down its allies, the Unionists of Punjab and the Viceroy chose the easier path of declaring the break down of the conference instead of calling Jinnah's bluff, as he should have done. The controversy arose again in mid 1946 during the negotiations for the formation of the Interim Government, the short-term aspect of the Cabinet Mission Plan. The pragmatic position was that in the interests of a settlement the Congress

should give up its stand, which after all, given the small number of nationalist Muslims involved, amounted merely to stubborn adherence to a principle. But those who could see the import of even a symbolic defiance of the League's totalitarianism threw their full weight behind upholding the Congress right to represent and nominate Muslims.

In fact Gandhi rightly clarified what was involved was a duty, not a right, "One may waive a right, one cannot waive a duty"¹⁶. He recognised that the Congress President, Maulana Azad, might find it awkward to insist on a nationalist Muslim being included in the Congress list of nominees and suggested to Patel that someone else be authorised to conduct negotiations with the Cabinet Mission.¹⁷ He went so far as to warn the Congress Working Committee that he would wash his hands of the whole affair should they agree not to have a nationalist Muslim in their quota.¹⁸ The reason for Gandhi's strong stand was his conviction that if the Congress gave way on this issue, from being the foremost national body, it would be reduced to a mere communal organisation, a Hindu body. Nehru too recognised that the issue had important implications for the nature of the Congress. He had publicly taken a stand identical to Gandhi's six months earlier. "The Congress could not agree to this standpoint because if it agreed it would at once become a communal organisation"¹⁹.

Such an eventuality had to be prevented for in one stroke it would nullify all that the Congress stood for both its past achievement and its current standing. What appeared to be a small concession for the Congress to make for immediate pragmatic gains, would amount to "an admission (which) belies all its past history,"²⁰ besides costing the Congress dearly in terms of its stature. "The Congress will lose its prestige if it ceases to have a national character"²¹.

What had the Congress demonstrated by resolutely upholding this principle, even at the cost of tactical disadvantages? In the strife torn days of 1946-47 this clinging to one rock while bigger boulders were swept away might have seemed quite futile to many. But the Congress could not have done otherwise.

Should it have abandoned the secular Muslims who had stood by it despite great pressure? Could it have forsaken its past history as a national organisation to become a mere Hindu body? Or given up its future vision of a secular India? The price demanded was clearly too high and the Congress rightly refused to pay it.

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- 3 5 November, 1945, *Rajendra Prasad Papers*, (henceforth *R P Papers*) File No 7-S/45-6, National Archives of India A short while earlier Surya Narain Prasad of the Hindu Mahasabha, Bhagalpur had argued for a pact on the same ground 7 October, 1945, *Ibid*, File No 9-R/45-1, Col I
- 4 Patel to Nehru, 12 October, 1945, Durga Das (ed), *Sardar Patel Correspondence*, (henceforth SPC) vol 2, p 121
- 5 Patel to Prasad, 8 October, 1945, *Ibid*, p 11
- 6 Azad to Patel, 21 October, 1945, *Ibid*, p 25
- 7 The letter was written after discussion with the U P Premier, G B Pant and purports to represent Pant's views as well Nehru to Rajendra Prasad, *R P Papers*, File No 7-S/45 6, S No 11
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LAST PHASE OF FREEDOM STRUGGLE IN THE HYDERABAD STATE A CASE STUDY OF THE TELANGANA REGION

G. MEENESHWAR RAO*

I

- 1 1 The Hyderabad State had its own peculiarities in the freedom struggle because of the then prevailing political conditions in the State. Political activity was not allowed in the state and people were not permitted to undertake any activity in any form to mobilise the masses to launch a struggle against the autocratic rule of the Nizam. In fact, keeping in view the rigours of the Nizam's rule, political mobilisation in the Hyderabad State was initiated through cultural revival. These cultural organisations were nothing but political organisations wearing a cultural garb. These cultural organisations slowly emerged as political organisation with clear-cut ideologies and strategies after 1930s. Even though this process of political mobilisation was very slow on account of restrictions imposed by the government political activity picked up considerably in 1946.
- 2 In British India the political scenario had changed. Independence was in the offing. This situation had electrified the political climate in the Hyderabad State. That was the beginning of the launching of the final struggle against the Nizam's rule in the State. However, the freedom struggle had developed two separate streams under the Congress and the Communists. The present paper is an attempt to examine the methods adopted by these two

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organisations to counter the attempts of feudal and communal forces of the Nizam and how the freedom struggle culminated into accession of the Hyderabad State to the Indian Union in 1948

- 1 3 With the formation of the Interim Government in British India, the political climate had changed and India's independence was in the offing. Naturally this had its impact on the Hyderabad State which wanted to remain as independent Hyderabad after the withdrawal of the English.
- 1 4 The Nizam's Government had decided to lift the ban on the Hyderabad State Congress (HSC) and to impose it on the Communists towards the end of 1946. At the same time Ittehad-ul-Muslimeen had pledged to save the independence of Hyderabad by organising a private army called the Razakars to defend the Nizam's rule. But they indulged in all sorts of atrocities on the innocent people in the rural areas of Telangana.
- 1 5 After the discussions with the Cabinet Mission the Nizam's Government declared its intention to remain as an independent state outside the Indian Union and the Nizam declared his independence and issued a Ferman on 12th June, 1947 that after the end of British rule, the Nizam would become a sovereign monarch¹. The HSC launched a Satyagraha movement and the Razakars began to suppress the people's movement with violence².
- 1 6 The State Congress meeting held at Chikkadpally (Hyderabad) in May 1947, under chairmanship of Swami Ramananda Tirtha, decided to launch people's struggle to overthrow the Nizam's rule. For this purpose a committee of Action under the Presidentship of D. Bindu was formed. This movement may be divided into two parts, (1) to launch Satyagrahas and organise processions and meetings and fell toddy and palm trees in the State, (2) to organise armed camps on the border to fight the Nizam's forces. To achieve the above objectives the HSC launched the Satyagraha movement on 7 August, 1947 and Swami Ramananda Tirtha was the first to stage the Satyagraha. This heralded the final phase of freedom struggle in the Hyderabad State.
- 1 7 After the arrest of Swamiji and others, the Government was under the impression that there would be none to hoist the Union flag in the Hyderabad State but their dismay the flag was hoisted not only at Hyderabad but also in dozens of towns and hundreds of villages in the State³.
- 1 8 Warangal, an important Sub-region in Telangana, was in the forefront during this struggle. After Mogilaiah's murder, this region was shaken by communal tensions and political agitations. The Razakars wreaked havoc on the unarmed people by indulging in looting, arson, mass rape and brutal killings. At this juncture Dr. Narayan Reddy's murder in Warangal plunged the town into a communal frenzy. Dr. Reddy was murdered by the Razakars in Mandi Bazar near Charbawli in front of his house, under the supervision of Lakdi Pahalvan (Kasim Sharif). Immediately after this incident the Razakars attacked the Arya-Samaj office at Urs Kareemabad on July 15, 1947⁴ and also burned down the Sarvodaya building at Stambampalli. Together these events led to communal

clashes in Warangal. There was a pitched battle between the Hindu-Muslim Communities near the railway gate in Warangal. Many were injured and Padamati Kistaiah, and others lost their lives in the clash. Infact, Arya Samaj volunteers displayed exemplary courage in these incidents and Eligandula Vaikuntam, Amarnath and Yadagiri exhibited instant tact and courage in facing the situation.

- 1 9 Responding to the call of HSC⁵ many meetings were organised in Warangal Suba to mobilise the people's participation in the freedom struggle in the State.
- 1 10 A call was given by HSC to observe 7th August as Join Indian Union Day. Jamalapuram Keshava Rao took the lead by organising a Satyagraha at Madhira in Khammam taluka of Warangal district. This signal had electrified the Satyagraha movement in the Warangal Suba. Heeralal Moria, Kolipaka Kishan Rao, Dr G Upender Rao, Gella Keshava Rao and others were arrested at Khammam and sent to Jail for staging the Satyagraha. By launching Join Indian Union Satyagraha, the HSC had become a mass movement in the Hyderabad State. Many Congress Volunteers were sent to jail without trial in the Warangal Suba under Section 25 of defence of Hyderabad rules (DHR) and under Section 82 of the Asafia Penal Code (Sedition) to suppress the movement.⁶ The Satyagrahis gave a Joint petition to the Jail Superintendent of Warangal on 2-9-1947⁷ complaining about their illegal arrest and putting in the Jail without trial. In their exhaustive petition they protested against their being treated on par with the criminals and the same food being served to them.
- 1 11 In Karimnagar, Ramananda Kache, Y Hanumantha Rao, Dr Lakshimi Narayana, B Venkat Rama Rao, Juvvadi Goutham Rao, J Ramapathi Rao, Seetha Ram Naidu, Kattamgoor Keshava Reddy and others took active interest in mobilising the people and organising mass processions in the district. Notable among the mass processions was the one at Parkal on 2 September, 1947 to hoist the national flag on the Tahsil Office and Police station. This was considered to be memorable event in the freedom struggle of the Hyderabad State.⁸ About 2,000 people gathered at Parkal to hoist the national flag inspite of the prohibitory orders. The Razakars with local Muslim leaders attacked the meeting and about 21 people were killed and 150 members were seriously wounded in the attack.⁹ But this unprovoked Vandalism on defenceless people created a strong reaction in North Telangana. After this incident the youth and students decided to form guerrilla squads to counter the Razakars atrocities. One such squad was formed in Parkal on 2nd October, 1947 under the leadership of S Manohar Rao. This squad, infact, created terror in the Nizam's Police and the Razakars in this area.
- 1 12 As the Satyagraha programme could not force the Nizam's Government to accede to the Indian Union, the HSC launched another programme to paralyse the administration by forcing the Patel and Patwaris to resign their posts, by cutting toddy and palm trees and by refusing to pay grain levy and land

revenue to the government. This programme gave the communists an opportunity to join hands with the Congress in its struggle for the merger of Hyderabad State into the Indian Union. Thus, the communists made it a huge mass affair drawing thousands of people to participate in it. This movement had its own impact on the countryside and in many villages throughout the Suba, the Congress programme was implemented. When the mass upsurge gained momentum in Telangana, the Razakars and the Nizam Police launched large scale raids on the villages to create terror among the people by beating and torture, mass rape and plunder and other brutal methods to demoralise them. Naturally this situation had forced them to organise to protect themselves against the Razakar's atrocities. They formed village squads to safeguard the villages from the Razakar attacks.

II

- 2.1 The role of students in the Join Indian Movement in the Warangal Suba was noteworthy because of their active participation in the anti-Nizam struggle. Juvvadi Goutham Rao, Chakradhar Rao, Yadeva Reddy, G Narayan Rao, Raja Reddy were the architects of the student movement in the Warangal Suba. An action committee was formed and gave a call of Boycott of schools and colleges till it joined in the Indian Union. The boycott call was so effective that school and college campuses wore a deserted look. Mention may be made about Yadava Reddy who escaped the arrest and went underground to organise the students' struggle against the Nizam.¹⁰ The students' participation had increased after 1947 in the Telangana Region.
- 2.2 After protracted negotiations, the Nizam concluded a stand still Agreement on 29 November, 1947 to gain breathing time for consolidating his position and for suppressing the people's upsurge by making the necessary preparations. Similarly Kasim Razvi had his own plans to direct action and exhorted the Muslims to be prepared to die. He called upon even the middle school boys to be ready to respond whenever the call was given. Under the guidance of Razvi, the Razakars were openly given military training at number of centres both in the City and the towns. After procuring the arms and ammunition from different sources, the Razakars started direct action in the state. This situation, thus, forced the Congress and the Communists to organise border camps and village squads to resist the Razakar atrocities in the State, particularly in Warangal and Nalgonda Districts in Telangana region. Border camps were established in Telangana, 23 in Warangal district, 8 in Nalgonda, 2 in Karimnagar and one in Adilabad district to give protection to the people. At this stage the Communists also decided to organise village squads to resist the Razakars and the Nizam's police. When the Razakars and the Communists intensified their activity, a large number of people, especially the upper strata like the landlords, moneylenders and other wealthy people left for the union territory for protection.
- 2.3 The border armed camps established by the Congress and the Communists, despite the differences in their approaches, created a sense of confidence in

the people. At the same time these camps acted as checkmates to the Razakars. By forming village squads and village committees, the Communists did a commendable job in protecting the villages from the Razakars in Nalgonda and Warangal districts which were worst affected in Telangana region.

- 2.4 This grim situation forced the Hyderabad Congress to organise the armed struggle against the Nizam and border camps were established at different places. These border camps were converted later as armed struggle camps with Vijayawada as their head quarters.
- 2.5 When the State was engulfed in communal tensions, law and order was totally seized by the Razakars in the State. The life of the common man became miserable. Some of the youth come under the influence of terrorist ideology of the Arya Samaj, which resulted in an attempt to murder Nizam Mir Osman Ali Khan by throwing a bomb at him on December 4, 1947.¹¹ This incident was popularly known as Nizam Bomb case.
- 2.6 The Nizam Government adopted more repressive measures to safeguard its rule by using the army and the Razakars. Naturally the committee of Action of Hyderabad State Congress countered this by attacking the Railway stations, disrupting the flow of essential commodities and also attacking the police nakas (outposts) to demoralise the police and the Razakars in the Telangana. Many railway bridges were blown, railway stations and the customs Amin's office was attacked by Congress armed squads. This clearly indicates that people's participation was on a large scale. Any amount of repression could not stop their participation in the freedom Movement.
- 2.7 Kasim Razvi Started making inflammatory speeches which led to many communal clashes in the state. At the same time to create more confusion in the state the Nizam withdrew the ban on the communist organisation in April, 1948.¹²
- 2.8 A peculiar strategy was adopted by the Nizam's Government, using the military and other forces to suppress the peoples movement on the one hand and trying to internationalise the issue on the other. There was a total political crisis in the state. The Razakars and the Nizam's army had a tough job in facing the combined onslaught of the Congress and Communists. Northern Telangana virtually became a battle ground, between pro-Nizam and anti-Nizam forces and there was no administration left at all.
- 2.9 The Anti-Nizam movement became a widespread peoples' movement threatening the very existence of the Hyderabad State. To resist the anti-people forces, the Communists organised the village, taluka and the districts squads and provided some modern arms to them. These squads become the nucleus of peoples' armed forces that enabled the people to destroy the government authority in village after village and establish peoples' rule in about 3,000 villages in Telangana.¹³ This is what is known as "Telangana Peasants' Armed Struggle in India".

- 2 10 The last phase of freedom struggle in Hyderabad State was different from the national movement in its content and nature. The violence became an accepted form for the nationalists to defend themselves in the State. In the beginning of last phase of freedom struggle in the Hyderabad State the Congress and the Communists jointly offered resistance to the feudal and communal forces. But the Joint Indian Union Movement gave an opportunity to the feudal elements to join the national movement. The big landlords and village officials, strong supporters of the Nizam, had realised that freedom was at the door-steps and immediately changed their loyalties and supported the Congress movement.
- 2 11 While the Congress struggle ended with the police action, the Communists continued their movement till 1951. Owing to the ban on the Communists, the communist activists had to take shelter in the forest hideouts. The Telangana, particularly North Telangana was very active during the Telangana Armed Struggle.
- 2 12 The last phase of freedom struggle in the Telangana is landmark in the freedom struggle of the Hyderabad State. This movement ultimately ended with the accession of the Hyderabad State in Indian Union. At the same time this struggle indirectly worked for the redistribution of land in the form of land reforms after the independence.

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AGRARIAN UNREST IN CHOTANAGPUR (FIRST HALF OF THE 19TH CENTURY) A CASE STUDY OF THE ORAONS

SANJAY KUMAR*

I

- 1.1 The British penetration in Chotanagpur region which began from 1769 onwards for economic and political reasons, is a sad tale of agrarian exploitation, political subjugation and economic degradation of the tribals in general and the Oraons in particular. As a result, there were a series of agrarian unrests among the Oraons from the last quarter of 18th century and throughout the 19th century. These unrests took a serious turn in the first half of 19th century both in magnitude and in violence. The British experiment to evolve a new land revenue system in order to streamline their source of revenue paved the way for the proliferation of zamindars and moneylender i.e. the *dike* as the tribals called them. These intermediaries had already been cordially invited by the Maharaja of Chotanagpur for the exploitation of the tribals before the British penetration. So to understand the nature of agrarian unrest we should go more deeper into the details from 1769 onwards.

- 1.2 In 1765, the diwani of Bengal, Bihar and Orissa was conferred upon the English East India Company by Emperor Shah Alam. The tribal and hilly region of Chotanagpur was included in Suba Bihar and had several warring feudal lords, their mutual rivalry gave captain Camac the opportunity to penetrate

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Chotanagpur proper for the first time in 1769 ¹ The Raja of Chotanagpur at this time was in difficulties from petty Rajas, who had made themselves independent of his authority but also from the southern paraganas In 1772, Raja Dripnath Shahi went to captain Camac and after exchange of turbans which the company representative, duly acknowledged himself a vassal of that power, gave a '*nazrana*' of Rs 3000/- and agreed to do services against the Marathas ²

- 1 3 The Raja was, however, a constant defaulter in the payment of revenue and refused to meet the officers of the Company's government who were sent to induce him to pay his dues ³ He was capable of paying his dues or revenues but always evaded by fleeing into the Maratha country Ram who succeeded captain Camac as in charge of military collectorship of Ramgarh established a force of five companies of Sepoys at Chatra in 1778 It was only the presence of these troop who were operating from Barve, that induced the Raja in that year to execute his agreements Thus, the relations between the Raja of Chotanagpur and the early British administration were far from cordial
- 1 4 The Marathas commenced their incursions in 1792 and made three raids in course of six years which taxed the resources of the Raja to the utmost Apart from default in assisting the British operation through the jungle parts of Nagpur to Shambaipur to check the Maratha incursion and his resistance to the imposition of excise duties within Chotanagpur were the matter of constant complaints by the British against him At the same time, the military collectorship of Ramgarh failed to contain incessant rivalries among Jagirdars incursion of the Marathas and occasional infiltration of the Larka Kols (fighting Kols) of Singhbhum into Chotanagpur The absence of law and order paved the way for discontent among the masses Though the district officer combined the functions of judge, magistrate and collector, he paid little attention to matters other than the collection of revenue ⁴
- 1 5 The Colonial system ended the relative isolation of the tribal society brought it into the mainstream of the new administrative set-up and roped the tribal communities into a new system of production relations The colonial system, followed the dual policy of strengthening the feudal crust of tribal societies formed by the Rajas, chiefs and zamindars and simultaneously creating conditions in which their economic and political systems were undermined by the rampaging market forces ⁵
- 1 6 The British recognised the rajas, chiefs and grantees as zamindars ⁶ Gradually the new revenue system was imposed by the company least realising that the tribal tillers of land had no experience of the survey and detailed assessment of the Mughals The attempt to introduce a formal revenue system was likely to be ill received It ignored tribal customs and feelings and was operated by outsiders which was certain to cause trouble ⁷ In 1789, it was pointed out that the permanent settlement should not be

extended to these tribal areas because the amounts received from these parganas were "more in the nature of a tribute than a revenue proportionate to the produce of the soil" Yet the regulations of Cornwallis were applied to them, and "by the operation of selling estates for revenue balance", many of the zamindars were dispossessed. At last, the blunder committed by the government was realised and in 1799 these jagirs were restored to the 'ghatwals'. The zamindars got back their police powers and the 'ghatwals' again became a part of the zamindari police. This zamindari of ghatwari police system connected with land grants has been a unique feature of this area.

- 1 7 Owing to the repeated risings of the Oraons and the Mundas Chotanagpur as a part of Ramgarh district was brought under the administration of the East India Company and the Maharaja was no longer a tributary chief. In 1819, a political agent to the government in South Bihar was appointed. This synchronized with a severe drought in the Tamar Pargana, and the transfer of the police administration from the Raja to the British under a superintendent of police.
- 1 8 After the military operation of 1819-20, Major Roughsedge fixed a rent of eight annas per plough, and after the final annexation of this area in 1836-37 this system was confirmed by Wilkinson. The '*Munda*' of every Oraon village now become responsible for the collection of land revenue to the British government's representative in the South West Frontier Agency. A '*manki*' was to supervise the works of the '*mundas*' of several villages. Both the '*munda*' and '*manki*' got some commission too, and he settled and abandoned holding or uncultivated land.

The Chotanagpur plateau used to receive an annual visit from the British magistrate of Ramgarh. The first available report of such visit is that of Magistrate Cuthbert bearing the date 21 Aug., 1827. He writes ¹⁰

A large portion of the Purgunnah is uncultivated and its aspect Hilly and Jungles, but there are parts highly productive and well peopled. The Jagirdars (with few exceptions), have always been considered turbulent. Many complaints were made to me against this class of people during my stay even on their estates. The greater number of complaints do not prove groundless and one Joginder in particular was convicted of a series of oppressions. The half deserted villages which I so frequently met with evinced to my mind the oppressive conduct of these people as landholders.

- 1 9 These scanty material furnished by the reports of hasty annual visits do not afford an adequate views of the country and its history prior to real contact with western civilization and the influence of effective British rule.

II

- 2 1 In spite of the suppression of previous agrarian unrests with the help of the military, the real grievances of the tribal remained unattended by the administration and ultimately they found expression in the insurrection of the kols in 1831-32, in which the Oraons and the Mundas 'rose en masse'¹² Analysing the reason of the unrest E T Dalton opines that they were courageous but intemperate and were not used to subordination and alien domination As such they violently reacted to the advent of British rule with the regulation of Bengal code which has been unwisely proposed on this undeveloped and unwieldy tract Moreover, since the introduction of the first political agent to government in South Bihar and the recently ceded district adjacent to that province in 1819, the outsiders had been pouring in chotanagpur as police darogas, court amlas and 'akbari' farmers who did not have the slightest knowledge of these people Consequently they used tricks and fraudulent methods to exploit these simple aborigines¹³
- 2 2 Soon British rule became distasteful to them and the so-called civilising influence of the foreigners enraged them Thus, there was smouldering discontent among the aborigines in the whole of the Chotanagpur plateau against the infiltration of the foreigners¹⁴ The consolidation of British rule in this area had resulted not only in the political dependence and social degradation of a manly race as the children of the soil of Chotanagpur were, but had actually threatened them with total economic ruin¹⁵
- 2 3 In the kol insurrection, according to the official report, 226 Hindus and 78 Muslims were killed, 4086 houses burnt, 17 058 heads of cattle seized and 8,22,992 maunds of grain burnt¹⁶ The combination of the Oraons and other tribes remains an unprecedented even in the 19th century
- 2 4 The kol unrest of 1831-32 was caused by a number of factor There is not even a shadow of doubt that discontent against the agrarian system, debt laws and the new judicial and revenue regulation etc which were galling to the zamindars as well as the ryots, occasioned this furious rising of the kols¹⁷ After the suppression of the revolt the regulations were withdrawn and every cause of discontent of the Adivasis was sought to be removed by reforms in the administrative, judicial police, revenue and debt laws and restrictions were imposed on transfer or mortgage of landed property to avoid fraud by middlemen¹⁸ The policy of repression failed to suppress the movement which was not against the government but against the zamindars and *thikadars* seeking the wild justice of revenge¹⁹
- 2 5 Captain Wilkinson now changed the policy of confrontation to one of reconciliation and friendship He learnt the local language and held a 'Durbar' near Tamar and made friends with some Larks Sardars Thus, the rebellion of 1832 ended As a measure of conciliation the tax on *hanria*' (rice beer) was entirely abolished in 1833 which made captain Wilkinson a legendary figure in Chotanagpur He is till remembered as "Al-KisunSahib"²⁰

- 2 6 After the insurrection was over the *thikadars*, returned and carried their tirade of revenge against the Oraons and the Mundas. The process of the breakdown of the traditional agrarian order continued apace. Manu Oraons fled the country and after some time when they returned home, the *thikadars* refused to return their land which they had occupied in the meantime. It was this class of uprooted tribals who constituted the hard-core of the Sardari movement later on.²¹
- 2 7 In 1834, the South-West frontier Agency was established with headquarter at Kishanpur (Ranchi).²² Captain Thomas Wilkinson was appointed the first agent who drew up a simple code of rules, which, though not sanctioned by the government appears to have been followed till the introduction of the Code of Civil Procedure (Act VII of 1859). The Oraons in particulars and tribals in general felt a sigh of relief in the agrarian matters.
- 2 8 Dr Davidson, the then principal assistant to the Governor General's agent in charge of the Lohardaga (Ranchi) district, in a report dated 27 August, 1839 writes.²³

The custom in those remote days was that whoever cleared the land became the owner of the same, free of rent, only in return rendering to the head of the villages such services as the common good required. The policy or administration of justice was left entirely to the Raja. The consequences was that only those of the original heads of the villages, who were strong enough to inspire fear were able to keep their villages, the others were entirely dispossessed and replaced by the 'Suds' (alien Hindus) or their villages resumed by their Raja himself. It often happened that the unfortunate tribals, the poor *bhoominhars* never got justice from a court of law. The *thikadar* or owner of the village has no right whatever by the established customs of Chotanagpur to take a higher rent from the cultivators of the Rajas than they have been in the custom of paying. The contrary to this was often done, and from ignorance or timidity submitted to by the *ryots* but every unprejudiced person allowed it was contrary to justice and custom of the country.

- 2 9 But the English administrators, born and bred in the tradition of agricultural landlordism, had hardly any sympathy with the tradition of tribal ownerships of land. The non-tribal settlers and subordinate officers took advantage of the British Laws and exploited the peasants. It was next to impossible to administer effectively an area of about 12,500 sq miles of country full of hills and jungles from a single centre. And so Maharaja or Chotanagpur & particularly his *Jagirdars* and *thikadars* went on merrily with their campaign of

self aggrandisement at the expense of the aborigines of the country, "landlords" of various types were created by the Maharaja and placed over the head of the Oraon peasant proprietors

- 2 9 Thus, there were two outstanding features of the agrarian developments in the 19th century in the Oraon land. The first was the disintegration of the rural communities as a result of the imposition of the zamindari/ghatwali systems of land tenure on tribal society and the introduction of cash economy particularly from the latter half of the 19th century. According to J. Reid the most striking feature of this period was the breakdown of the communal mode of production and the emergence of private rights in land²⁴. At the same time the south-western frontier agency (1834-1854), far from checking the expropriation, agrarian and economic degradation of the Oraons in fact facilitated and hastened it.

III

- 3 1 The exploitation of the Oraons & other tribals and the legal struggle for the possession of lands were at their heights. They were utterly dejected and tired from the existing state of affairs. So great was their misery that they were ready to follow anyone and do anything that would obtain relief. A psychological atmosphere, was already created and the ground was ripe for change when the Christian Missionaries appeared on the scene²⁵. In 1844, Father Evangelist Johannes Gossner of Berlin sent out four missionaries to India who started their work at Ranchi from 4 Nov, 1845 onwards. In the year 1850 for the first time four Oraons were converted to Christianity along with their families.
- 3 2 An impression rapidly gained ground that to become Christian was the best way to shaking off the oppression of the landlords. Conflicts between the Christian aboriginals and their landlords was of frequent occurrence. The Christian Oraons and Mundas sought to take forcible possession of land, which they considered to have been dispossessed of by the landlords, while the latter retaliated by bringing false charges of 'dakaiti' and robbery against the tenants and subjected them to illegal confinement and duress. So the second half of 19th century witnessed the culmination of agrarian discontent in the 'Sardar larai' (1885-1900) and Birsa rising (1885-1900).

NOTES AND REFERENCES

- 1 *Ranchi District Gazetteer*, 1917, p. 44, also see J. C. Jha, "Early British Penetration in Chotanagpur", *Journal of Bihar and Orissa Research Society* (hereafter JBORS), VIII, parts III & IV.
- 2 *Hallet's Ranchi District Gazetteer*, 1917, p. 28.
- 3 *Ibid*.
- 4 *Ibid*.

- 5 K S Singh, "Colonial Transportation of the tribal society", Presidential Address Modern India Section), *Proceedings of Indian History Congress* (hereafter PIHC), 1977, pp 382-383
- 6 The zamindars were the predecessors of the Nagabansi Rajputs, Rautias and Bhiwan landlords, they had become the part of social ethos But the class of thikadars that flocked into chotanagpur from 1822, the keen-eyed traders, merchants, land-grabbers and moneylenders, with the tribal agrarian institutions and bright about their complete destruction
- 7 J C Jha "History of Land Revenue in Chotanagpur (c 1770-1830)" in R S Sharma (ed), *Land Revenue in India*, p 72
- 8 *Ibid*, p 73
- 9 R K Mukherjee, *Land Problems in India* (London, 1933 p 34, also see K S Singh "The Munda Land System and Revenue Reforms Chotanagpur During 1869-1908 in R S Sharma (ed), *Land Revenue in India*, pp 81-82 The tribal agrarian system in Chotanagpur was shaped by the interplay of Kolarian Munda, Bhumiji and Dravidian (Oraons Kharias and Naga or Nagabansi) The Dravidian elements were institution of Kingship (raja) with special powers, division of village into Kunts, rent-free tenures for worship of gods and for village chiefs, creation of rajah tenure for Raja and his "grain share", etc The Kolarian system, probably communal (the Munda agrarian system has more communal elements than that of the Oraons) did not provide for Kingship and central government and was without any regular system of payment of revenue As a result of the (Oraons) institution of Kingship was grafted onto the Munda institutions
- 10 Cuthbert Report (1827), *JBORS*, VII, 1921, pp 1-34
- 11 S C Roy, "The effects on the aborigines of Chotanagpur of their contact with Western civilisation", *JBORS*, XVII, 1931, p 364
- 12 The rising of the kols in 1831-33 has been described in various ways by different ways O'Malley calls it 'Kol Rebellion' in which the Oraons and the Munda 'rose en masse' (L S S O'Malley, *History of Bengal, Bihar and Orissa under British Rule*, Calcutta, 1925, p 689) and were joined by the Hos, the Cheros and the kharwars, Bradley-Birt refers to it as 'the kol Mutiny' (F B Bradley-Birt, *Chotanagpur a little known province of the Empire*, London, 1903, p 92, But despite varieties of titles, there is no doubt that it was a 'formidable rising' (P C Roychaudhary, *Hazaribagh Old Records 1761-1878*, Patna 1957) of the aborigines called "the kols" who became restive and reverted to their old practice of resistance and village", J C Jha, "kol rising in Chotanagpur (1831-32), its causes", *PIHC*, 1958, p 440
- 13 Report of the Joint Commissioners Dent and captain Wilkinson shows that "the kols throughout Nagpur had within the last few years had their rents increased by their 'itakadars' 'zamindars' and 'thikadars' by 35 percent They had made roads through the pargana without payment as 'beggarries' (forced labour) The Mahajan, who advanced money and grain, managed within 12 months liquor which was fixed at four annas a house
- 14 The foreigners were the Hindi, Sikh and Muslim zamindars and money lenders
- 15 K K Dutta, *Unrest against British rule in Bihar (1831-1858)*, p 12
- 16 *Ranchi District Gazetteer*, 1917, pp 32-34
- 17 J C Jha, "kol uprising of Chotanagpur 1831-33, its causes" *PIHC*, 1958, pp 440-446
- 18 *Ranchi District Gazetteer*, 1978, p 34
- 19 *Ibid*
- 20 *Ibid*
- 21 *Ranchi District Gazetteer*, 1978, p 52
- 22 The Agency included all chotanagpur proper as well as palamau, kharakdiha, Ramgarh, Kundu, the Jungle Mahals, Pargana Dalbhuns and the dependent tributary mahals

- 23 Davidson Report (1839), *JBORS*, Vol XXI, Pt 4, 1935 also see S C Roy, *The Mundas and their Country*, 1912, pp 91-93, S C Roy, *The Oraons of Chotanagpur*, 1915
- 24 J Reid, *Final Report on Survey and Settlement Operations in the District of Ranchi (1982-10)*, Secretary Book Dept, Calcutta, 1912
- 25 K N Sahay, "Genesis and Development of the early Christian Movements in Chotanagpur", *Journal of Bihar Research Society* 1968, p 291, also see K.N Sahay, *Under the Shadow of the cross*, pp 35-70, Sanjay Kumar, "Christianisation among the Oraons of Chotanagpur", *PIHC*, 1989, pp 434-39

THE CONGRESS - JHARKHAND MERGER (1963) AND THE SEPARATIST MOVEMENT IN TRIBAL BIHAR

L.N. RANA*

I

INTRODUCTION

- 1 1 The *Jharkhand Party* was born on 5 March, 1949¹ out of the womb of *Adivasi Mahasabha* (1938-49) representing one stream of Adivasi politics initiated in Chotanagpur (Bihar) by the British administrators to contain the growing influence of the *Indian National Congress* during the pre-independence period Jaipal Singh², who in 1939, at the stance of Sir Maurice Hallet, the then Governor of Bihar, joined Adivasi politics and became President of the *Adivasi Mahasabha*³ took the reign of leadership of the *Jharkhand Party* Under his leadership the Jharkhand Party contesting the first and second general elections emerged as the main opposition party in Bihar⁴ Its main plank in the elections was formation of a separate Jharkhand State comprising the portions of Bihar, Orissa, U P and M P⁵ Party leaders played on ethnic and primordial sentiment of the tribals though the party membership was opened to other also Such a party was bound to crumble one day The rejection of the Jharkhand demand by the State Re-organisation Commission in 1955⁶ had demoralizing effect on the party The opportunistic politics of Jaipal Singh and his dictatorial role also proved to be a major factor for decay of the Jharkhand party

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- 1 2 The talk of merger started in the Jharkhand Party as early as 1957-58 on the pretext that Communists were fast gaining ground in the labour areas of Chotanagpur⁷ The party leadership wanted some sort of understanding with the Congress as in Orissa But, so long as the Congress enjoyed overwhelming majority in Bihar Assembly, no such understanding could be agreed upon The third general elections (1962) showed considerable decline in the influence of both *Jharkhand* and *Congress* parties⁸ The spectacular rise of the Janata-turned-*Swatantra Party* winning 32 Assembly seats in the Jharkhand area (50 in Bihar) threatened the very survival of the Jharkhand Party as a political entity
- 1 3 The factional and caste politics in Bihar Congress also compelled the then Chief Minister Binodanand Jha (hereafter B N Jha) to seek alliance with the *Jharkhand Party*⁹ It could give him additional support in the party-politics and an opportunity to the *Congress* to strengthen its foothold in the tribal area of Chotanagpur and Santhal Parganas (CN&SP) in general Moreover, the merger move had blessings of the Congress High Command and the then Prime Minister, Jawaharlal Nehru
- 1 4 Thus the move for merger was a political bargaining by the two sides It was not based on any ideological ground or support of the tribal masses
- 1 5 The merger move was looked upon as betrayal to the Jharkhand cause by the Jharkhand Party dissidents Hence, they opposed A prominent Congress leader, Krishna Ballabh Sahay (hereafter KB Sahay), who hailed from Chotanagpur, also opposed the merger move as he saw danger to his position in the factional politics of the Congress He, himself, had been trying for the merger for a long time But as B N Jha had succeeded in giving effect to it, he opposed However, when he became the Chief Minister, he also came out for the merger¹⁰ Rev Joel Lakra, President of the G E L Mission in Chotanagpur, constantly working for the merger was made Congress MLC in 1957 and in the merger-year was awarded '*Padmashree*' of course, for his individual qualities and social service¹¹

II

THE MERGER

- 2 1 In the first week of June 1963, it appeared in the newspapers that Jaipal Singh had been considering the question of merger of the Jharkhand Party with the Congress It was reported that he had written a letter to B N Jha, the then Chief Minister of Bihar, stating his intention to place the Jharkhand Party "unconditionally and unreservedly" under the Congress in order to save the nation from the peril of China¹² The 1962 War between India and China had ended much earlier All the political parties were one with the Congress as far as the Chinese attack on India was concerned The news of its peril setting Jaipal Singh to make patriotic gestures sounded too hollow to have any credence

- 2 2 At first the news was not taken seriously This was not the first occasion that such news about him had appeared in the press On the contrary, the Congress had tried to spread false news of this type in the past on numerous occasions But this time the matter came briskly to a head
- 2 3 On June 20, 1963, the Congress celebrated the *merger* of the Jharkhand Party with it It was a triumph for the Congress A Public meeting was held in front of the Government House at Ranchi in which Sanjiva Reddy, President, AICC, B N Jha, P C Sen and Biju Patnaik the then Chief Ministers of Bihar, West Bengal and Orissa respectively were present Besides, Atulya Ghosh, the President of West Bengal PCC, Sri and Smt Jaipal Singh and the sitting Jharkhand members of the Bihar Legislative Assembly attended the meeting On this occasion all Congress leaders praised Jaipal Singh and the Jharkhand Party members for the wise decision to merge their party with the Congress, the ruling party of India After the meeting, the document of *merger* was signed by Congress dignitaries on behalf of the Congress and Jaipal Singh and his camp following MLAs for the Jharkhand Party¹³ And with this the Jharkhand Party vanished into thin air
- 2 4 As this merger envisaged no terms or conditions, it was blank cheque to the Congress However, later, Jaipal Singh came out with some *agreements*¹⁴ Shortly after the merger, Jaipal Singh, M P , was inducted in the Bihar Cabinet This bewildered S K Bage, another prominent Jharkhand leader His reading of the situation was that Jaipal would be a minister at the centre and that of himself would be a minister in Bihar Soon the Kamraj Plan (1963) came as a boon for him After resignation of the Jha Ministry in August 1963, K B Sahay was sworn-in as the new Chief Minister He dropped Jaipal Singh, who had remain Minister hardly for a month from the cabinet Now S K Bage stepped into the shoes of Singh in the government Jaipal Singh could never bear this and in the 1967 general elections, he released all the venom he had in his pouch and got Bage floored¹⁵
- 2 5 Jaipal Singh, after being disrobed of his ministership, reverted to his membership of Parliament His star waned since then He occasionally issued statements through the press to warn the *Sahay Ministry* that he would, if *merger agreements* were not fully implemented, break away However, he never pointed out as to what actually were the shortfalls Perhaps, the terms of merger were violated when S K Bage was made a minister¹⁶
- 2 6 As regards the *Development Board*, a part of the merger agreement, it continued to be debated during the lifetime of Jaipal Singh It was formed under the name "*Chotanagpur and Santhal Parganas Autonomous Development Authority*" and inaugurated on 13 November, 1971 by Bhola Paswan Shastri, the then Chief Minister of Bihar, at Ranchi Kartik Oraon, M P , became its Deputy Chairman and the Chief Minister, Chairman¹⁷
- 2 7 The assurance of a *Sub-committee* under the BPCC given at the time of the merger was at best an insult to Jaipal Singh On innumerable occasions in the past, congressmen had tried to net him into the Congress The talks had always

failed because of his insistence on a "*Regional Congress Committee*" under the AICC¹⁸. Even the assurance of a congress sub-committee was not fulfilled in his life time. After 17 years of the merger, in October 1979, a 39 member '*Regional Congress Committee (I)*' for CN & SP, jointly headed by Kartik Oraon and Simon Tigga as its working Presidents, was constituted when the Congress went out of power¹⁹. This Committee too soon became redundant.

- 2 8 The merger set a new trend in Chotanagpur politics. The monopoly of Jaipal Singh was broken when S K Bage became a minister against his wishes. Other tribal leaders also followed suit to break the solidarity of tribal leadership and toe the line of group leaders within the Congress for getting position of pelf and power²⁰.
- 2 9 After the merger, the *Jharkhand Party* became a faction within the *Congress*. With the passage of time, this faction grew in size and magnitude. However, many currents and cross currents worked below the surface till the 1967 general elections²¹.
- 2 10 While the merger was being praised or condemned, many tribals, especially in villages, did not know the fact of merger. They came to the polling booths in the 1967 general election with full enthusiasm to vote for the Jharkhand but learnt to their great disappointment that the '*cock*' symbol was missing and there was no Jharkhand Party in that election²². When villagers asked Jaipal Singh "*Sim Sandi De Gomke*" (where is your Murga (Cock)), he replied "*Sim Sandi Thaila Ria*" (your Murga (Cock) is in my Pocket)²³.

III

THE IMPACT

- 3 1 An attempt to revive the Jharkhand Party followed the merger. On 21 June, 1963 a meeting of all Jharkhandis was called at Beri Park, Ranchi. It rejected the merger and an ad-hoc committee was formed for continuation of the party with the name of "*All India Jharkhand Party*" (AIJP) under the Presidentship of Lal Harihar Nath Sahdeo²⁴, a member of the Nagbanshi family and an advocate of Ranchi. The party started memorialising the Election Commission for the reservation of "*Cock*" symbol for the AIJP.
- 3 2 Then sprang up another AIJP under the leadership of Paul Dayal MLA, to dispute the claim of Lal Harihar Nath Sahdeo. Paul Dayal was one of the MLAs of the merged Jharkhand Party, charged for corruption in the famous Shilbadra Yaji-Jain Election Case in 1965. They were alleged to have taken money from one Jain and voted for him in the Biennial Rajya Sabha election. When the probe exposed them, they changed side and declared that they belonged to AIJP under the Presidentship of Paul Dayal²⁵. Some MLAs, who had merged with the Congress, too started talking that they had not actually merged.
- 3 3 In 1966, when the Election Commission visited Ranchi, the Sahdeo group and the Paul Dayal group represented that they were the actual *Jharkhand Party*.

and that they had never merged with any party. Sensing the situation correctly, the Election Commission rejected their claims and froze the 'Cock' symbol for the time being.²⁶

- 3 4 This necessitated the merger of the two parties. They called a joint meeting of their general councils on 5 April, 1966 which elected P K Lakra as President of the new party.²⁷ Thus, rivalry between the two parties gave birth to another AIJP. But, eventually, a little before the 1967 elections, Sahdeo and Paul Dayal both parted company with P K Lakra and revived their own AIJPs.²⁸
- 3 5 At the time of general elections in 1967, there were several Jharkhand Parties viz P K Lakra group, Paul Dayal group, Lal H N Sahdeo group and a few other groups of Jharkhandis non-aligned to these groups. As a result they were treated as independents by the Election Commission. Christian missionaries, fearing loss of leverage they used to exercise, supported Ranchi and Singhbhum based Jharkhand parties in the election.²⁹
- 3 6 Thus, many groups and parties sprang up to fill the vacuum created by the merger. The absence of old guards and of a charismatic leadership, which had held the Jharkhand party together, created confusion and threw the political forces into disarray. The identity of those who sought merger and benefited from it was lost in the vastness of the Congress. The merger also aggravated the people's feelings of resentment and neglect.³⁰
- 3 7 Attempts to unify the different factions claiming to represent the Jharkhand Party could not stop further fragmentation. Some of the prominent Jharkhand leaders came out of the Paul Dayal group of AIJP and formed their own AIJP under the leadership of Ratnakar Naik on 28 December, 1967. This too proved shortlived. Then David Munzani organised another AIJP dominated by the Christian tribals on 19 May, 1968.³¹
- 3 8 Juntin Richard organised *Bihar Prant Hul Jharkhand Party* (BPHJ) on 28 December, 1968 among the Santhals named after the Hul (Santhal uprising) of 1855-56. He wielded some influence in Santhal Parganas and Singhbhum districts. But owing to personal difference and rivalries among its leaders the BPHJ split up in 1972. The break away group formed *Progressive Hul Jharkhand Party* (PHJ).³²
- 3 9 The temperamental differences and the Christian-non-Christian divide led to the formation of *Jharkhand Party* under the Presidentship of N E Horo and the *All India Jharkhand Party* under the presidentship of Bagum Sumbrui in 1970. On 12 March, 1973, the Jharkhand Party led by N E Horo submitted a *memorandum* to the Prime Minister demanding *Jharkhand State* with a new map wherein the portions of Uttar Pradesh and some portions of Bihar were left out and that of West Bengal passed to it from Bihar in 1956 as a result of the SRC report, were included.³³
- 3 10 Reviving the old Jharkhand, as Jaipal Singh himself had said, is like whipping a dead horse. There was a proposal to revive the old Adivasi Mahasabha but this could not be done.

- 3 11 After the merger Jaipal Singh, disrobed of his ministership, became ambivalent. He called upon his people, towards the close of 1966, to act in the Birsa Munda (leader of the tribal uprising 1895-1900) fashion to get their legitimate demands. He also exhorted them to raise their heads against the wrong doers and, if necessary, sue bows and arrows.³⁴ The radicalisation of the Jharkhand politics culminated in 1967 with the formation of *Birsa Seva Dal* (BSD), reportedly at the stance of Jaipal Singh, with Lalit Kumar Kujar as its leader. The radical stances of the BSD resulted in police firings at Chiri and Chainpur in 1968. The BSD was boosted by the *Christian missionaries* in one area and the *left extremist forces* in another. Their slogans were 'Jharkhand Hamara Hai' or 'Jharkhand is ours' and 'Jharkhand lenge Larkar', 'Teer ke Bal Par' or 'Jharkhand will be won by a fight with the force of arrows'.³⁵ However, the timely police action checked the momentum of this militant course of action.
- 3 12 While the old guards of Jharkhand fought each other to establish supremacy in Jharkhand politics, a new set of leadership emerged to demand Jharkhand and formed the *Jharkhand Mukti Morcha* (JMM) on 4 February, 1973 under the leadership of Shibu Soren.³⁶ The separatist instance climaxed when *Kolhan Raksha Sangh* (KRS) was formed on 31 October, 1977 to demand an independent *Kolhan State* comprising some portions of Sinbhbhum district.³⁷ At the time of Lok Sabha elections, 1984, the *Jharkhand Mahasabha* was formed by Jayant Jaipal Singh,³⁸ the younger son of late Jaipal Singh. A new and militant phase in Jharkhand politics started with formation of the *All India Jharkhand Students Union* (AJSU) on 22 June, 1986.³⁹ It often threatened to launch armed struggle for the Jharkhand State. The *Jharkhand Co-ordination Committee* (JCC) was planned in 1987 to bring unity among all Jharkhand factions in the fight for a separate state.⁴⁰ Former Naxalites of Bengal led by Santosh Rana also stepped into the Jharkhand politics and they formed *Jharkhand Kranti Dal* (JKD) as early as 1980.⁴¹ In 1989 *Hul Jharkhand Party* was revived to take part in the resurrected Jharkhand movement.⁴² In the same year Shalkhan Murmu formed *Jharkhand Liberation Front* at Jamshedpur.⁴³ The Jharkhand Kranti Dal and the Hul Jharkhand Party merged together to form the *Hul Jharkhand Kranti Dal* (HJKD) on 5 April, 1991.⁴⁴ Some of the JCC activists formed *United Jharkhand Party* (UJP) on 20 January, 1991.⁴⁵ Alarmed at the new phase of the Jharkhand movement *Sadans* (non-tribals) of this region formed the *Sadan Vikas Parishad* (SVP) and the *Sadavasi Sadan Sangh* (1988).⁴⁶ To counter them the *Adivasi Sadan Sangh* (1988) emerged on the scene.⁴⁷
- 3 13 Thus, the move for unity afresh released more disunity and fragmentation of the Jharkhand politics. However, the new militancy was able to draw attention of the central Government which set up a *Committee on Jharkhand Matters* (COJM) on 23 August, 1989 to go into the grievances of the Jharkhand area and to report the matter.⁴⁸
- 3 14 In the vacuum created by the merger, the Jan Sangh (Later Bharatiya Janata Party) and the Communists entered into the political arena of Chotanagpur. To

counter the resurrected Jharkhand Movement the BJP, since 1988, has raised the demand for *Vanachal State* comprising CN & SP only⁴⁹, while the leftist orientation of tribal politics in the region has created a new militancy⁵⁰. An element of extreme left has entered into the Jharkhand movement

- 3 15 The post merger period also witnessed the rise of non-Christian tribal leadership under the congress umbrella⁵¹ represented by Kartik Oraon in the region. Soon after his election as M P in 1967, Kartik Oraon demanded descheduling of the Christian tribals⁵² but it proved to be abortive
- 3 16 Thus, the merger of the *Jharkhand Party* with the *Indian National Congress* proved to be an event of far reaching consequences in the politics of the region. The post merger period was marked by fragmentation in Jharkhand politics eventually becoming its recurrent pattern. The emergence of non-Christian tribal leadership under the Congress umbrella was another notable feature of the politics of the region. Some of all India parties rushed to the region in a bid to fill the vacuum created by the merger. The articulation of the agrarian factor in the tribal situation led to the radicalisation of politics in the region. The demands for *Vanachal Statehood* or the *Union Territory Status*⁵⁴ to *Chotanagpur and Santhal Parganas* and for the old *Jharkhand* aiming at the greater Chotanagpur have made the confusion worse confounded. The rise of the separatist psyche and threat to peace and harmony in the region, an important mineral belt of the country, are important questions attracting the attention of all concerned

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- 3 Harman Lakra, '*Bhot Ke Ke Devab*', Hindi Pamphlet, Verma Printing Press, Ranchi, 1967, p 1, Julius Tigga, ed, *Adivasi*, Adivasi Mahasabha Ranchi, 1939, pp 19-25
- 4 The Jharkhand Party won 3 of 15 LS seats and 32 of the 87 BLA seats in Chotanagpur and Santhal Parganas in the first general elections, 1952. In 1957 elections it won 6 of 14 LS seats and 32 of 79 BLA seats
- 5 A memorandum to the SRC by the members of the Jharkhand Party in the Bihar Legislature, 22nd April 1954, pp 2, 22. The proposed state of Jharkhand was to have an area of 63,859 square miles with a population of 163, 671, 77
- 6 *Report of the States reorganisation Commission*, 1955, para-617-19, p 169, et seg SRC Report
- 7 Harman Lakra, *An Open Letter to the People* (MS-HINDI), p 3
- 8 The Jharkhand and the Congress parties contesting the third general elections, 1962 won 20 and Assembly seats respectively in the Jharkhand region of Bihar
- 9 H Dhar, Gupta, S Roy, and N Sengupta "Caste and polity in Bihar" Gail Omvedt, ed, *Land, Caste and Politics in Indian States*, Authors Guild Pub, Delhi, 1982, Ch 5 p 108
10. Ignes Kujur, *Jharkhand Betrayed*, Chotanagpur Press, Ranchi, 1986, p 26

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- 11 Kushal Kerketta, *Biographical Sketch of Padmashri Rev Joel Lakra*, Ranchi, 1972, pp 14-15
- 12 *Jharkhand Betrayed*, p 20
- 13 *Ibid*, pp 21-22
- 14 The main points of merger agreements were that
 - 1 There will be a Development Board for Chotanagpur and Santhal Parganas and parts of the adjoining districts where Adivasi preponderate
 - 2 The Jharkhand MLAs and MPs will automatically become Congress members
 - 3 There will be a sub-committee under the BPCC to co-ordinate the activities of Adivasi areas
 - 4 The Congress President, Bihar will form ad-hoc committees in Adivasi areas to enable Jharkhand Party members to enter Congress at various district levels and
 - 5 The Bihar Cabinet will be expanded
- 15 *Jharkhand Betrayed*, pp 25, 27-28
- 16 *Ibid*, pp 27-28
- 17 Kartik Oraon, M P to Karpoori Thakur, Chief Minister of Bihar, 20 September, 1977, p 2
- 18 *Jharkhand Betrayed*, p 29
- 19 *The Indian Nation*, Patna, 19 and 24 October, 1979 Also G L Chourasia, "Kartik Oraon Chotanagpur Ki Mahan Bibhuti", *Ranchi Express*, 29 October, 1987, p 4
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- 27 *Ibid*
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- 29 Rana, L N, *Party Politics in Chotanagpur, 1937-87* unpublished, Ph D Thesis, Ranchi University, 1991, p 404
- 30 *Ibid*
- 31 *Ibid*, p 405
- 32 *Ibid*, Also Tribal Leadership, p 208
- 33 A Memorandum submitted to Smt Indira Gandhi, Prime Minister of India on March 12, 1973, p 1 & 3 According to the new map proposed Jharkhand state was to have an area of 187, 646 sq km with a population of 30,598,991 people as per 1971 Census Report
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- 36 *The New Republic*, Ranchi, Sept 26-Oct 2, 1987, p 5
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- 38 Interview with Jayant Jaipal Singh on 25 9 1988 at his Ranchi residence
- 39 *Ranchi Express*, 24 June, 1986
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- 41 *For a New Democracy*, Calcutta, May 1983, p 23
- 42 Rana, L N, *op cit*, p 620
- 43 *Nav Bharat Times*, Patna, 19 March, 1989
- 44 *Prabhat Khabar*, Ranchi, 6 April, 1991, p 3
- 45. *The Hindustan Times*, Patna, 22 January, 1991, p 1, 12
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- 48 Ministry of Home Affairs, Order, Immediate, No 11-18015/17/89-15, DI(B), 23 August, 1989
- 49 *Vananchal Kyon?*, *op cit*, Introduction by Tara Kant Jha
- 50 *Tribal Society*, p 205
- 51 L N Rana, *op cit*, p 495 Non-Christian tribals captured 22 of the 29 reserved Assembly seats for the scheduled tribes in CN & SP in 1967 elections
- 52 *LS Debates*, Vol VIII, no 57, Aug 7, 1967, pp 17640-47 and Vol XLVI, no 11, 24 Nov 1970, p 242
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**KAMI-SABONG AFFAIRS, 1906-1916 :
QUESTION OF BRITISH INTERVENTION
IN THE 'UNADMINISTERED' TRACT
BETWEEN BURMA AND ASSAM**

RANJU BEZBARUAH*

I

- 1 1 The annexation of South Lushai Hills to British India in 1895 resulted in the encirclement by British territories of an 'unadministered' tract¹ of about 1,000 sq miles, situated roughly between 92°41' and 93°15' E and 21°45' and 22°20' N. It was bounded by the Chittagong Hill Tracts (Bengal) from the west, Chin Hills (Burma) from the east, Lushai Hills District (in Assam since 1898) from the north, and the Arakan Hill Tracts (Burma) from the south².
- 1 2 The Upper Koladyne or Boinu river, which transected the tract, was the only convenient outlet of the neighbouring 'administered' areas of South Lushai Hills to Kaletwa and Paletwa in Arakan. Movement of British subjects to and from the tract was absolutely unrestricted, and villages even north of Sherkor ordinarily traded with the Arakan shops on the Koladyne.³ The subdivisional H Q, Lungleh, was far removed from the most southerly villages — a distance involving 10 to 14 days' journey. Lungleh itself was at a 4 days' distance from its river base. On the other hand, Paletwa could be reached within 3 to 4 days from these villages.⁴ Any outrages and quarrels occurring in the 'unadministered' tract, therefore, was a matter of British concern as well. The possibilities of British subjects being involved in trans-frontier quarrels posed dangers to

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the violation of the border by the 'unadministered' people. Further, the importance of protecting the trade route down the Koladyne was also recognised.⁵

- 1 3 The concerned district administrations, however, had to operate within the frame-work of the general policy of non-intervention in the tract, enunciated by the Government of India (GOI). As early as 25 August, 1879, GOI declared that 'no responsibility' should be taken 'for the protection of life and property beyond, the administrative line of British territory'.⁶ On 13 May, 1893, GOI declared that beyond the 'administrative' frontier, the 'tribes may do as they please'.⁷ On 23 October, 1895, however, GOI made it clear that non-interference should be followed until 'the tribes occupying that tract refrain from raids within the administered area'.⁸ In an instruction to the Government of Burma (GOB), on 11 September, 1905, GOI further allowed elements of flexibility to the general policy of non-intervention. GOI recognised that 'action or a barbarous neighbour' may compel the Government 'temporarily to abandon their policy of non-interference whether, in pursuance of their duty as a civilised power, to deter the tribes from the repetition of their barbarities, or to allay serious unrest caused among their own subjects by the immunity enjoyed by the offenders'.⁹ In any case, no expedition could be undertaken 'without the previous report to, and express permission from' GOI.¹⁰
- 1 4 With this setting, the concerned district and provincial administrations were confronted, on different occasions, with the issue of intervention in the inter-tribe feud between the Kamis and the Sabongs.

II

- 2 1 On 9 December, 1906, 26 people belonging to the 'unadministered' village of Sabong, with their chief Boi-Rang, were killed at the 'unadministered' Kami (Kon or Kwemi) village of Bahe, when the former went to the village to collect tribute. The Sabongs were also accompanied by one Dar-Mung of Naring, an 'administered' village in the Chin Hills, and got killed.¹¹ The 'unadministered' Kamis lived south of the junction of the Koladyne and the Sulla rivers, in the northern neighbourhood of Northern Arakan, and they looked to the Arakan authorities for protection. The Sabong village was about 7 miles from the Chin frontier, and they were amenable to the Chin Hills authorities.¹²
- 2 2 In the wake of the massacre, the Bahes and the Sabongs appealed respectively to D C, Arakan, and Supdt, Chin Hills, for protection.¹³ In view of the influence of the murdered Sabong Chief, and his near-relationship with powerful 'administered' Chin Chief, the Offg Supdt of Chin Hills, W Street, feared the danger of involvement of 'administered' Chins in case of any retaliation by the Sabongs. After meeting the Sabongs, Street could perceive that they would not be satisfied with monetary compensation, but would want the ring leaders imprisoned if not handed over to them. Further, the danger of spreading the blood feud to Arakan also became all the more apparent, as the murderers had taken refuge within Arakan's 'administered' border. The Sabongs told Street that they would not attack any 'administered' villages which did not harbour the murderers.¹⁴

- 2 3 Now that, both the parties appealed to district authorities for intervention, and a British subject was killed, GOB thought it inexpedient to refuse to intervene. GOB saw grave danger of reprisals from the Sabongs and the consequent unrest among tribes in the 'administered' territory. GOB, therefore, under the escape provisions of GOI's instructions of September 1905, asked for the sanction of the latter to intervene in pursuance of the 'duty as a civilized power' and to 'allay serious unrest' among British subjects ¹⁵
- 2 4 GOI, while disapproving of the proposal to depute Officers with escorts to prescribe and enforce any settlement, agreed to allow mediation through the Chin and Arakan Officials. In case of any award of mediation being refused, the parties were to be warned that 'an invasion of British territory, whether on pretext of seeking refuge or otherwise, will be sternly repressed' ¹⁶
- 2 5 Accordingly, GOB instructed W L Thom (D C, Arakan) and S Street (Supdt, Chin Hills) to meet at Laki on 25 December, 1907 to conduct a joint enquiry. They were instructed that if a settlement carrying the assent of both parties could not be reached, 'a just decision should be given and it should be promptly enforced against the recalcitrant party' ¹⁷. After the enquiry, the Sabongs were awarded Rs 3000/- as compensation, and they in return swore to abstain from raiding. Further, the Bahe chief was captured and sent to Akyab jail ¹⁸

III

- 3 1 The blood feud, however, did not end with the Bahe chief's imprisonment and fine. Years later, about 12 December, 1912, a group of Sabongs killed a woman of another Kamti village, Palet (Pala or Matu) settled on the western bank of the Koladyne just above its junction with the Sulla near Sullamukh (Sullawa). The village was within the 'unadministered' tract and was separated from the *de facto* jurisdiction of the Lushai Hills only by the breadth of the Koladyne. The murder, however, took place on the eastern bank of the river, within the limits of the territory recognised as belonging to a revenue paying Chief of Lushai Hills, Zabova, since 1903, and, therefore, within the *de facto* boundary of Lushai Hills ¹⁹
- 3 2 Since the Kamtis were more or less under the protection of the Arakan authorities, the S D O, Lungleh contacted the latter for information on the subject. On the other hand, Lushai Officials 'were quite unaware' that the Sabongs generally reported occurrences to Chin Officials, and hence made no reference of the incident to them. The D C, Northern Arakan not only informed the Supdt, of Chin Hills about the incident, but also forwarded the findings of his investigation to the Supdt, Lushai Hills on 22 January, 1913 ²⁰. The Supdt of Chin Hills too investigated the matter ²¹, but it was not known either to the Lushai Hills authorities (LHA) or to GOA until finally informed by GOI after GOA formed its opinion on the matter
- 3 3 Apart from a message received by L H A, sent through three *Upas* (Councilors) by the Sabongs that their Chief disapproved of the murder by his

men, and that he only stood by the orders of the *Sarkar Sahib* (Government) 'not to kill any men in future',²² GOA was completely in the dark about the Sabong version of the incident

- 3 4 According to the statement of Pa-Let, headman of Palet (Matu) village (recorded by D C , Arakan on 15 January, 1913), his daughter-in-law, Ma Rike Pha, was stabbed to death on the eastern bank of the Koladyne, when she took her boat to ferry the Sabongs. The Sabongs also cut off her head and carried it away, but left her silver ear-rings. This only showed that the cause of the murder could not be anything but a deeply-rooted feud.²³ Apparently, however, there was no cause for dispute between Palet and Sabong villages. The Sabongs earlier promised the former not to take heads, in return for Rs 80/-, one bottle of Zu (Beer), and some salt.²⁴ Pa-Let also said that none from his village took part in the massacre of the Sabongs in 1906. He however, had a dispute with Zongling,²⁵ a village connected by marriage with the Sabongs.²⁶ Further, both Pa-let and Ma Rike Pha were related to the former Chief of Bahe.²⁷
- 3 5 W S Thom, D C , Northern Arakan believed the affair as 'an echo' of the Bahe-Sabong feud. But he did not prefer to intervene unless ordered to by GOB, although Kamis within Arakan were found to be 'little excited'.²⁸
- 3 6 The Supdt of Lushai Hills, J Hezlett, like Thom, perceived the affair as an 'echo' of the massacre of 1906, and saw in the reported 'unrest among the Kamis' danger to free access of his subjects to Kaletwa and Paletwa.²⁹ Bradshaw (S D O , Lungleh) observed that since the murder was committed within Zabova's *Ram* (Domain), within *de facto* Lushai Hills boundary, a passive role of LHA would make Zabova to think that 'we are unable to preserve order so far from our headquarters'.³⁰ The Offg Commr , Surma Valley, recommended to GOA for demanding reparation from Sabong on the ground that 'the murderers came through our territory and committed the murder in our territory'.³¹ He also felt that expedition to Sabong had the additional merit of 'a useful exercise' for the Lushai Hills Battalion.³² GOA, on 12 June, 1913 soliciting sanction of GOA for punitive measures against the Sabongs, pleaded that the 'recrudescence of the feud' was an 'act of contumacy' which could lead to 'further and more violent reprisals' in which British subjects might be involved. GOA considered its intervention necessary 'in order to vindicate' its 'authority' and to prevent the territory under British control from being used 'for the promotion of tribal animosities'.³³
- 3 7 GOI, before passing any orders, intending to seek the opinion of GOB, informed the latter of GOA's request (2 July, 1913).³⁴ GOB, already decided not to intervene in the affair, and GOA was left uninformed about it.
- 3 8 GOB's decision intervention was based on the findings of investigations conducted by J E D Prothero, Supdt of Chin Hills. He found that the murder was the result of the Sabongs being 'gratuitously insulted' in the past. Le Kaw, the leader of the band of raiders, testified that about a year before, a group of Sabongs while passing through Pa-Let's village, were promised food on

return. Later on, they were not only refused food, but were reminded of a past feud by Pa-Let's wife thus "Are there any more men left in your village for us to kill, when we killed the last batch we gave their bodies to feed the crows." The Sabongs were 'brooding over the insult', but their Chief was not informed about the plan to avenge it.³⁵ Further, Prothero found the son of the Sabong Chief, Kyen Din, who did not receive any prior information about the raid, ready to hand over the guilty men to the Government for 'any action'.³⁶

- 3 9 Prothero could appreciate the provocations under which the Sabongs committed the murder. Nevertheless, he thought it 'only right' that GOB should intervene on behalf of the Kamis to inflict a fine on the Sabongs, as it earlier intervened on behalf of the Sabongs, despite the general policy of 'non-interference'. This could 'minimise the likelihood of further reprisals' which was the supposed intention of GOB 'when adjudicating the original case'.³⁷
- 3 10 GOB decided against intervention on the ground that the incident involved only 'unadministered' people. Its earlier intervention was described as 'an exceptional measure', and there was 'no undertaking' to 'interfere in every subsequent murder which might arise out of the enmity between those tribes'. GOB saw 'less reason to interfere' because raiders acted 'without the knowledge or sanction' of their Chief.³⁸ GOB was convinced that the murder was neither a 'recrudescence' of the Bahe-Sabong affair nor an act of 'contumacy', but the result of a 'recent insult' received by the Sabongs. Yet, in response to GOI's query, in the wake of GOA's request for sanction, GOB conceded that 'some penalty should be inflicted'.³⁹ p73
- 3 11 GOI turned down GOA's proposal on the ground that GOB had already passed orders; but insisted on closer co-operation between the Lushai and Chin Supdts on frontier matters in order to obviate GOB and GOA 'adopting different lines of policy with reference to the same occurrences'.
- 3 12 Hezlett regretted that GOB and GOI should accept the Sabong version of the cause of the raid, which was 'only one side of the story'. The Sabongs were unlikely to admit the murder as a recrudescence of the old feud as it was settled, and they promised GOB not to renew it.⁴¹

IV

- 4.1 Hezlett's contention was strengthened by the renewal of blood feud in 1916 (16 March), when 30 Sabongs raided another trans-frontier Lami village, Rawng Taung (Raingtaung) near Palet, killed seven people, and sacrificed three captives at the tomb of Boi-Rang (victim of 1906 massacre).⁴² Supdts of Lushai Hills (J Hezlett) and Chin Hills (J M Wright) and D C, Northern Arakan (W S Thom), all agreed that the murder was indeed a recrudescence of the 'Bahe-Sabong Affair' of 1906. To Thom, it appeared as though the Sabongs were 'determined to act on the principle of an eye for an eye' until they could wipe out 'same number of lives' as the Bahes took in December 1906.⁴³

V

- 5 1 The Kami-Sabong Affairs focussed attention on the problem of the 'unadministered' tract as a whole. In April, 1914, GOB instructed the Supdt, Chin Hills to share all information of frontier events with Arakan and Lushai Officials 'promptly' ⁴⁴ Further, GOB agreed with GOA that Chin, Arakan and Lushai Officials should meet at Laki on 1 March, 1915 with the object of updating the Burma and Assam maps so as to 'show clearly the boundaries of the unadministered territory' ⁴⁵ The Supdt of Lushai Hills, Hezlett, expected to take up 'the whole question about dividing up the unadministered tract' at Laki, and he even prepared a draft to define the new southern boundary of his district ⁴⁶ The Commr, Surma Valley, observed way back in October 1913 that the 'real remedy' was the absorption of the whole tract in the three districts ⁴⁷ While the Laki conference could not be held because of 'abnormal conditions' arising from the World War I and disturbances in the Kachin Hills⁴⁸, opinion in favour of absorption of the tract gradually gained ground. In May 1920, Burma and Assam Officials meeting at Maymyo agreed in principle to apportion the 'unadministered' tract ⁴⁹ In January 1922, meeting at Baw, the concerned Officials finally decided to apportion the 'unadministered tract' between Chin Hills, Lushai Hills and Arakan, and redefine the new boundaries ⁵⁰

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- 6 *ASPPA*, June 1906 No 743-2C 9, Govt of Burma (GOB) Pol Dept F C Gates to Secy to GOI, For Dept, 18 July, 1902, Para 3 (also included in *ASPPA*, Feb 1908)
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**MYRON H. PHELPS (1856-1916) :
AN EARLY AMERICAN ADVOCATE OF
INDIA'S FREEDOM**

ARAVIND GURURAO GANACHARI*

I

- 1 1 Myron H Phelps (1856-1916) was one of the earliest American champions of India's struggle for freedom. None of the existing works on American contribution to India's independence take any note of Phelps' pioneering efforts in promoting India's cause in the United States.¹ This paper, which is mainly based on the *Bombay Presidency Police Abstracts of Intelligence*, seeks to evaluate Phelps' contribution to India's freedom struggle.
- 1 2 The biographical information about Phelps is scanty. A few facts about him, culled from the Police 'secret' files and the contemporary records, may be first briefly stated. The Phelpses were Irish immigrants to U.S. Myron Phelps was born in Illinois, U.S.A., on April 2nd, 1856. He graduated from Yale University in 1876 and took law degree from Law School California in 1885. He owned a farm in New Jersey and practiced Law. He was connected with the legal section of the Rubber Goods Manufacturing Company in the U.S.A. As their representative, he is said to have stayed in Colombo for more than a year and also visited India. On his return to America, he carried on correspondence with friends in Colombo and in India. There is some evidence to suggest that Swami Vivekanand had stayed with him at New York in 1895.² Phelps seems

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to have visited Egypt in around 1902-3. There, he was impressed by the religion of the Bahai's. He authored a book called *The Life and Teachings of Abbas Effendi*.³ Phelps' Irish background and personal experiences of British imperialism in India and elsewhere made him very critical of British rule.

- 1.3 On September 5, 1907, he organised 'Indo-American National Association' at Maine. Dadabhai Naoroji was made the Honorary President of the Association. The chief aims of the Association were
- 1 To assist Indian students in America
 - 2 To present Indian questions in American press
 - 3 To secure facilities for Indians visiting America and for Americans visiting India
 - 4 To convey the sympathy of Americans to the people of India through the Indian press, and to help to secure for them from the British Government a measure of self-rule.⁴
- 1.4 In November of the same year, Phelps started in New York a 'Society for the Advancement of India'. The objectives of this Society were similar to that of the Indo-American National Association. In May 1908, two branches of the Society were opened at Detroit and Chicago. The proceedings of the meetings of the Society, showed that it received a number of letters from the *Swadeshi* agitators in India, mostly connected with newspapers. One of the most well informed persons at these meetings was Rev. Cuthbert Hall. A Committee of three - Phelps, Dr. Hall and John DeWitt Werner - was formed to consider as to how the Society should be organised in order to carry out its objectives.

II

- 2.1 At this time, the India Office in London as well as the Government of India were extremely watchful of the activities of the Indian revolutionaries and their foreign collaborators abroad. Dunlop Smith, who was a close confidant of Lord Minto in the India Office, then headed by Lord Morley, made discreet inquiries whether *Clan-na-Gael*,⁵ the revolutionary Irish society or any other organisation in America was supporting the Indian revolutionaries. Smith also reported to the authorities in India that "a lawyer in New York named Phipps (the correct name was Phelps and not 'Phipps') had started an 'India House' ostensibly to help Indian students, but really to inculcate sedition. He did not help them with money but did a lot of harm in other ways."⁶ Since then Myron Phelps was closely watched, and a detailed diary of his movements and activities was kept by the police. The police records thus kept, reveal Myron Phelps' connection with India and her quest for freedom.
- 2.2 Phelps first attracted attention as the writer of a series of eight 'Letters to the Indian People', the first of which appeared in the *Gaelic American* on 10th August, 1907 and the last in January 1908. These long letters, which reflect his ideas on Indian freedom struggle, were reproduced in the *Hindu* of Madras,

with whose editorial staff he regularly corresponded. In the first 'Letter', while conveying the sympathies of Americans to the people of India 'in their present trials', Phelps drew a parallel between the history of American colonies of Great Britain, and that of India. Keeping the *Swadeshi* movement in India in mind, he showed that the boycott of English goods in America preceded the Revolution. He claimed that the *Swadeshi* was an American institution before it was used in India, and hoped that it would produce similar results in India.

- 2 3 The second 'Letter' described 'America's Struggle for Swaraj'. In that, Phelps, gave an account of the trial of John Peter Zenger (1697-1746), editor of *New York Weekly Journal*, that took place in 1734-36. Zenger's paper opposed the administration of Governor William Cosby. In 1734, he was arrested and tried for allegedly libellous statements made in the articles contributed by his supporters. Although the Judge was ill-disposed towards Zenger, the jury gave the verdict of not guilty. This was the first major victory for the freedom of press in American colonies. The account of the trial was published as - *A Brief Narrative of the Case and Trial of John Peter Zenger* (1736), which aroused great interest in America and Britain.⁸ Perhaps, Phelps wished to draw an analogy with the prosecution of many an editor in India at that time and suggested that like Zenger trial which fired the cause of liberty in American colonies, trials in India like one of Lokmanya Tilak would have similar effect on Indian freedom struggle.
- 2 4 The third 'Letter' was entitled - 'The Struggle and the Ideal', in which he urged the people of India to unite. In a postscript to this letter, he asked his Indian correspondents to send letters which would enable to 'prepare vivid description for the American press and thus excite American interest and sympathy'. The Government of India viewed this as a positive evidence of Phelps' 'malafides' and recorded that he was 'a more than usually astute journalist on the look-out for copy'.
- 2 5 The fourth 'Letter' announced the formation of Indo-American National Association. It concluded with a request for interesting, readable and informative articles, and assured that he would negotiate for the authors a good price for their contributions. The fifth headed - 'Union in *Swadeshi* - the Salvation of India', described the drain of wealth to England and made a long presentation of economic aspect of *Swadeshi*. The sixth 'Letter', - 'Educational Opportunities for Self-supporting Students in America', suggested that it would be possible for Indian students to earn and learn in America. The seventh 'Letter' described the economic decline of England. Phelps also made it clear that all these were his personal opinions and did not commit any Societies with which he was connected.
- 2 6 The last 'Letter' appeared in January 1908. It was addressed to the 'Mohammedans of India', mainly to attract their attention and to bring them also into the national agitation. Aware of British policy of 'divide and rule', Phelps perhaps intended to suggest that if Muslims would join *Swadeshi* movement wholeheartedly, it would have tremendous impact on the British government. In this letter, he announced the establishment of 'India House' in

New York, where Indian students could find 'warm welcome and a comfortable home at a moderate cost' These 'Letters' were favourably viewed both in India and America

- 27 However, it seems that Myron Phelps did not create a favourable impression on some of the Indian students who came in contact with him This is evident from 'An Open Letter to Myron Phelps' written by six Bengali students from New York⁹ The signatories accused Phelps of conducting the affairs of the Society in an arbitrary manner without consulting the Indian representatives They also complained that he did not do anything for the Indian students to 'earn their way through American college, and that 'India House' meant only for Hindu students The accusation of he being favourable to Hindus seems to be a canard, for he admired 'Vedant' of Swami Vivekanand as much as the Bahai's faith of the Muslims
- 28 The Pan-Aryan Association of Samuel Lucas Joshi and Maulvi Barkatullah¹⁰ and the two associations founded by Phelps held divergent views on the conduct of activities for furthering the cause of India's freedom Prior to the establishment of his own associations, Phelps had been in close contact with them He was also in communication with Shyamji Krishna Verma and S C K Ratnam He also attended the meetings of Madam Cama¹¹ Despite Phelps' endeavours to make a common cause with the Pan-Aryan Association, the latter always remained hostile to him, for he did not openly identify himself with the anti-British Irish agitators or the Indian revolutionaries in America The chief objective of Phelps' work, as stated by him, was to arouse the masses in America, India, England and Ireland, and make them unitedly demand justice for the oppressed people in India and the British dependencies Should the oppression continue, he warned, it would lead to open revolution in India to throw off the foreign yoke The main ideological difference between Phelps and the leaders of Pan-Aryan Association was that, whereas the former supported *Swadeshi* movement of the Indian Extremists to bring the British to their heels, the latter wanted to overthrow the British by armed revolution The difference is well brought in a police report on S L Joshi It states¹²

It may be put down to Joshi's credit that he was antagonistic to Phelps and his India House and it is known that the Pan-Aryan Association did not unite with Phelps' Society for the Advancement of India inspite of the endeavours made by the latter, but our information is that Joshi and Barkatullah were jealous of Phelps' position and influence and it is likely that antagonism was as much due to this as to any divergence in their political views

- 29 Phelps' Society corresponded with different sections of people in all parts of India It received inquiries mainly regarding technical and trade education in America Of these, a number of those who had requisite qualifications and the

adequate finance were encouraged to come to America. The Society also endeavoured to find employment for them but with not much success.

- 2 10 In early 1908, he succeeded in getting from several colleges in States other than New York, offers of free education and reduced fees for the Indian students. Despite opposition from the rival Indian organisation, financial difficulties, and the general American apathy, Phelps continued to run India House without much progress. Writing to the Congress paper *India* of London, he stated ¹³

On the whole I would say that American feeling in regard to India is of a piece with American feeling with regard to all else, With the exception of a handful, comparatively, of public-spirited men and women, the great majority are not interested in matters so remote, and even informed, are not disposed to tamper with what may eventuate to their material advantage, especially when such tampering takes them perforce against the sluggish current of the 'dead level'. But 'God and one make a majority' and we are not discouraged.

As a way out, he requested Bipin Chandra Pal to make a lecture tour of America which could motive the Americans to lend financial support to India House. B C Pal thanked Phelps for his efforts to arrange his lecture series, but could not make the trip ¹⁴. In a letter addressed to the Indian newspapers on March 16, 1909, Phelps painfully announced the closure of India House.

- 2 11 In early 1908, the American President Theodore Roosevelt made a speech in praise of the British rule in India ¹⁵. Immediately, Phelps convened a meeting of the members of the Society for the Advancement of India on February 11, 1908, to consider the draft of an 'Open Letter' to the President refuting his biased utterances regarding India. Phelps was chiefly instrumental in having it prepared along with Rev. Sunderland. While appreciating the regenerative role of England in the colonial America, they desired that, "she will do a like justice to India, transforming a slave empire into a self-governing nation of freemen." The signatories lamented that as the President of the erstwhile English colonies, "he should be willing to give to the world an utterance which can but postpone the coming of such a day" for India. Efforts of Indian leaders such as Dadabhai Naoroji, G K Gokhale, R C Dutt, Lala Lajpatrai and the radical members of the Labour Party in England, in giving authentic and unbiased information on Indian affairs, were also commended.
- 2 12 The burden of their argument was that India is deprived of any meaningful representative institutions, the British rule is 'a system of pure absolutism', the freedom of press is extremely curtailed, she is heavily taxed and drained of her wealth, and that the Englishmen in India are 'carpet-baggers' and 'birds of prey'. "Reform in India is England's great and pressing duty and cannot be

much longer evaded or deferred", they concluded ¹⁶ This 'Open Letter', widely published in America and elsewhere, made considerable impact

- 2 13 On March 27, 1909, Phelps sailed for Boston to England. On his way, he visited Vienna and Paris. At Paris, the French Ministry of Foreign Office turned down his application for permission to visit India, at the instance of British Foreign Office. At London, Phelps was thrown out of the Waldorf Hotel for being a political agitator ¹⁷ Probably, it was the publication of his 'last Will' that earned him permission to visit India

III

- 3 1 Phelps arrived in India in March 1910. Here, he travelled widely, concerned himself with philanthropic activities connected to education, and lectured on various topics. He met many reformers and political leaders and reformers like Dr. R. G. Bhandarkar, D. K. Karve, N. C. Kelkar, G. S. Khaparde, Kaulgikar, Veer Vamanrao Joshi, and others ¹⁸ Through out, the police followed his movements. On September 8, 1911, he complained to the Police Commissioner of Central Provinces that people had been warned not to attend his lectures on the ground that he was connected with anarchy. He denied having any connection with the revolutionary parties in America, England or India, and informed that the purpose of his visit was to 'investigate for himself the conditions of the British rule and wished to get the views of all classes, official and non-official about Indian problems of administration' ¹⁹ The information he tried to seek concerned the issues like the 'excessive expenditure on the army, cotton excise duties, the liquor traffic, and want of intercourse between Indians and Europeans' ²⁰
- 3 2 At Allahabad, he called on the Commissioner of Police who found him 'mild mannered, quite unassuming and unassertive old man'. The Commissioner then reported to the Director of Criminal Intelligence, Simla, that Phelps was aware of being tailed by the police, and that 'the present system of espionage in his case has only been to throw him into the arms of extremists, who are the only people not afraid to have him, - even the moderates won't see him or have anything to do with him as a rule'. He felt, Phelps was 'harmless' ²¹ Finally, the D. C. I. Simla, instructed that, 'his (Phelps) extreme opinions have gone a considerable change and the CID officers need not give any special attention' ²²
- 3 3 In April 1912, Phelps visited Ratindranath Tagore's (Ravindranath's son) farm at Calcutta and complimented him for using advance technology in agriculture ²³ He also seems to have met many nationalist leaders of Bengal including Bipin Chandra Pal
- 3 4 Phelps was an admirer of Indian culture and philosophy. He made an unsuccessful attempt to translate *Bhagwat Gita* ²⁴ He took to Indian dress and visited many centres of pilgrimage. He also acquainted himself with the Arya Samaj, the Ramkrishna Mission and was deeply influenced by the

Radhawami Cult²⁵ Phelps died in Bombay on 30th December, 1916

- 3 5 Myron H Phelps, was thus one of the early Americans to zealously espouse the cause of India. Through the Indo-American National Association and the Society for the Advancement of India, he made pioneering efforts to promote the cause of India in America. He was aware of the inadequacy of his endeavours but he sincerely tried to create a favourable opinion for India in America and to help the Indian students. If he differed from other Indian revolutionaries in America, it was a difference only in degree and not in kind. He firmly believed in the extremist method of political agitation and fully supported *Swadeshi* movement. He deserves a place in the ranks of non-Indians who espoused the cause of India's freedom.

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- 2 *South Indian Mail* of Madura, 28 March, 1910, Quoted in History-sheet of Myron H Phelps, *Bombay Presidency Police Abstracts of Intelligence*, (herein after referred as *BPPAI*), 1910, Vol XXIII, No 24, para 1820. A letter of Swami Vivekanand bears the address of Phelps 42, Greenacre, Maine, *Letters of Vivekanand*, Adwait Ashram, Almora, 3rd ed, 1944, p 108.
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- 8 *Concise Dictionary of American Biography*, Charles Scribner's Sons, N Y 1964, p 1271.
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- 10 S L Joshi was the Secretary of the Pan-Aryan Association. He worked in New York as a Lecturer in Oriental Languages. Maulvi Barkatullah was originally from Bhopal. Both were involved in the incipient revolutionary movement in U S.
- 11 *BPPAI*, 1910, Vol XXIII, No 46 of 1910, Para 2170.
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- 13 *India* of London, 20th Nov, 1908, *BPPAI*, No 24 of 1910, *op cit*.
- 14 *Ibid*. A pamphlet published in Dec 1908, which announces the forthcoming issue of the *Swarajya* magazine, there is a printed letter from B C Pal to Phelps.

- 15 *Ibid*, The speech was delivered at the Metropolitan Methodist Episcopal Church, Washington, on 18th Jan , 1908 He said, 'If English control were withdrawn from India, the peninsula would become a chaos of bloodshed and violence, the only beneficiaries among the natives would be the lawless, violent, and bloodthirsty '
- 16 *Ibid*
- 17 *BPPAI*, 24 of 1910, *op cit* The Manager of the Hotel gave the following explanation to the press on 21 June, 1909 "We have nothing against Phelps personally, but do not wish to create a clientele of that kind, nor do we wish Waldorf to become a resort for political agitators"
- 18 At Poona, he visited Fergusson, Deccan and Agriculture College, D K Karve's Widow Homes, called on Dr R G Bhandarkar and stayed with the editor of Kesari, N C Kelkar *BPPAI*, 1911, Vol XXIV, No 33 of 1911, Para 1705, There is a photograph of Phelps with N C Kelkar at latter's residence, in the Police records *BPPAI*, Vol XXIV, P 891, At Vadnera, he stayed with G S Khaparde, a close associate of Tilak and B C Pal Also met Kaulgikar of Sholapur, and Veer Vamanrao Joshi of Amraoti, both Tilak followers *BPPAI*, 1911, Vol XXIV, No 37 of 1911, Para 1923
- 19 *BPPAI*, 1911, Vol XXIV, 38 of 1911, Para 2003 Note by the Commissioner of Police, Central Provinces
- 20 *Ibid*
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- 23 Kamat, M V , *The United States and India 1776-1976*, The Embassy of India, Washington D C , 1976, p 162
- 24 His change of dress has been mentioned in the abstracts *BPPAI*, 1911, Vol XXIV, No 33 of 1911, Para 1704, No 37 of 1911, Para 1923, His attempt to translate *Bhagwat Gita* is mentioned in *BPPAI*, 1910, Vol XXIII, No 30 of 1910, Para 2288
- 25 *BPPAI*, 1912, Vol XXV, No 21 of 1912, Para 867 Phelps also hired a house at Allahabad and employed a person to teach him Hindi
- 26 *BPPAI*, 1917, Vol XXX, 2 of 1917, Para 52, He died at Dr V N Bhajekar's Hospital at Girgaum, Bombay The doctor was a nationalist himself
- 27 Among the early advocates of India's freedom were Rev J T Sunderland (1842-1936), a Canadian Unitarian Minister, who became naturalised American He wrote - *The Causes of Famine in India* (1900), and *India in Bondage* (1924) He was among Lala Lajpatrai's chief workers, William Jennings Bryan, one time Governor of Nebraska and Secretary of State in Woodrow Wilson's cabinet, who in 1906 castigated British rule in India, comparing it with the Czarist rule in Russia, John Haynes Holmes, an American evangel of Mahatma Gandhi since 1920, B W Huebsch, publisher of Lala Lajpatrai's books in America, Roger N Baldwin, Director of American Civil Liberties Union, Prof Robert Morss Lovette, one of the editors of *The New Republic* and Professor of English at the University of Chicago Haridas T Mazumdar, *America's Contribution to India's Freedom*, Central Book Depot, Allahabad, 1962, pp 6-8

**NASCENT NATIONALISM IN THE
ERSTWHILE NORTH-WEST PROVINCES &
AVADH (UTTAR PRADESH)
AS REFLECTED IN THE
VERNACULAR LANGUAGE NEWSPAPER
BETWEEN 1885 AND 1905**

KIRTI NARAIN*

I

- 1 1 In contrast to the then government-backed Anglo-Indian newspapers, the vernacular newspapers had to face enormous impediments. They were financially weak, their circulation was narrowly limited, they were politically discriminated against and were subjected to severe restrictions. It is a measure of their relevance to the contemporary political and social milieu that in spite of heavy odds they survived and continued to highlight issues affecting the people. Their reporting if not always unbiased reflected a point of view which was an essential element in the formulation of the anti-imperialist ideology and a powerful intellectual prop of Indian Nationalism.¹
- 1 2 The N W P and Avadh was a relatively backward region in the 19th Century, where modern political consciousness developed later than it did in the Presidencies of Bengal and Bombay. Still "the roots of many developments in twentieth century Indian politics lie not in nineteenth century Calcutta and Bombay but in 19th century Banaras, Allahabad and Agra."² Any sort of nationalist ideology can best breed in an atmosphere of cultural and ethnic

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cohesion, which was sadly lacking in 19th century India. This inherent ideology of nationalism took a long time to manifest itself in NWP and Avadh as homogeneity and cohesion in the social scenario was developed here later than elsewhere in India.³

- 1 3 The minimal effect of the Congress movement in its incipient years of NWP and Avadh was evident in the complete ignoring of the Congress sessions in 1885-86 in the vernacular newspapers of those years.⁴ The reasons for their inertia were many. The religious factor was important. Unlike other provinces, the Muslims of the U P were more educated and had better employment.⁵ Thus for any movement to be successful here Muslim support was necessary. Resultantly, while the Congress tried to show how much Muslim support it had, the government found it useful and strategic to deny such unity. The Muslims, on the other hand, realised their own importance and tried to bring cohesiveness into their ranks. Sir Syed Ahmad Khan was the man responsible to a large extent for unifying Muslims in the NWP and Avadh. He constantly affirmed his loyalty to the government. He disliked the Congress, as he felt its demands would prove detrimental to Muslims, and treated it as a Hindu organisation. The two demands of the Congress, simultaneous Civil Service Examination in India, and age limit being raised to 23, and a reform of the Legislative Council to make it more representative by widely applying the elective principle, were not well received by him. A sense of insecurity overcame his rational thinking as he feared the exclusion of Muslims from higher services, and the Legislative Councils if the Congress demands were met.⁶
- 1 4 The pro-Congress vernacular newspapers, however, pointed out the limited following of Sir Syed. He was loath to support any project which would result in the exercise of authority by the lower castes over the higher castes. He formed the United Patriotic Association in 1888, which heralded a positive campaign against the Congress in the shape of pamphlets, papers and journals. The Aligarh opposition gained a lot of strength from Theodore Beck, the English Principal of the Aligarh College. He was allegedly the architect of Muslim disenchantment in U P and was reflective of the typical British view of playing one community against the other.
- 1 5 Other factors that retarded the national movement were the preponderance of the elite in the provinces who were rabidly loyal to the government, and the polycentricity of NWP and Awadh. While Bengal had a great metropolis like Calcutta, these provinces had at least five towns of equal pre-eminence. Agra, Lucknow, Allahabad, Banaras and Cawnpore. Their Characters varied hence concerted action was difficult.⁷ However, the growth of interest groups in localities based on religion, caste, professions or political consciousness in the latter half of the 19th century affected the national movement in the Provinces in a positive manner. Local organisations, like the Madhya Hindu Samaj of Allahabad, the Arya Samaj, the Radha Swami Sect of Agra etc., had the support of well-known personalities like the Raja of Kalakankar, Pt. Madan Mohan Malviya and Roshan Lal etc. These groups and associations of all hues and shapes had some common features - "a viable ideology, publicists,

printers and patrons" The Congress movement caught on because of it linking up with organisations and leadership at the regional and district levels⁸ This naturally speeded up the growth of the "native" press⁹

- 1 6 Four Congress sessions were held in the provinces between 1885-05, so the foothold this movement had established here is undeniable
- 1 7 The third session of the National Congress was held at Allahabad in 1888 under the leadership of Raja Rampal Singh and Pandit Ajudhia Nath who highlighted the fact that the Congressmen were absolutely loyal to the government This session was quite a jolt for the Muhammadans in general, and taluqdars both Hindu and Muhammadan Several anti-Congress meetings were held Anti-Congress newspapers accused the Congress of sedition and prophesied "if govt continues to be silent and indifferent, the result will be that the fire which could be easily put out at present by a handful of water will require a fire engine to extinguish it"¹⁰
- 1 8 The previous goodwill displayed by Dufferin changed Writers have blamed the vernacular press for spreading rumours about Dufferin's endeavour to create a rift between the Hindus and Muslims which infuriated Dufferin Colvin, the Lt Governor too was responsible for inciting Dufferin Colvin was blatantly pro-Muhammadan & the emphasised upon the Muslim opposition to the Congress Dufferin called the Congress "unrepresentative, misguided and disloyal"¹¹
- 1 9 Despite Dufferin's disenchantment and Colvin's uncompromising stance, the Allahabad session was a thumping success There was a fair number of Muslim delegates - 965 Hindus and 221 Muslims and a special feature was the association of Anglo-Indians too The middle class - "native" lawyers, school masters and editors formed its base The lack of peasant support was played up by the anti-newspapers¹² However, the success of the Allahabad session gave a boost to the vernacular press The boldness of the Press was exemplified in the interesting observations of the "HINDUSTAN" of 12th January, 1889 on the anti-Congress memorial presented by some Muslim and Hindu Taluqdars About the Raja of Bhinga, it wrote, "The word 'bhinga' means a worm and a worm looks for a hole even in a golden pillar, but in vain, similarly the Raja of Bhinga endeavoured to find out some faults in the National congress "¹³ The congress, duly revitalised, carried on its fight for better and more independent representation of Indians in the Legislative Council The Muhammadans continued to show their displeasure With the encouragement of Beck, and under the auspices of Sir Syed, the Muhammadan Anglo Oriental Association was formed at Aligarh
- 1 10 The anti-Congress newspapers warned Muslims against being suckers in the hand of Bengali Baboos, who were manipulating Muslim participation by paying them their fares to the sessions¹⁴

II

- 2 1 In the meanwhile, Bradlaugh's Bill to make the Legislative Councils more representative and Lord Cross' Bill for expansion of Legislative councils purely

by official appointments evoked mixed reactions. With the growing Hindu-Muslim acrimony, the government too became more rigid and suspicious. A major section of the press still loudly proclaimed Congress loyalty to the government.¹⁵ Still, the spirit of impending rebellion if demands were not met, was seeping into the columns of a small but vocal section of the vernacular press. The condition of the people was miserable. The existence of the Sedition Act, the Official Secrets Act, and the Arms Act showed the high handedness of the rulers. The Congress did not want revolution, and if government complied to their demands, it would endeavour to make British rule in India permanent.¹⁶

- 2.2 The Congress was especially disturbed by the racial discrimination that the government practised against the Indians. The denial of proper access of the "natives" to law was resented by the vernacular newspapers. The case of Pandit Hriday Narain in Cawnpore, where the District Magistrate did not take cognisance of his appeal made against his assault, left the Indian papers in no doubt as to the contempt the British felt for the Indians. The pro-government, anti-Congress view was, however, different, and the unreasonableness of the government was taken as the right method of putting trouble makers like the Pandit, in their place.¹⁷ Many newspaper editors and proprietors were Congressmen too, like Raja Rampal Singh of "HINDUSTAN" and Baba Ganga Prasad Verma of "HINDUSTANI". But the major antagonists of the Congress, Munshi Nawal Kishore of "ODDH AKHBAR" and Sir Syed Ahmad of "ALIGARH INSTITUTE GAZETTE" were both subsidised by the government.¹⁸ Opposing any matter supported by the Congress was another ilk of newspapers, like the AZAD, which opposed the National Movement on account of its identification with the Hindus. The departure of Hume for England, the strictness of the government, the Muslim opposition and a feeling of ennui and disillusionment, all contributed towards the flagging interest of the people in the Congress.¹⁹ The laxity of the Congressists in N W P and Avadh in trying to collect funds and sympathy for the Congress session at Allahabad in 1892, was an indication of the general depression.²⁰
- 2.3 The Indian Council Act of 1892 was just a travesty of what the Congress expected from the British. It left both the Hindus and the Muslims dissatisfied. The former felt that the elective principle had been applied in a limited way. While the latter felt that Hindus had been given more opportunities for becoming members of the Provincial Council. The raising of the age for the covenanted Civil Service Examination and the holding of simultaneous examinations in England and India, met with poor response from the British. The furore created only succeeded in driving a wedge between the Congress and their antagonists—generally the Muslims. Colvin, in a despatch to Dufferin said that the theory of a "national movement" was absurd as the Muslims would not join any movement initiated by the Hindus, whom they had dispossessed centuries ago. The Congress session at Allahabad in 1892 was thus hardly a success. Ajudhia Nath also died in 1892 and there was no leader of substance to take over the Congress leadership.

2 4 1893 saw the outbreak of serious riots at Bakri Id in Bareilly, Azamgarh and other places in N W P and Avadh. Cow Protection societies were blamed and Crosthwaite, the Lt Governor of N W P and Avadh, hinted that the Congress was involved with the riots.²¹ The Muslim papers commended Crosthwaite for his sagacity and blamed the Congress for using cow protection as a means of gaining political mileage. Under the aegis of Sir Syed and Beck, the Muhammadan Anglo Oriental Defence Association was formed at Aligarh.²² The pro-Congress papers completely denied the involvement of the Congress in the riots, or that every Congressman was a member of the Gaurakshini Sabhas.²³ Orthodox Hindu journalists found fault with the educated Hindu youths who maintained the Congress movement. Considering this, how convincing was the accusation of the Congress being association with pure religious movements like Cow Protection.²⁴

2 5 The advent of plague was a deterrent to the interest of the people in the Congress movement. The flagging interest of the people of N W P and Awadh in the Congress could only be revived if a session was held in the provinces. The death of Sir Syed Ahmad in 1898 probably gave a boost to the Congress. The presence of Anthony MacDonnel, the Lt Governor of N W P and Avadh, was also a morale booster. It was thought that the Taluqdars of Avadh and the Mussalmans had not joined the Congress because they feared the government would be displeased as both Colvin and Crosthwaite had anti-Congress leanings. Now with a sympathetic Lt Governor, the hopes of success were rekindled.²⁵

The next Congress session was held at Lucknow in 1899. Mr R C Dutt was the President. He professed that all communities and interests were represented here. The main issues discussed were the new Sedition Law, the Legislative and Executive Councils' representation and the intolerable condition of the Indian peasant. Congress also passed a resolution for the separation of executive and judicial powers. The session was well attended, but differently reported by the newspapers according to their pro or anti stand vis-a-vis the national movement. The Muslim papers stressed upon the localised attendance of Muslims who were generally of low status and hence were swayed by money. On the other hand, the Hindu papers highlighted the 50% attendance of Muslims in this session.²⁶

2 6 While the Hindus felt secure with MacDonnel in power, the Muhammadans felt discomfited. A more mature, though dangerous, outlook took shape. The Muslims realised the futility of blindly opposing all policies of the Congress, and decided to touch upon matters which would specifically affect Muslim interests. They also started realising the need to establish a separate association for Muslims for satisfying their political and social needs. This alienation of the Muslims was sadly miscalculated as MacDonnel did discriminate against the Muslims in matters of jobs, but his motive seemed non-racial and fair. His non-partisan approach is evident in his comments on the Congress movement "the government will find itself confronted by an agitation which aims at subverting the present form of government and bringing about a revolution."²⁸

III

- 3 1 A new kind of leadership was emerging in the Congress which wanted a more firm and vigorous policy and felt this was necessary to revive the flagging interest in the Congress. The vernacular press too came to be divided into those supportive of the Extremists and those of the Moderates.²⁹ To rejuvenate the Congress in the U P, a Provincial Political Association was established with headquarters at Lucknow in 1904. This would be a feeder to the National Congress and its British Committee.
- 3 2 The Muslims took this development as a devious design on the part of the Congress to form an association aimed at eliminating them from the scheme of things. Maulvi Mustaq Husain, Vigar-ul-Mulk endeavoured to rally all Muslims to participate in the general Muhammaadan meeting scheduled to be held at Lucknow. He asserted Muslim loyalty to the government unlike the mistrust that the Congress felt towards the British. The result was the joining hands of the Aligarh School and other U P Muslims, who together formed the All India Muslim League at Dacca on the 30th December, 1906 under the chairmanship of Vigar-ul-Mulk.³⁰
- 3 3 Curzon's Partition of Bengal in 1905 gave a new lease of life to the Congress, who vehemently protested against it. The vernacular press reacted sharply, though in this too the papers were divided on the basis of religion. Curzon probably meant it as a purely administrative reform as he never gave nationalist consciousness so much importance as to seek divisions in it. However, its role as a catalyst in affecting Hindu Muslim relations and making Muslims generally dissociate themselves from the Congress, cannot be doubted. The Muslims did not resent the partition, so generally kept away from the anti-partition furore.³¹
- 3 4 The Congress session at Banaras in 1905-06 sealed the fate of the Moderates as the rise of the Extremist element in its ranks became obvious, culminating in the Surat split of 1907. Two important movements grew out of the partition—the Boycott and the Swadeshi movements. Government posts and foreign goods had to be boycotted, and goods made in India had to be used. Some newspapers accused the Congress of politicalising the "Swadeshi" movement and felt it should not have been identified with the anti-partition movement. The Muslim papers considered "Swadeshim" an economic & not a political movement and desired its complete dissociation from the anti partition movement.³²
- 3 5 However, these movements had an everlasting effect on the future Indian national consciousness and considerably regenerated the Congress movement. Yet, the mischief had been done. An unbridgeable gap had been drawn between the two communities, and most people blamed the government for deliberately and consciously practising the age old policy of "Divide and rule". Auckland Colvin, the Lt Governor of U P, had definite pro-Muslim leanings. Whether this was due to political expediency or his own inherent convictions, is immaterial. What was important was his studied anti-Congress

actions The accusation of deliberate scheming seems valid when one considers the special privileges offered to Taluqdars who chanted anti-Congress slogans obligingly³³ Crosthwaite, his successor, too displayed deviousness in the religious riots at Ballia in 1893, thus arousing the suspicions of the Congress of the motives of the government Even a compassionate Lt Governor like Anthony MacDonnel cannot be absolved of all blame He warned the government against giving an opportunity to the scattered elements of Indian society to come together on a common political forum³⁴ The motives of the government were definitely suspect Such a succession of coincidental mismanagement was rather strange for a people so well versed in administration and was rather a convincing proof of their ulterior motive of creating divisiveness in the Indian society

- 3 6 However, the majority of Congressmen had become more united than they had been ever before The following of the movement had also increased and had definitely caught the interest of the masses However, the conception of nationalism, so long nebulous, was now becoming more intelligible and well defined Cohesiveness, so necessary for a particular people to succeed in forming independent states, was still quite a remote possibility, but a beginning had been made, and the future was full of positive possibilities

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**THE ROLE OF CHAMPARAN
DISTRICT OF BIHAR IN
THE CIVIL DISOBEDIENCE MOVEMENT
(1930-1934)**

SUMMARY

BINDO KUMAR VERMA*

Champaran participated in the Civil Disobedience Movement of 1930-1934 under the leadership of Mahatma Gandhi. It is significant to note that all sections of the people of the district of Champaran were inspired by national feelings and they warmly responded to the clarion call of Mahatma Gandhi.

On the 26th January, 1930 'Independence Day' was celebrated all over India including Champaran where the National Flag was hoisted with great solemnity. On 5 April, 1930, an order was issued by the Provincial Congress Committee to the Champaran District Sardar Bepin Bihar Verma, to march for the breach of Salt Law. Meetings were organised there and resolutions were passed for boycott of foreign cloths, boycott of law courts and picketting of all liquor shops. On 14 November, 1930, the 'Jawahar Day' was solemnly celebrated at Motihari under the presidency of Utam Narayan Shrivastava. To create havoc in the mind of the people the district authorities of Motihari imported police forces under Mr. Pearman Gorakh Prasad, Pleader and well known prominent leader of Champaran was arrested on 24 December, 1930.

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Mahatma Gandhi reached Motihari on 14 March, 1934 in connection with the devastating Earthquake of Bihar. A Central Relief Fund was formed in Champaran under the presidentship of Prajapati Mishra to redress the suffering of the people. Gandhiji met the representatives of different relief organisations working in Champaran. A very impressive function was witnessed on 11 July, 1934 when Seth Jamn Lal Bajaj performed the opening ceremony of the Harijanpuri built by the Marwari Relief Society of Calcutta.

Thus, the district of Champaran in Bihar, took an active part in the Salt Satyagraha and in the Civil Disobedience Movement from 1930-1934. Another significant feature of the Movement was that the people of Champaran faced the situation calmly and boldly and remained non-violent in face of gravest provocation. In fact, Champaran contributed much to India's freedom.

RAM BINOD SINGH AN UNIQUE PERSONALITY

SUMMARY

NAGENDRA KUMAR*

In this paper an attempt has been made to highlight the personality and contribution of Ram Binod Singh. He was a resident of village Malkhachak Dighwaa in the District of Saran (Bihar). He contributed much to the Freedom movement. During his student life the historical bomb explosion by Khudi Ram Bose took place. He reacted to the punishment of hanging to Khudi Ram Bose. Then he became a regular reader of *Hind-keshri*. This magazine was a translation of the Marathi Magazine *Keshri* edited by Lok Manya Balgangadhar Tilak. Through this Magazine he was acquainted with the revolutionary activities of the country. Nationalism and revolution flamed in him. For this he was arrested several times. The entire family of Ram Bindo Singh was his good followers.

He was a good speaker and he believed in constructive activities also. He established *Gandhi-Kutir* in his own village for the production of *Khadi*. Mahatma Gandhi and several national leaders visited *Gandhi-Kutir* and appreciated it. In short, a man like Ram Binod Singh took birth rarely. He was a great nationalist and above all the symbol of revolution.

For the preparation of this paper an attempt has been made to consult the published and unpublished records of the Bihar political (special) Department, books, journals, newspapers and other relevant materials.

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**DHANAPUR INCIDENT, AUGUST 1942
(A CASE STUDY OF RURAL PARTICIPATION
IN THE 1942 MOVEMENT)**

SUMMARY

J.R. SINGH*

Dhanapur Incident (August 1942) is a unique example of rural participation in the freedom struggle of our country. An example equal in magnitude and nature is not easy to find in the pages of history of our country. Another political case involving so many political workers has not been recorded in recent history of India. This incident occurred on 16 August, 1942 when a Caravan of nearly 8 to 10 thousand strength moved towards the police station of Dhanapur (District Varanasi) with grim determination and death defying fearlessness and courage to plant the tri-colour on the top of the building.

Leader Kamta Prasad Vidyarthi requested the S O Incharge Mr. Anwarul Haq to allow him and his men to hoist the flag peacefully. But the S O would not yield to their peaceful request and would order his hirelings to fire on the advancing volunteers. The fully unarmed innocent mob was not prepared to face such a situation. Raghunath Singh, Hira Singh and Mahangu Singh received bullet shots and ultimately laid down their lives on the alter of the motherland.

The sight of the dead and dying volunteers was too staggering and blood curdling for the ordinary nerves of the people. The mob attacked the Thana and killed on the spot the S O Anwarul Haq, Head Constable Abul Khair, Constable Mohammad Wasim and Constable Abbas Khan.

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The police officials could reach the place of incident only after three days. In all about 250 persons were rounded up and 104 were chargesheeted. 55 were sentenced for different terms. Three got capital punishment, there were 10 lifers. 28 were subjected to 10 years RI, 7 for 7 years RI and 1 was given 5 years RI.

It was a popular mass movement with non-violent aims. Men of all castes and economic status varying from 17 to 70 years had taken part from some 40 surrounding villages. They were fully organised, properly led and backed by the local landlords also.

The paper has been based on the Home Political and District Judicial Records in main. Eminent persons were interviewed and the local news-papers were also traced for material.

Dhanapur Incident forms a glorious chapter in the history of mass movement in the district of Varanasi.

RETHINKING OF RURAL DEVELOPMENT

SUMMARY

V. RANGANIVAS*

At the time of independence nearly 80% and above of Indian population lived in the country side and the Indian government made an all out effort to develop and transform the rural society. As a first step towards this direction Government had launched Community development programmes and then few years later National Extension Services Programmes came into being, but unfortunately they failed to achieve its objectives. The Balwantry Mehta Committee Report on Rural development prescribed certain remedial measures and introduced the concept of Panchayat Raj or government by the local (elective) bodies but it also proved futile. However, the Government introduced the Integrated Rural Development Approach which dominated the thinking in the 1970s. Then in 1980s the 20 Point Programme came into the limelight with the motto "uplift the poor".

Despite all these efforts from the government side to develop and transform the rural poor, the whole programmes failed miserably and failed to achieve desired results. If one looks into the various programmes, its implementation agencies and its target, it could be observed that certain priorities flow from the growth consideration and certain others from welfare considerations. As a result of these pulls and pressures one cannot order the priorities properly. The special agencies thus, reflect the adhocism adopted by a system which has not decided where to go. Further, there has been a ever continuing confusion whether development aims at growth or welfare? Further to make matter worse, there have been instances of

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clashes between the MLAs and MPs, which often resulted in creating embarrassing situations for the officials. The overall inference could be made by looking at all these factors that the organisational arrangements have been one of missing inputs in the developmental strategy. This leads one to observe that while the policies are good, implementation is defective, and this observation carried an element of truth. However, can a policy which fails to take implementation and necessary organisational arrangements into account be considered sound?

Hence, it could be concluded that the policies not backed by sound organisations can at best be viewed as 'good intentions' of the people in power and the failure therefore, is primarily at the policy level. This failure, stems from the absence of ideological clarity which in turn is a result of dilemmas of growth and welfare.

URBANISATION OF LUCKNOW, 1947-72 (A STUDY OF IT'S UGLY FACES)

SUMMARY

A.P. SINGH*

&

J.R. SINGH**

For reasons unknown, the histo-genetic studies of history of post-independence urban societies of our country are not still very seriously cultivated. In 1980, with the award of Ph D (BHU) on 'THE CITY OF VARANASI, 1947-72' the attention of the researchers was drawn towards such study making them feel that the cities of our country may well be subjects of intense research, critical and interesting essays in contemporary urban history. Besides its outstanding contributions, the above cited work fails to highlight on the ugly faces of urbanisation in Varanasi in particular and in our country in general.

Modern Lucknow is much larger than its predecessor and is experiencing rapid industrialisation, creating and utilising modern technologies to the full. Its commercial activity has tended to dominate the central portion of the city.

However, the growth of slums, unplanned colonies, absence or inadequacy of services, encroachments on public lands and open spaces, decaying environmental conditions, increasing inefficiency in management systems, negligently uncontrolled population of both, humans and the live-stocks, and almost total chaos, constitute

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the ugly faces of urbanisation in the city of Lucknow. The fast emergence of industrial sheds in planned industrial areas as well as in unplanned suburban areas have started lacking in urban infra-structure. The mushroom growth of inefficient and untrained management system is no match for handling urban problems. Where industries are receiving handsome package of incentives from financial institutions, there seems to be no investment for a better life of the labour force running these industries. Consequently the areas around the industries degenerate into slums. The growth of industries have caused increase in city's population exerting greater pressure on city administration, municipal services and other informal activities. Hence, the services are over utilised to the point of collapse. With the growth of slums, the crime also shoots up posing challenge to the district administration. Another hazard facing the city of Lucknow is its rapidly decaying environmental conditions.

The present paper, based on empirical data derived from various sources, not only analyses the severities one may have to face in 21st century, but also presents possible suggestions to cope up with the problems.

PERVERSIONS OF SECULARISM

SUMMARY

M. GIRIDHARA RAO*

The principle of secularism has enshrined in it the notion of equal treatment of all citizens and their non-discrimination on the basis of religion

A bird's eye view of the post-independence scenario at the central and state levels shows how policy makers have intentionally made departure from secularism to suit their vested interests. Politicians have wilfully exploited various public sector agencies and nationalised units for self-promotion/party benefit in the name of secularism and all at the cost of the majority community

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PERMANENT SETTLEMENT IN THE NORTHERN CIRCARS OF THE MADRAS PRESIDENCY IN THE LATTER HALF OF THE 18TH CENTURY

SUMMARY

J. MANGAMMA*

I

The problem dealt herewith is the revenue settlement of the Northern Circars by the British. Earlier work by other scholars pertains mostly to the Ryotwari settlement in the Rayalaseema area. Source material comprises the proceedings of the Board of Revenue, early voyages of Europeans to the East (Hakluyt series), Fifth Report to the House of Commons, London, Parliamentary Papers of London in microfilm. The material is from the Tamilnadu Archives, Madras and the National Archives, New Delhi. The material pertaining to the subject has been verified, compared and cross-checked to draw the conclusions. The revenue System under the British gave importance to collection rather than the improvement of land or agriculture. The system of factory chief with a council to govern the areas that came under the Company continued for nearly two decades. The zamindar basically being the owner of land let it out to small farmers for cultivation and collected a certain amount as revenue from them. Lands other than those of the zamindars were the *havellis* which were parcelled out into *muttahs* yielding an annual rent. When the

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collectors were appointed, they entered into an agreement with local people. The cultivating ryots had no positive right in the soil as a property but had a right of occupancy as long as they cultivated and paid the rent. The zamindar under the permanent settlement was a creation of the British whereas poligar had been in the Rayalaseema for more than two centuries by then. In the Madras Presidency at the beginning of the 19th century two systems of revenue collection were established — the Ryotwari and the Permanent Settlement.

ELEMENTS OF NATIONALISM IN BAHADUR SHAH'S POETRY

SUMMARY

MUZAFFAR-E-ISLAM*

Bahadur Shah Zafar (1775-1862) was the last Mughal king and is well known in history for his role in the rebellion of 1857. He is equally well known as an accomplished Urdu poet having at least four *Diwans* to his credit. Beside, a large number of verses composed by Zafar while in exile at Rangoon forms the contents of the fifth *Diwan*. Apart from their literary value, these *Diwans* also portray the contemporary situation and are thus of considerable interest from the historical point of view.

Bahadur Shah lived at a time when the status of the Mughal king was reduced to pitiable condition of a pensioner of the East India Company. The frustration over the loss of the past glory of the Mughals and autocratic treatment of the East India Company finds an expression in Zafar's poetry.

Though Zafar also composed Persian, Punjabi and Hindi verses, he was essentially an Urdu poet. A language which had been nurtured by the Hindus and Muslims alike. The traditional symbols of the Urdu poetry such as *zindan* (Prison), *zanjeer* (chain), *qafas* (cage), *ashiana* (nest), *saiyad* (hunter), *bagban* (gardener) and *andaleeb* or *bulbul* (nightingale) have been used with new meanings, where India is *zindan* or *qafas* and Indians are *andaleeb* or *bulbul*, *saiyad* is the East India Company and its treacherous rule is *zanjeer* (chain).

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In the verses composed in the pre-1857 period Zafar's poetry depicts his conflicting feelings of fear and courage, agony and hope, and helplessness and revolution. However, in the post-1857 compositions these feelings have been changed to sorrow and lament. Zafar was deeply hurt by the failure of the Rebellion of 1857 and in his verses composed mostly at Rangon he sheds his tears at the plight of Indians.

Thus the historical information contained in the verses of Bahadur Shah Zafar is of immense value for the study of contemporary history.

FREEDOM STRUGGLE IN SOUTH ORISSA: ROLE OF BANAMALI MAHARANA (1920-1942)

SUMMARY

MANMATH PADHY*

The historiography of our freedom struggle is as chequered as its history. Our effort in this paper is not to sit on judgment over the various types of historiographies available to understand the Indian freedom struggle. We have attempted to describe the subaltern consciousness as characterized by its capacity to grasp more naturally its immediate surroundings. The methods of "history from below" essentially lies in micro level in-depth studies. That is why we thought it proper to begin with local history. We have endeavoured to present a modest account of the aspects of freedom struggle in South Orissa on the basis of subaltern initiatives and their pioneering efforts to tackle problems of popular consciousness in the writings of Banamali Maharana. In this study we have also tried to show the phases of influence on the personality of Banamali Maharana in unfolding his consciousness from his childhood days till 1942. In the period between 1930-42, his consciousness got mingled with the revolutionary writings. The streams of spontaneous outbursts sharpened his understanding of the colonial exploitation and the local feudal extortion.

Banamali Maharana was born on 13th June 1909 at Upara Balantara of Ganjam District in South Orissa, in a middle class family of carpenters. His father, Balakrushna Maharana, a migrant from Puri, had the title of "Bindhani Ratna" (Jewel

of Carpenters) Ambika Devi was a deeply religious lady. She died a premature death when Banamali was an infant of two years old.

Since his student career from class IX, he was closely associated with the freedom fighters of Orissa. In 1930 he made his first appearance as a local leader of the freedom struggle and was arrested for six months for taking lead in the Salt Satyagraha in South Orissa. Since then, time and again he was arrested on many occasions during the freedom struggle. He was also a popular leader of the peasants and championed the cause of the peasants through various organisations and social work. He was also a powerful poet who wished to use his poetic genius to arouse the general consciousness against the autocratic rule. His famous poem, *Raita bhai* for which he was fined five hundred rupees and also imprisoned for eighteen months, brought for him the title of "Raita Bhai" and "Raita Bandhu". After an eventful career of thrilling experience of freedom struggle, this great peasant leader died on 21 February, 1989.

THE SIMON COMMISSION AND CHOTANAGPUR

SUMMARY

USHA SHARMA*

The Indian Statutory Commission constituted by the British Government under Sir John Simon in November, 1927, to suggest constitutional reforms in India provided the occasion for the first open demand for a separate sub-province for tribals residing in Chotanagpur in South Bihar. On the morrow of the separation of Bihar and Orissa from the province of Bengal in 1912, a flame for separate administration arose in the area that was kindled by the Christian churches that feared hindrance to their proselytization of simple aboriginals, under the tighter control from the new capital at Patna, the heart of Central Bihar. A covering fire was provided by a section of Bengali settlers who lamented the loss of their links with Calcutta, the former capital, and were scared of the new dispensation from Patna that could put an end to their dominance in services. Loyalty to the Government, opposition to the nationalist movement led by the Congress and a noble aim of providing protection to the simple tribal folk from exploitation by men of Central Bihar designated as *Dikus* became their stock in trade. Thus, when the Congress and the Muslim League organised a boycott against the Simon Commission, the members of the Commission found a small oasis of comfort when they visited Chotanagpur in December, 1928. The opposition to the visitors was not as vigorous as at Patna the capital of the province.

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The different Christian denominations located in Chotanagpur and Santal Parganas welcomed the Commission and presented memoranda and demands. The Lutherans and Anglican Missions vigorously presented a case for separation of Chotanagpur from Bihar and Orissa and their front organisation "Chotanagpur Unnati Samaj" organised rallies. Rai Bahadur S C Roy, a Bengali barrister and an M L C, provided elaborate proposals for separation of Chotanagpur from Bihar and later recorded his dissent when this proposal was rejected. The ethnic, religious and political moorings of the separatists, came to the foreground and the rich memoranda submitted by the Christian missionaries and other separatist elements, besides the arguments launched in favour of separation of Chotanagpur, provided the grist to the mill for the separatists till a powerful Jharkhand Movement grew by degrees and has reached a crescendo in the recent times.

PAYYANNUR - A SECOND BARDOLI

SUMMARY

P.P. BALAN*

This work is an inquisitive study on the propriety of calling Payyanur second Bardoli. On 12th January 1934, Mahatma Gandhi during his all India tour to collect funds for the Harijan Seva Sangh, visited Payyanur, a *firka* of North Malabar in Kerala. Taking into account his ideals which had permeated almost every aspect of the national movement in Payyanur, he called this region 'Second Bardoli' in the speech delivered in the police station ground. Hitherto no special study has been done to focus on Mahatma's calling Payyanur 'second Bardoli'. Apart from depending on traditional source materials from archives, private papers, institutional papers and newspapers, inferences reached from interviews conducted with a score of freedom fighters have been utilised for this paper.

The Indian freedom movement is a unique phenomenon which developed into a mass movement and spread into every nook and corner of the country. To understand the role of each and every region it is desirable to make a region based comparative study. Both Payyannur and Bardoli had a number of similarities in the execution of Gandhiji's programme. Gandhian principles guided the action and thought of the people of both the places to a certain extent. They could neither tolerate nor compromise with injustice, tyranny, dictatorship and oppression. Truth, non-violence and purity of means were the values which the volunteers cherished in their prolonged struggle. As such the topic falls into three parts, first detailing the nature of passive resistance initiated by Gandhiji in Bardoli, the first theater for the Civil Disobedience movement constituting the second and finally, we deal with functional analysis of the movement in Payyannur.

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M.N. ROY, C.S.P. AND THE UNITED SOCIALIST FRONT (1935-37).

SUMMARY

A.K. SHARMA*

In 1935 at the direction of the Seventh Congress of the Communist International the sectarian and ultra-leftist line of the Sixth Congress of 1928 Comintern was abandoned by the Communists and the new strategy of the United Anti-Imperialist Front with the erstwhile bourgeoisie was inaugurated. This revision in their policy had become imperative because of the exigencies of the national and international situation. In India the Communist Party was banned in 1934 by the order of the Imperialist Government. It was the question of the survival of the Communists, they sought a legal shelter. Hence the call of the united front with the C S P was given, which was described as a "social fascist and a left manoeuvre of bourgeoisie". The Communist strategy of forming united front was further facilitated, when in 1936, the Meerut Thesis of the C S P threw open its gate for the Communists and all other left-wingers. As such, an United Anti-Imperialist Front was formed consisting of mainly C S P, Communist Party and the 'Roy group'. However, the Front could not last long because of its inherent weaknesses. It was not formed in a spirit of cooperation for a joint anti-imperialist and socialist struggle, but was calculated to capture the national leadership from the rank and file for sectarian ends. The United Front started to disintegrate from 1937 and Royists were the first to desert it. By doing so, they deprived themselves of the support of a powerful group that exercised a considerable influence in the Congress party and the national movement. Roy's fallacious policy led to the sharp decline in the political fortune of his group.

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THE ROLE OF JAGLAL CHOUDHARY - A SCHEDULED CASTE LEADER FROM BIHAR IN THE FREEDOM MOVEMENT

SUMMARY

DEVENDRA KUMAR SHARAN*

&

PUSHPA SHARAN**

Jaglal Choudhary, a nationalist leader belonging to the Pasí community, played a significant role in the freedom movement in the State of Bihar. Influenced by Gandhian ideals, his activity in the nationalist movement began from 1920. He was a minister in the Congress ministry of 1937-39. After independence, he again became a minister in Bihar Government headed by Sri Krishna Sinha in recognition of his exemplary service to his motherland.

The Freedom Movement in Bihar (Vol III) by K K Datta, *Bihar Through the Ages* by R R Diwakar and *Dictionary of National Biography* (Vol I) edited by S P Sen provide only stray materials on the life and role of Jaglal Choudhary. This paper is based on the above books as well as the interview of J Choudhary's son Dr Dharmedeo Choudhary and the archival material.

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THE POLICY OF THE FIRST PROVINCIAL CONGRESS MINISTRY TOWARDS THE STATE'S PEOPLES' MOVEMENT IN ORISSA (1937-39)

SUMMARY

ASHOK KUMAR PATNAIK*

The paper deals with the policy followed by the first provincial Congress Ministry in Orissa (1937-39) towards the *Prajamandal* or State People movement in the native states of Orissa. On the face of incurring displeasure and stern warnings of action, the Congress ministry refused to apply Princes Protection Act indiscriminately, opposed the use of special responsibilities of the Governor, and continued to provide all possible direct and indirect assistance to the movement and its leaders. Some works and monographs dealing with the *Prajamandal movement* as a whole or micro studies of individual states like Satyabhama Pati's *Democratic Movement in India*, B. S. Mishra's 'The Provincial Government and the State Peoples' Movements in Orissa' in the *Proceedings of Orissa History Congress, (1989)* lack in projecting the principled and continuous policy of the Congress ministry with constraints and limitations, strength and weakness during the twenty-eight month of its existence. It is based on official reports available in the Nehru Memorial Museum and Library, New Delhi, Orissa State Archives and contemporary local newspapers such as *Deshkatha*. The investigation shows the steps of the first Congress ministry to assist the movements not to be crushed by the feudal-imperialist nexus and further inspire the native subjects to carry on their uncompromising struggle as a part of broader national liberation struggle of India.

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THE CONSTITUENT ASSEMBLY OF INDIA AND COMPOSITION OF LEGISLATIVE COUNCILS

SUMMARY

ASHOKA CHAKRAVARTY*

After a bitter controversy, the Constituent Assembly of India decided to continue with Second Chambers in such States which opted for them. Thereafter, the Assembly undertook the task of shape and setting the structure of the Legislative Councils. The job was apparently easy but the heat generated by debate on the issue in the Constituent Assembly proved it otherwise.

After some initial exercises at the level of the Constitutional Advisor and the Provincial Constitution Committee, the Drafting Committee ultimately framed the first Draft of the Constitution which was widely circulated. The comments and suggestions received in regard to the composition of Legislative Councils were diverse and irreconcilable. The Chairman of the Drafting Committee, B R Ambedkar, and other members decided the matter to be settled by the future Parliament of India. This proposal once again evoked a roar of protest by some members of the Assembly. On the intervention of the President, Rajendra Prasad, the issue was referred back. The revised Draft pertaining to the composition of Legislative Councils amidst impassioned opposition to some of its provisions was finally adopted and added to the Constitution of India on 19 August, 1949.

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NATIONAL INTEGRATION IN THE PRE-INDEPENDENCE PERIOD

SUMMARY

SWARNA K. SINHA*

The history of India and of the world lead to the uniform conclusion that politico-economic methods alone can never succeed in integrating a nation or a society. Emotional integration is also necessary.

When India started on her independent life in 1947 under the leadership of Nehru and the Congress, the unity of the country was taken for granted. The easy passage of the constitution and the popularity of the Congress leaders confirmed and strengthened this belief. No one doubted that India will be faced by fissiparous regional and religious tendencies of the magnitude that have appeared in the country by the eighties. Hence the problem of integration of the country as a whole has become urgent. Even the Constitution with its flexible framework is not able to take care of the disintegrating forces that have surfaced on the Indian soil in the form of Akali, Assam and Kashmir agitations.

The nation is beset with this great challenge and the government is trying to stem the tide by means of various political, administrative and economic measures. The National Integration Council has been constituted to suggest remedies for the issue at stake.

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In view of the above, the theme in my paper illuminates facts of Indian nationalism during the pre-Independence period. The early Indian National Congress, its inception and growth, Gandhi's epic Dandi march of 1930, the concept and ideology of Salt Satyagraha and analysis of Gandhi's style and method of leadership, the Prince's response to Indian nationalism, tribal sub-movements which arose during the nationalist upsurge, and an analysis of the communal problem which has pervaded the Indian political scene are some of the important aspects dealt with. The historiographical study of Indian nationalism and partition provides valuable assets on different approaches to the study of historical processes in India. These historical processes easily confirm my conclusion that the strongest tradition which has maintained the unity of the country is the integral tradition of Vedantic philosophy which was set up as the goal of new India by Mahatma Gandhi and which Nehru also accepted in the later stages of his life.

THE INDO-FRENCH RELATIONS DURING THE 1950s WITH SPECIAL REFERENCE TO THE PROBLEM OF FRENCH INDIA

SUMMARY

B. KRISHNAMURTHY*

Even after India became free from the British rule in 1947, few pockets of Indian territories continued to be under the French and the Portuguese rule. As a sequel to the struggle for independence against the British rule in India, politically conscious elements in the French administered territories also agitated against the alien regime and clamoured for union with the motherland. The leaders of free India too considered that their freedom struggle against the alien rule would be completed only after the end of the French and the Portuguese rule from the Indian soil.

India under the leadership of Nehru was determined to solve all bilateral and multilateral problems with other countries through peaceful negotiations and not to resort to use of force as far as possible. It started negotiations with the French Government and after several vicissitudes, the latter settled for the *de-facto* transfer of its territorial possessions to the Government of India.

The Indian leaders who always took an anti-imperialist stand, earlier supported the liberation movement in Indo-China and urged the French Government to settle the problem peacefully. Though the problem of French India was solved without much damage to the Indo-French relations, the Indian Government had to take anti-French stand during the Suez crisis in 1956. It also supported the liberation movements in Algeria and Tunisia against the colonial rule of France. However, India maintained a low-profile in its anti-French position, as the *de jure* transfer of the French possessions in India was yet to take place and the French National Assembly had yet to ratify it in the 1950s.

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RESISTANCE AGAINST THE AGENCY SYSTEM OF SALT PRODUCTION IN RAYMUNGLE, 1782

SHAMITA SARKAR*

In the coastal belt of Bengal all along from Balasore to Chittagong salt was produced from the evaporation tidal sea water. It was a major occupation of the inhabitants of the coastal region who combined it with agricultural production as well.

As regard distribution, the general practice from the late Mughal times was to confer the monopoly of salt trade to favourites of the top ruling rungs of the provincial administration or to the highest bidders who bore the title *Fakh-ul-Fajir*.¹ But in the precolonial period these monopolists hardly had the ability or organisation to make the monopoly universally effective.

The period after Plassey, however, saw the English East India Company imposing their absolute control over the organisation of salt production and its sale. This control was in the beginning 'loose and imperfect'. But in 1780, Hastings' government devised a new plan for the production of salt (9th September, 1780).² The whole of the salt producing area was divided into six divisions - Hijli, Mysadal-Mangalghat, 24 Parganas, Raymangal, Bhulua (Jessore) and Chittagong, each under the charge of an English agent. His duty was to make advances to the manufacturers, superintend production, procure the salt and sell it to the merchants at a rate fixed by the Governor General in Council. On the last account they also collected the duty from salt which was one of the most lucrative sources of income of the company.

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An elaborate salt department came into existence with Henry Vansittart as the Comptroller of Salt Business, to supervise the agents. As an incentive the salt officials were to share 10% of the difference between the cost price and the sale proceeds in the ratio of 25% to the Comptroller and 75% to the agent of each division.³ The new system implied that, since the salt was produced by the Company's own agents its earning hence forward did not include salt duties alone but also the profits from sales. The very considerable enhancement in the company's earnings is testified by the following data.⁴

Year	Earnings of the Company in Sterling Pound
1780-81	8,427
1781-82	321,912
1782-83	605,646

While the Company assiduously tried to increase their profit, the traditional rural potentates, the *zamindars* were gradually deprived of their age old perquisites from the neemuck-mahal, viz *barak* rent (tax for collecting the fuel in the jungle belonging to the *zamindar*), *Chula selami* (a payment made to the *zamindar* at the time of setting up the *chula* for boiling the brine), *Gully mangala* (transit duty on Boats carried through the *zamindars'* area),⁵ over and above the *khalaria*-rent (rent for boilers) and also *khorki* (diet) salt for household consumption. So they tried to compensate their losses by encouraging illicit manufacture and smuggling as well as collecting rent from unauthorised *khalariaes*.⁶ Not only the *zamindar* himself but the total milieu of the rural bureaucracy was involved in this clandestine nexus, which appeared as a stiff resistance against the Company's claim to sovereign authority. In Raymungle division under the jurisdiction of the *Maharajah* of Nuddea, a resistance movement of this type took such a serious momentum that production was crucially hampered precipitating concern of even the Governor General in Council.⁷

The Raymungle division⁸ was actually part of the Sunderban forest, crisscrossed by numerous *khnaris* (canals) and small distributaries of the Bhagirathi-Hooghly river. The place derives its name from one of those distributaries, the Raimangal. Sea water entered these rivulets during high tide and salt was produced through evaporation in boilers called *khalaria* (*panga laban*).

The *moindars* (salt workers) were usually carried away from their home in nearby villages and forced to work in the salt *khalariaes* located in the tiger infested jungles, where supply of drinking water even was a rare luxury. Terrified of being dragged to the jungles, many *ryots* of the adjacent villages fled when the recruiting season began. Aditi Nag Choudhuri-Zilli is of opinion that the most important manufacture connected with peasant desertion was the salt production in the Raymungle.⁹

After the famine of 1770 Roymungle was very sparsely populated by *pahikast ryots*. They temporarily worked in salt works, mainly during those seasons when there was less demand from agricultural occupation. The salt officials, however, tried to engage them through out the year except during the rains when there was natural obstruction to salt production. In the fields on the other hand there was always a shortage of hands during the peak harvesting time.

The contest between the salt officials and the *zamindars* pivoted around the question of the right of the labourer to exercise his option as a tiller or as a salt worker.¹⁰ The contest was further aggravated by the interpretation of the order of the Governor-General in Council issued in July 29, 1777 that the labourers had the liberty "to work in any district as they please".¹¹ The Calcutta Committee of Revenue, apprehended that this might "induce them to migrate".¹²

It was on this question that *purgunnah* Bhaluka (Bhulka) and Tala (Toulah) witnessed a classic *zamindar-ryot* alliance challenging the company's position in salt production.¹³ These *purgannahs* in Raymungle belonged to the *zamindari* of the Brahmin *Maharajah* Srish Chandra of Nuddea.¹⁴ Gone were the days when his ancestor the well-known *Maharajah* Krishna Chandra befriended the English at the time of Plassey. With the imposition of new rigidity and exactness in revenue collection by the Company, the *Maharajah* was facing a crisis since he acquired his rights after his father's sudden demise. Parts of his estate were threatened for default in payment of revenue. For him, it was an insult "the like of which never happened to this *zamindari* which has been in his family for twelve generations". His petition¹⁵ to the Calcutta Committee of Revenue illustrates his desperate attempt to adjust to the new set up perpetuated by the colonial order, and retain his original status in the rural society. It was only after his petition was rejected that the *Rajah* issued a *parwanah* to the *naibs* of Toulah and Bhulka *purgunnah* ordering them not to allow the inhabitants of his *zamindari* to go away for working in the salt *khalaries*. Of this there were two important causes. Firstly, the recruiting season for salt workers synchronised with the harvesting time of the *aman* rice. Paucity of manpower would lead to delay in harvesting thus running the risk of delay in payment of revenue. Secondly, if skilled salt workers were thus not allowed to migrate, clandestine production of salt might be organised and the *zamindar* could make profit from it.

The *purgunnah* Bhulka and Tauloh furnished the labour required in 900 out of 3000 *khalaries* of Raymungle. The *naibs* of these *purgunnahs* Ramcharan Tarafdar and Chandrakant Das, on behalf of the *Rajah*, obstructed the usual payment of *dadon* (advance) by the Deputy Agents' men, in open violation of the Committee of Revenue's *parwanah* to the *Rajah* requesting him to station a vakeel with the deputy agent to assist him during the season for advances. The *Raja's Dewan* Darpanaryan Sarkar resorted to delaying tactics and did not oblige to the request of sending a *vakeel*.¹⁶ Neither did the *Rajah* issue any instruction to alter his previous *parwanah*. The *Dewan* moreover issued separate *parwanah* and letters to the *naibs* asking them to take ample precaution not to allow any *moindar* to be taken away or forced advance against his wishes.¹⁷ Insistent threats by the Comptroller Henry Vanistart¹⁸ or even specific orders from the Governor General himself¹⁹ could

not alter the *Rajah's* stance. The Comptroller on 15th December sent the Deputy Agent of the division, 1200 *barkandazes* under a *habildar* to help him in making advance by force, because there was only a fortnight left of the season after which requisition of labourers would be useless. The Deputy Agent with the aid of troops captured the *naib* of Toulah Chandrakant Das and locked him in his salt *kachari* at Choopnagore. The armed *ryots* tried to rescue the *naib* but the early morning fog helped the salt official to run away along with his capture. The *ryots* retreated from the *kachary* only on the approach of further reinforcement of *barkandazes* from the *kachary*. The deputy agent thought that by resorting to this tactics he would get a free hand in making advances. But when he sent his recruiters, they faced an armed band of more than 500 men ready with rustic weapon like clubs and spears. They refused to allow any one unless an order should be obtained from the *Maharajah* himself.²⁰ The Comptroller of Salt Business, acting under the instruction of the Board of Revenue,²¹ sent his deputy, Thomas Evans with a party of sepoys from Calcutta to pacify the insurrection. Evans, in turn, faced stiff armed resistance in both Bhulka and Taulah *purgunnahs*. In the end, Evans arrested Ram Charan Tarafdar, the *naib* of Bhulka, Azmat Sirdar²², the leader of the insurrection and a number of *ryots* who were mostly his relative or comrades in arms. The *Maharajah* was ordered by the Governor General in Council to explain his conduct in person,²³ when he came down to Calcutta, he was immediately arrested on account of his previous errors in payment of the Company's dues.²⁴ The resistance was thus smashed.

The inquiry conducted by Evans, suggests that an almost parallel network of control over the production of salt had been established in the Raymungle area. From the *zabanband*²⁵ of Chouraram Das of Nayachar village, *wadedar* (collector of duties) of Bhulka, it appeared that Azmat Sirdar in connivance with the *naib* and his own son-in-law Khalil Muhammad and his father, Salim Muhammad, urged the *moindars* to work in his private *khalaries*, and then smuggled the salt and sold it. They also looted the Company's salt loaded in three boats, killed the *berkandaj*, looted the money meant for advances for the salt factory of Beltali from Churaram. They also abducted Rammohan Mitra another *wadedar* and severely beat him up.

On the surface the incident looks like a mere case of dacoity. But Azmat Sardar's letter²⁶ to the *naib* of Bhulka presents a completely different picture. He said that on the previous night people belonging to the Company's salt factory of Beltali raided Qazipara (a village), looted the *khazana* (rents to be paid to the *zamindar* in cash after harvest) killed milch cattle and forcibly took away people who had previously refused the *dadon* (advance) to work as *moindars*. He also recalled similar incidents occurring in *Chyt* 1186 and *Bysakh* 1187 (March-April, 1779).

This letter, read together with the *Rajah's Dewan's* letters to the *naib*²⁷ present the roots of the crisis. The Company's officials and their *deshi* collaborators alike, had resorted to every means fair and foul so that they could get their profits from the salt business unhindered. Commercial interest being their guiding spirit they were not concerned with the loss suffered in agricultural production due to peasant desertion. The Company had levied a fixed annual demand on the *zamindar* and they never cared about the actual condition of collection. Under this

condition the *ryots* were forced to defy the Company's officials. The *Rajah's parwanah* served as a legitimate sanction for their protest.

The involvement of the *zamindar* and his upper officials in this defiance was also very natural, as was the *zamindar's* own stance in the whole affair. The *zamindar's* officials knew well that if the *ryots* are allowed to migrate they would lose the chance to exact rent, and if the *zamindar* ran into arrear in revenue payment, they themselves would be dislodged from their position. At the same time they had some sympathy for the *ryots* (who were forced to live like captive animals and die in the jungles) because of the traditional ethos of a rural society. On the questions of clandestine production of salt their options were also quite clear. They just made every possible attempt to acquire a slice from the staggering income of the Company by encouraging illicit manufacture. For the *zamindar*, it was part of his desperate bid to cope with the newly imposed financial demands of the Company. Also he never considered it illegal to rent his own land to his own men for private *khalaries* ²⁸

The Company had reasons to be apprehensive about what was described by the Comptroller as "the refractory conduct of the *Rajah*" ²⁹. Due to the agent's inability to make advances, 900 out of 2000 *Khalaries* of Raymungle were paralysed. The tendency of salt workers of other adjacent *purgunnahs* and divisions to seek refuge in the territory of the recalcitrant *Rajah* also threatened further loss in production ³⁰. The Comptroller moreover, observed ³¹ that the inhabitants of these *purgunnahs* never attempted the least opposition to the Company's authority until the *Rajah* issued the *parwanah*. The Company's officials felt seriously threatened by this assertion of sovereign authority by the *zamindar*. It was apprehended that unless exemplary punishment was held out, this incident would be conducive to similar excitement of defiance in adjacent regions ³². The report sent by Deputy Comptroller after his so called "pacification of and investigation into the incident", in fact conceded that "this year this incident almost annihilated the Raimungle manufacture" ³³.

The following is the information about the financial losses suffered by the Company because of the said incident ³⁴

900 *Khalaries* disabled till 30th December, 1782
(15th Paus 1189 B S)

10 days yield at 4 maund per day each *Khalar*
3600 maund at sicca rupee 2 per maund
= S r 72,000

Deduct advances of boat freight - 24,600 S r

Gross loss 50,400 S r

750 maunds stolen by *ryots* in connivance with the *Rajah's naib*
at 2 S r per maund = 1500 S r

Net loss sustained 51,900 S r

Yet not withstanding the losses incurred, the Company's profits from salt went on unabated. Over all production showed an upward trend in 1782 compared to 1781 and interestingly the same trend was noticed in Raymungle too ³⁵

Salt Division	Production in maunds 1781	Production in maunds 1782
Raimangal	275,718	4,02,604
Total Production	22 31,458	34,89,060

This incident is one proof that the so called 'revisionist scholars' conceptions³⁶ about the "alleged impotency" of the colonial institutions to break open the traditional network of local control is not supported by empirical evidence. The resistance of the local agrarian society against both the imposition of rigid monopolistic control over an important agrarian industry and the vigorous appropriation of social surplus in terms of revenue by the colonial government were manifest in the incidents of Raymungle in 1782. The defiance, however, stubborn it was, could not change the Company's zeal in accruing profit, nor could it effectively throttle the intrusion of new economic relationship perpetrated by colonialism, even in its most early phase.

NOTES AND REFERENCES

- 1 5th Report of the Select Committee on the affairs of the E E I Co. Parl. Papers 1815, p. 312
- 2 N K Sinha (ed.) *Midnapur Salt Papers (1781-1807) Selection From District Records*, Cal 1954. Introduction, p. 5
- 3 M. Huq *The East India Company's land policy and commerce in Bengal, 1698-1784*, Dacca, 1964, pp. 246-47
- 4 *Home Miscellaneous Series* Vol. 92, p. 784, India Office Records [Microfilm, National Archives of India]. Also referred to by Huq, *op cit*, p. 253
- 5 "Appendix to the Report from the Commissioner appointed to inquire and report on the manufacture and sale and tax upon salt in British India" Parliamentary Papers, 1856, vol. 19
- 6 B. Barui, *Salt Industry of Bengal, 1757-1800*, Calcutta, 1985, p. 83
- 7 Rev. Dept. G. G. in Council Proc., Vol. 21. 29th Dec., 1782, p. 265
- 8 For topographical details see W. W. Hunter *Statistical Accounts of Bengal*, Vol. 1, p. 295. The attached map shows the area affected by the insurrection. I am grateful to Mr. Faiz Habib and Mr. Zahoor Ali Khan, Cartographers for preparing the map from Survey of India Topo-Sheet 45-46
- 9 Aditi Nagchoudhuri-Zilli, *The Vagrant Peasants*, Widen, 1982, pp. 91-92
- 10 It seems that the Company's government was well informed about the situation as is reflected in Hastings' remark in the minute of January 27, 1780 "the life of the ryots was of comparative ease and once they settled down as ryots they could not be retrieved from that occupation."

Revenue Department G G in Council

Proceedings (R D /G G CP) February 4, 1780

- 11 B Barui, *op cit*, p 94, Barui, however, portrays this as the general situation in the *neemuck mahal* and not of Raymungle in particular
- 12 Calcutta Committee of Revenue Proceedings, (C C R P) Vol 27, p 5, (C C R P), 8th January, 1779
- 13 In the English documents the Bengali place-names were spelt as Bhulka and Toulah
- 14 For the history of the Nuddea Raj, see W W Hunter *Statistical Accounts of Bengal*, Vol II, pp 143 ff
- 15 W W Hunter (ed), *Bengal Manuscript Records*, Vol I, MS No 287 23 December, 1981 Copy of the petition enclosed in C C R P 3rd March, 1782 pp 127-129
The *Rajah* pleaded "if you settle the payment of the balance of my *Qabuliyat* for a part in ready money and a part to be carried into my settlement for the new year I shall be able to discharge the whole and preserve my credit I will give a responsible security If you (the Company) cannot accede (sic) to these terms I beg that my *moshaira* may be withheld and my *khamar* and the like may be attached to pay the balances of the Government I request that at all events my lands, my name (title) and reputation may still remain my own" (emphasis mine)
The Committee, however, deemed these proposals to be "absolutely inadmissible" and resolved that "they may be rejected" and referred the subject to the Board of Revenue (C C R P 3rd March, 1782, pp 130-132)
- 16 Copy of the Bengali *zabanbandi* given before Thomas Evans the Deputy Comptroller by Md Ilias who carried the *parwanah* to the *Rajah's Dewan* Enclosure no 14, C C R P , 13 March, 1783, p 315
- 17 Translation from Bengali of the copy of the *parwanah* and letter from the *Dewan* to the *naib* dated 9th *Kartick*, 1189 B S (23 10 1782) and 6th, *Agrahayan* 1189 B S (19 11 1782) The *dewan* had pointed to the atrocities committed on the *moindars* in previous years and the risk of life they sustained and ordered that not a single person should be allowed to be taken away *Ibid*, Enclosure no 15, p 316 Similar incidents were referred by Barui, *op cit*, p 92-97 in Jessore in 1776, and 24 *Parganahs* in 1781
- 18 Vansittarts' note of 18th November contained a candid threatening "Should you (the *Rajah*) omit to station a *vakeel* with the Deputy Agent of Raymungle (for 2 months, agreeable to the *parwanah*) you'll be responsible for any oppressions which may be experienced by the ryots" (C C R P 23 December 1782, Enclosure 5, p 296)
- 19 "It is the duty of the *zamindar* to obey all the orders and *perwanahs* which are issued by the government and not to write order to his own officers in contravention This conduct is a deviation from the rule of obedience You've been therefore, directed immediately to revoke your *parwanah*, the issuance of which was the height of disobedience and insolence and the means of incurring the loss of your *zamindari*" Governor General's letter to the *Rajah* (Copy in R D /G G C P vol 21, 19th December, 1782, pp 268-69, Enclosure no 4)
- 20 Narration of the incident in the Comptroller's letter to the Board of Revenue (B R P) Vol 20, p 296, 19th December, 1782)
- 21 The Board of Revenue decided to provide a company of sepoys from Calcutta to the Comptroller of Salt Business to pacify the insurrection and communicated this to the Governor General in Council (R D /G G C P Vol 21, 20th December, 1782, pp 277-81)
- 22 Evans wrote that Azmat Sirdar was the *naib's* "Colleague in villainy" and his conduct 'has been connived at by the *Rajah*' who has protected him and obtained as a particular indulgence his release from the jail in Calcutta after 8 years confinement as a notorious deport

- (Letter from Evans to Vansittart dated 20th January, 1783, C C R P 13th March, 1783, Enclosure no 10, p 295) The last information Evans got from the testimony of Md Rahim, Chaprasi (*Ibid*, Enclosure no 22, pp 321-23)
- 23 R D /G G C P Vol 21, 30th December, 1782, pp 382-83
 - 24 C C R P 3rd March, 1783 (Original consultation)
 - 25 *Ibid*, 13th March, 1783, Enclosure no 23 pp 324-26 The incident took place on 13th Paus 1189 B S (27th December, 1782)
 - 26 *Ibid*, Enclosures no 27, p 351 Letter dated 7th Paus 1189 B S (19th December, 1782)
 - 27 *Op cit*, f n 14
 - 28 The Deputy Comptroller during his investigation got hold of a *Qabuliat* given of Nazir Muhammad and Myan Sirdar to the *naib* of Bhulka for the *khalanes* of Durgapur, where they agreed to pay 150 sicca rupees as *malguzari* for one year, to be paid within the year ending (*chait*) by *kist bandi*. It was dated 11th *Agrahayan* 1189 B S (26th November, 1782) with the seal of *Maharaja dhiraj* Srish Chandra. Evans forwarded this document to the Committee of Revenue (copy in C C R P 13th March, 1783 Enclo No 24, p 330) alongwith a *zabanbadhi* of Azmat Sirdar who said that he also rented a *khalary* from the *Rajah* in Bhulka, agreeing to pay *malguzari* for 5 years. According to the Deputy Comptroller these were vital proofs of the *zamindars* direct involvement in illicit manufactures (Copy of the *zabanbandh* in *Ibid*, Enclo no 22, p 327)
 - 29 Letter from the Comptroller to the Governor General Enclosure to G G 's minute 20th December, 1782 R D /G G C P Vol 71, p 377
 - 30 *Ibid*, Similar tension was germinating in Satkhira
 - 31 *Ibid*
 - 32 This apprehension is reflected in the Comptrollers letter to the Board (*Op cit* p 7, f n 1) and the Board's decision for the deployment of troops in the affected area (*Op cit*, p 7, f n 2)
 - 33 *Op cit*, p 8, f n 1, (pp 303-304, original consultation)
 - 34 C C R P 13th March, 1783 Enclo no 10, p 311 Statement of losses sustained, furnished by the Deputy Comptroller of Salt Business to the Calcutta Committee of Revenue. To this may be added the cost of deployment of troops and despatch of Evans for pacification, as well as other sundry charges. These losses doesn't include the loss in profit, but only cost price
 - 35 Compiled from India Office Record, Home Misc Series, Vol 381, p 254 (Microfilm Collection, National Archives of India)
 - 36 E G R E Fryckenberg, *Guntur District 1788-1848, A history of local influence and Central Authority in South India*, Oxford 1965 and C Bayly, *Rulers, Townsmen and Bazaars North Indian Society in the Age of British Expansion*, Cambridge, 1983

SOME SOCIO-POLITICAL IMPLICATIONS OF THE COGNOMEN 'TIPU SULTAN'

BARUN DE*

- 0 1 Tipu Sultan, Mysore's last independent ruler, was a distinctly alternative element in late eighteenth century South Asian political culture¹ Unlike the nominally independent Nizam Ali Khans, Asafuddaulahs, Nan Fadnavis or other princes and statesmen of an age when colonialism was destroying the Indian *ancient regime* brick by brick, Tipu, like his father Hyder Ali and his northern contemporary Mahadaji Sindhia, refused to be pliant and complaisant to British diplomatic blandishments allied with military threats during the age from Warren Hastings to Wellesley Plebeian in his social origins, more of a *ghazi* than the average feudal carpet-knight he was a throwback to the pre-Mughal Deccan Sultans, seeking acceptance of his imperial aspirations from West Asian and continental European peers, so as to effectively challenge British Indian competition for dominion in South India² More than any indigenous ruler in eighteenth century India, Tipu was interested in state power and its commercial capacity But more than any of them, except his father and Mahadaji, he recognised the need to fight for it He did this in a pragmatic way, using French absolutist alliance, Jacobin ideology, as well as the neo-Madani principles of a *shaheed*, without any scruples of artificial consistency, or ideological purity
- 0 2 Tipu's contacts with France in its pre-Revolutionary and Revolutionary generation are fairly well known What is practically unexplored are the

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implications of the dialectics of *Sufi* plebeian militancy in Tipu Sultan's family traditions and cognomen This note seeks to initiate discussion on the data, which may be carried out by people more qualified to do so — i.e. by those who, unlike the present writer, can read the Persian sources, themselves, a field now sadly neglected by scholars of South Indian history, except perhaps by some in the U.S.A. like J.F. Richards and R.M. Eaton It also seeks to arouse debate on the variety of indigenous reactions to political conditions in eighteenth century India

I

PLEBEIAN ORIGIN OF THE LINEAGE

- 1.1 Mohibbul Hasan, still Tipu's best biographer, noted many years ago that the veracity of tales about Hyder Ali's ancestry "is for the most part obscure" and that the only detailed pedigree — by the anonymous author of the *Karnamah-i Hydarī* about his distant forefathers moving as Quraish from Mecca, to Sana'a in Yemen to Baghdad, to seventeenth century Ajmer and its *dargah*, to Shahjahanabad Delhi was "possibly manufactured to bolster up the domestic prestige of Haidar and Tipu" But it is certain that his more proximate forefathers were *dargah* servitors, than land managers then petty warriors Their description in Mohibbul Hasan's evocative narrative bears rereading³ Tipu Sultan's grandfather's grandfather, Shaikh Wali Muhammad "came to Gulbarga from Delhi with his son Muhammad Ali during the reign of Muhammad Adil Shah (1626-56) of Bijapur — i.e. at the time of the breakup of the latter Vijayanagar domains ruled from its refuge at Chandragiri an age of Deccani expansion into Karnataka "A religious man" he "attached himself to the shrine of Sadr-ud Din Husaini, commonly known as Gisu Daraza" on a monthly subsistence allowance His son was married to a servitor's daughter On his death, Muhammad Ali trekked further south to Kolar on the edge of the plateau to look after and rent fields and gardens His four sons forswore the "life of devotees" They took to warfare — in an age when Aurangzeb Alamgir's troops were pressing into Tamilnadu from Golconda After his death in 1697, his third son Fath Muhammad went further south in the service of the new Mughal ruler of Arcot Nawab Sadatullah Khan," who made him a *jamadar* and gave him the command of 200 foot and 50 horse in the lowest rungs - perhaps below the *mansabdari* system
- 1.2 Fath Muhammad Khan thus moved from a *dervish-cum-land* management background to being a soldier of fortune He briefly served the *Nayak*, of Sira, an official of the Later Mughals, where Haidar Ali was born in 1721 Haidar stayed in his father's profession, but retained the pious connections His first wife, who was paralysed for life after childbirth, was daughter of a *pirzada* Sayyid of Sira His second, Fakhr-un Nissa, however was of higher and military rank Daughter of a quondam *kiladar* (castellan) of Cuddapah, when she "became pregnant with her husband (she) paid a visit to the tomb of Tipu Mastan Aulia in Arcot . built by Nawab Saadatulla Khan in about 1729 and

(they) prayed for her safe and easy delivery and for the birth of a son (who in) 1750 born to her at Devanhalli was named Tipu Sultan after the name of the saint" Also he was called Fath Ali after his grandfather, Fath Muhammad Khan ⁴

- 1 3 The juxtaposition of cognomens signifies the duality of the two parts in the lineage, part *Sufi* servitor, part petty military adventures ⁵ This was a social position far below the elite compradores of colonialism in the eighteenth century Indian ruling class in Hyderabad, the Maratha Confederacy, Awadh or Bengal. Indeed this ancestry was not even that of "service gentry", a term coined in the early 1980s by C A Bayly of Cambridge to categorize the relatively stable socio-economic base of the Later Mughal, U P petty rural, *madad-i maash* grantee *ai'mmadars* or prebendaries, or the now semi-permanent *talukdars* or *jagirdars* ⁶
- 1 4 The Muslim *naik* of late eighteenth century Mysore were certainly below the status of small-town *Ulema*. Their immediate background was the lowest rung of military adventurers whose status was gained by their arms, cunning, self-assertion, i.e. popular heroic, in Gramscian terms with common sense rather than elitist intellect. With myths of Arab origin and tenuous claims to broken Quraish, i.e. Prophet's kin lineage, they were not even legitimate prices, since the Wodeyars were still immured in Seringapatam place itself. They lacked the foreign ethnic specificity and racial elitism of the Turani, Irani, Kashmiri, or Rohilla adventurers of the North. Neither foreigners nor *Navyat* (direct newcomer to South India) the Quraish rulers in Mysore were fully plebeian.

II

THE DERVISH STREAK

- 2 1 In Tipu's struggle against encirclement there is however a deeper strand. What British romantic imperialists like John Buchan or P C Wren in the late 19th or early 20th century fantasising about "the thin red line" fighting the Mahdi's *dervishes* in the Sudan, or even later the Saudi *Ikhwan-al Muslimeen* in southern Iraq or Najd deserts, or the Pathan followers of the *Faqir* of Ipi in Waziristan in the 1930s, called the *Ghazi* streak. A recent populariser of the Mysore resistance has sought to score a cheap point over historians, better than himself, in correcting "Lord Macaulay ('s *Historical Essays*) who goes to the extreme (of imputing that Haider's extraction was humble. His father had been a petty officer of revenue, his grandfather a wandering *dervish*. One must forgive the English historian the liberties he took with historical facts for the drama and thunder of his prose". Praxy Fernandes then proceeds to note that the *dervish* was Hydar's great grandfather who had actually wandered from Delhi to Gulbarga. He then proceeds to make a slip of fact as trivial as that for which he forgives Macaulay ⁷ However, the hare coursed by Macaulay in his mid-nineteenth century elitism about social origins will be well worth tracking.

- 22 The original in Tipu's cognomen, the Mastan Aulia was a ascetic Muslim presumably to the point of eastaticfantasy (*mastani*) A *Persian manuscript, the Rauzat-ul Auliya* mentions his death in 1725 (the tomb-shrine as we know was constructed in 1729) The Auliya's residence in the late seventeenth century first, was at Shahpur Hillock outside Bijapur city, where many *Sufis* congregated from the Bahmani times, then a migrant in Arcot, where Nawab Saadatulla Khan set up the Eastern Carnatic capital of the early eighteenth century The parallelism with Muhammad Ali and Fath Muhammad's times and shifts may be noted, The *Tarjama-yi Rauzatt al-Auliya-i Bijapur* further noted him as "one of Amin-al-Din Ala's *murshid* Tipu, Auliya who is said to have ignored the distinguished *Shaikhs* of his time" and was a naked *fakir* like Shah Nangi Majzud (d 1713) whose name was the give-away⁸
- 23 Such *majzubs* as the '*Mastan*', mad or intoxicated with the *spirit*, "dead to the world", sometimes with the aid of narcotics such as *bhang* or *charas*, have been socially described by Eaton in *Sufis of Bijapur* He particularly emphasises that "miniature paintings of seventeenth century dervishes of Bijapur reflect these features and some also reflect the entranced expressions on their faces None of them is know to have written anything himself, and the hagiographic biographies provide only the briefest sketches of their lives their doctrinal positions were to varying degrees unorthodox their accentric behaviour attracted attention to them in the seventeenth century, just as the unique dance ceremony of the *Mevlevi Sufis* of nineteenth century Ottoman Turkey attracted the attention of contemporary European observers who on this account forever associated the adjective 'whirling' with '*dervish*'"⁹ Eaton proceeds to quote Muhsin Fani's description in the *Dabistan-i Mazahib* comparing the '*Madarian*' with '*Sanyasi Avadhuts*? Both sported common sings — matted locks, smeared with *bhasma* (ashes), iron chains around their heads and necks, flaunting black turans and flags, smoking *bhang* seated round fires Tipu *Mastan* is mentioned as a new initiator, and by no means follower in late-pre-colonial *Madari* practice It is not surprising that Hydar Naik and Fakhrunissa in their popular religious faith, should also, in a pragmatically secular way invest the attribute of '*Mastan*', to the more sovereign value system, connoted by '*Sultan*' from other - worldly ecstasy to this - worldly authority,,from the extremely spiritual to the highly temporal There is a large element of the aspirations of social inversion in the cognomen, Tipu Sultan, the factually subaltern *Naik* wanted to become *Padshah-i Ghazi*, as Tipu actually became in 1787, when he declared that the infirm Delhi *Padshah*, blinded by a swaggering Rohilla captain, had become unfit to rule
- 24 Many *Sufi* devotees were deeply imbricated in state power as part of the social dialectics of religious free thinking Eaton's analysis of "The State and the Family of Bandanawaz Gesudaraz", i.e. of Saiyid Muhammad Husaini's family, constructed from a series of over 25 *farman* from the Bijapur court over the period 1659 - 76 documents the Gulbarga locale A large lower class following an economy of seasonal fairs displaying and selling according to the Abbe Carre, a French traveller "streamers, balls, whirligigs, pots, plates, cradles"

which implied a market economy, was linked with a gentry class *sajjada-nashin* and *pirzada* were increasingly involved in Hindu-Muslim social violence in seventeenth and early eighteenth century Deccan and Karnataka, which escalated as Hindu *nayaks* and *palegars* began to resist the Bijapur-Golconda thrusts south into Mysore and upper and western Tamilnadu, and Mughal imperialists pressed hard on the thrusters from further north. The reflection of this was to be found in the *chakkinamas* or foodgrain grinding wheel accompaniment dirges sung by the lower classes as much as in local accounts of *pirzada* gentry violence against Hindus¹⁰

- 2.5 "The political and social disruptions accompanying the dealing of the Kingdom (of Bijapur) were followed by further disruptions after the Mughal conquest"¹¹ Cholera in 1689-90, the Bhima River floods in 1696, a terrible famine in 1717, and growing tensions in the Deccan ruling classes which the Later Mughals sought to standardise there was also the sub-ordination into dialect of Dakhni Urdu by Northern forms of speech of the imperial camp, patronised by the imperialists and their *ghair-mulki* (extralocal) followers. A *Chakkinama* of the year Aurangzeb conquered Golconda, which is kept in the Hyderabad Salar Jung Museum is redolent of a mood of embittered snobbery

"The twelfth century (Al Hiji — i.e. 1689) has arrived and Aurangzeb in king Pawns have leaped to become queens

Those who used to be nobles now have to serve these mean people. Khayasta, Khatri and Brahmans of the army have gained much have become an estranged retinue

North Indian leather-workers, Tanners, and Untouchables, Washermen, Oil-Dealers and Gardeners, all have become rulers"¹²

There one gets the same refrain as one gets in the *shahr-i ashobs* of the eighteenth century North, about the Indian social structure and its mental world turning upside down¹³

- 2.6 In this disruptive world of social disharmony, the choice of a *Madari* cognomen may appear trivial nomenclature. But in its deep structure may be found the popular faith in a *Madari* holy man, one who was no ordinary fanatical *Madari* donned, in a sort of extra-communalist, apocalyptic religious authority¹⁴. By the mid-eighteenth century co-existence of social symbiosis and communal (in the sense of social class and rank ordering, and not just religious distinction, as we find reflected in the *Chakkinama* quoted above) did continue. Such a composite culture did represent a secularising force, since *dervish*-veneration with its implied alternative to landed gentry authoritarianism, may have given a greater plebeian, 'common-sense' hegemony to a rising mercenary, ruling class in South Eastern Carnatic

- 27 That such *majzub* simplicity ideally, if not practically, did appeal to Tipu's own imagination may be inferred from illustrated manuscripts depicting vignettes of utterly plebeian *Sufi* in prayer and ecstasy which were found in his rich library in Seringapatam. Looted by the British army, parts of this ultimately found their way to The Asiatic Society of Bengal and also the India Office Library, London. Some of them, utterly simple in their representational form, were on display in the Exhibition held at the national seminar on Tipu Sultan in January, 1992 at Bangalore. More research, on people actually venerated by Tipu, and elements of ideology in his "Dreams" which are purported to have been collected, will be necessary if done only by scholars who not only can study Persian but also take note of the social psychological aspects.

III

SOME INTERIM CONCLUSIONS

- 31 Characterising the *Sufi* landed gentry, R M Eaton correctly ignores the late N A Siddiqui's fantasy about Muslim *ai'mmadars* as an integrative social yeast among a predominantly sectarian Hindu population at the *pargana* levels. He opts for Irfan Habib's earlier categorisation of such '*ulama*' as "bastion(s) of conservatism because they had nothing except orthodoxy to justify their claims to the state's bounty" and "what the Mughal Emperor Jahangir called his 'army of prayer'¹⁵. Tipu's class position as far as his social origins went, was below this sort of gentry estate. But he did not go beyond such bastions of conservatism in his attitude to religion or communal matters, whether syncretist, orthodox or modernizing missionary in Mysore, Coorg or coastal Kanara, where his arbitrary absolutism of the *cujus regis ejus religio* variety was, no different from the seventeenth century *Sultan* and *Padshahs*.
- 32 However, we can go further. In their non-elite, plebeian aspect the *Dervishes* were implicit cultural alternatives to the Deccan landed gentry elites, whether Muslim or Hindu. As conditions at the level of polity, i.e. of stable state power, crumbled at the central level, but jutted out in regional outcrops by the 1750s, Indians in different parts of the subcontinent began to share only a sense of helplessness before the increasing 'rapine' plunder and anarchy', the labels with which Irfan Habib branded in 1963, the internal, precolonial conditions of early eighteenth century indigenous rule in India which colonial rule compounded by overassessment and drain of wealth. The cultural aspect of this sense of general crisis and insecurity of life and property is brought out by Eaton thus:

"Referring to 'the decaying Mughal-Maratha - Rajput Civilization' of eighteenth century North India, Herman Goetz observed that 'the retirement from worldly affairs into a life of pious devotion is not less remarkable in this age. The *dervish* and the *jogini* are likewise a favourite theme of art and literature, the simple, sober life without many wants and fears, far from the vanities, the lies and the ferociousness of the courts became an almost sentimental desire'.

Goetz recognised that the phenomenon of withdrawal from society on the part of certain individuals represented a response to certain historical conditions. It was their perception of these historical conditions that seems to have caused them to form what Victor Turner has called 'communities of withdrawal and retreat'. This involved, wrote Turner, 'a total or partial withdrawal from participation in the structural relations of the world, which is, in any case, conceived of as a sort of a permanent, disaster state'" ¹⁶

- 3.3 As the Marathas punched holes in the Mughal provincial system in the Deccan, Gujarat, Central India, Rajasthan, and Bengal, as the Indian armies of Awadh and Hyderabad were defeated by the Persians at Karnal and the Afghans later began to conquer the Indus Basin *Suba* as the defeats of the Carnatic Nawabs at San Thome on the Adyar River and at Ambur by the French showed up the utter fragility of the regional powers (with some few exceptions as at Kerala where Marthandavarma defeated the Dutch in Colachel in 1741) and as all the major contestants for North India slogged each to stalemate 20 years later by the time of Third Panipat (1761), the 'disaster-state' premised by Turner had many new reactions. British colonialism which ultimately won out was only one.
- 3.4 Another was inversions in different ways into withdrawal intoxication (*mastani*). The flipside of that coin - the politics of the alternative culture - was Hyder and Tipu's rise as a new 'national-popular' alternative in Karnataka — an alternative power but not anti-structure. It is the clue to the defiance of his berserker¹⁷ resistance to the principal contradiction for Indians, i.e. the newly emergent British colonialist imperialism. Tipu's attempts to modernise against the grain of Indian socio-economic practice of cultural decay in the late eighteenth century, and his destruction at the hands of British repression, whose first clear manifestation in India was directed against him in an all-out way and only after that against the Marathas or the Sikhs, can be explained in this context of his cultural difference in the Indian political scene. In defeating his aspirant absolutism the British in the end turned to imperial absolutism themselves ¹⁸. But that is another story.

NOTES AND REFERENCES

- 1 This paper is a brief statement of the thesis informing data presented in my longer paper entitled "Some Observations about the Social Origins and Naming of Tipu Sultan" which was read in the actual Session meeting (Modern India Section) at Delhi in February, 1992.
- 2 I am grateful to Dr. A.K. Pasha of the School of International Studies, Jawaharlal Nehru University, New Delhi for new insight on this point, given in his paper presented to the National Seminar on Tipu Sultan at Bangalore University, 18-19 January, 1992.
- 3 Mohibbul Hasan, *History of Tipu Sultan* (Calcutta 1951, Second Edition 1971) pp. 1-2.
- 4 *Ibid*, p. 6.
- 5 A recent reference to Tipu by Sanjay Subrahmanyam "A Note on Some Early Nineteenth Century *inam* Records in the Karnataka State Archives" *IESHR*, Vol. XXVII, No. 4 Oct-Dec 1991 refers to "The defeat and death of Fateh Ali Khan, better known by the sobriquet of Tipu Sultan". The name was Fath, not Fateh, Ali Praxy Fernandes, *The Tigers of Mysore*.

A Biography of Hyder Ali and Tipu Sultan (New Delhi, first published 1969, revamped, 1991) repeats Mohibbul Hasan, in writing "The additional name Fath Ali does not appear to have been used much"

- 6 C A Bayly, *Rulers, Townsmen and Bazars North India Society in the Age of Expansion, 1770-1870* (Cambridge, 1983) 43, 49-50 This ascription of social stability in the eighteenth century was first put forward by Noman Ahmed Siddiqui, *Land Revenue Administration under the Mughals, 1700-1750* (Aligarh, 1970) in unspoken contradiction of the dourly secularist critique of the rural and small town *ulama* class, beneficiaries of much of the *a'imma* as "creatures natural apologists and propagandists of the Mughal state and as 'seedpits of Muslim communalism in the countryside", made in Irfan Habib, *The Agrarian System of Mughal India, 1556-1907* (Aligarh 1963) ch VIII, pp 310-311
- 7 Praxy Fernandes, *op cit*, pp 17-18 as usual, taking his facts from Mohibbul Hasan, he garbles it thus "Mohammad Ali migrated south in the service of Nawab Mohammad Shah "Shah Muhammad is as different from Muhammad Shah as a great-grandfather from a grandfather
- 8 Richard Maxwell Eaton, *Sufis of Bijapur, Social Roles of Sufis in Medieval India* (Princeton, 1978) pp 266, 269-270
- 9 *Ibid* p 267 quoting from D Shea and A Troyer, translation of Muhsin Fani's *Dabistan* etc (Paris, 1843) p 123
- 10 *Ibid* pp 239-40, 243-44
- 11 *Ibid*, p 270
- 12 Quoted in *ibid*, p 272
- 13 The earliest and still best account of this mood will be found in Ralph Russell and Khurshidul Islam, *Three Mughal Poets, Mir, Sauda, Mir Hasan* (Harvard, 1968) chapters 1 and 2, particularly pp 64-68 for the account of desolate Delhi by Sauda
- 14 This aspect of *Madari* expression of extra-communal spiritual authority is dealt with in Ashin Dasgupta's forthcoming book on *Fakir and Sanyasi Uprisings* (Calcutta, to be published in 1992) A sidelight on an early 19 century Mymansingh *fakir* called Tipu Pagal (The mad) will be found in Gautam Bhadra's forthcoming book on *Unish Sataker Bangle Krishak Chaitanyar ek Adhyay* (Calcutta, to be published in 1992)
- 15 Eaton, *op cit*, pp 219, 242, and quoting from Habib *op cit*, p 310
- 16 *Ibid*, pp 279-80 quoting (a) H Goetz, *The Crisis of Indian Civilisation in the Eighteenth and Early Nineteenth Centuries* (Calcutta 1938) p 18, (b) Victor W Turner, *The Ritual Process Structure and Anti-Structure* (Chicago 1969) p 154 fnnt
- 17 If the meaning of the term 'berserker' has to be explicated, I would go back to Edward Thompson, *The Making of the Indian Princes* (Oxford, p 4 "Haidar and Tipu brought the East India Company nearer to ruin than any other Indian goes had brought it and nearer than any subsequent foe was to bring it But they were an episode only lasting less than forty years They took no root among the country powers"
- 18 The character of Tipu's absolutism and of the British awareness that it represented the real indigenous challenge to their alien colonialism will be found in Ashok Sen "A Pre-British Economic Formation in India of the Late Eighteenth Century Tipu Sultan's Mysore" in Barun De, ed *Perspectives in the Social Sciences, I Historical Dimensions* (Calcutta, 1977) and Burton Stein, *Thomas Munro, The Origins of the Colonial State* (Delhi, 1989) p 20

THE EARLY BRITISH LAND REVENUE SETTLEMENTS IN THE UPPER PROVINCES AND THEIR IMPACT UPON THE AGRARIAN LIFE 1775 - 1833

A. K. SINGH*

I

- 1.1 The first territories to come under British occupation was Banaras and the adjoining districts which were annexed in 1775¹ The territories included the districts of Ghazipur, Banaras and Jaunpur and a portion of Mirzapur In 1788 Jonathan Duncan, the Resident at Banaras, persuaded the Raja of Banaras to allow him to make a land settlement of those areas² A permanent settlement followed in 1795 on the lines of the permanent settlement made by lord Cornwallis in Bengal in 1793 By diplomacy, pressure and coercion, the East India company extorted from the Nawab of Awadh the territories of the districts of Gorakhpur, Deoria, Basti, Azamgarh, Allahabad, Fatahpur, Kanpur, Etawah, Mainpuri, Etah, Farrukhabad, Bareilly, Moradabad, Budaun, Pilibhit and Shahjahanpur as a result of the treaty of 1801³ A promise of permanent settlement of the land was made to the cultivators and land holders of these Ceded provinces in 1802 Henry Wellesley, a member of the Board of Commissioners for the Ceded Provinces took measurements to settle the land revenue of these areas The first settlement made for 3 years took effect from September 1802 A proclamation issued to this effect declared that at the termination of the first settlement a further would be made for a term of three years After the expiry of the first two terms of settlements, that is, after six

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years another settlement was to be made for a term of four years. On the termination of the first three terms of settlements, that is after 10 years, permanent settlement was promised to the landholders.⁴ This proclamation was embodied in Regulation XXV of 1803. The Court of Directors of the East India company confirmed the first settlement of the Ceded Provinces on 28 August 1804.⁵ The first settlement concluded within two months.⁶ Naturally, it had to be a summary settlement.

- 12 In the meantime, the East India Company had acquired from Daulat Rao Sindhia the districts of Saharanpur, Muzzafarnagar, Meerut, Bulandshahr, Aligarh, Agra, Mathura, Delhi, Gurgaon, Rohtak, Hissar, Sirsa and Karnal as a result of the second Anglo-Maratha war and the consequent treaty.⁷ This area was designated as the Conquered provinces and the land settlement of these districts was also made, but for one year only. As in the Ceded provinces so in the Conquered Provinces, the Regulation IX of 1805 provided that two settlements of three years duration, each would be followed by another settlement of four years' term, thus stipulating the same period of ten years in both cases for converting the land settlement into a permanent one. In the beginning during the early months of 1805, preparations were started for the second for the second triennial settlement of the Ceded Provinces. But as the produce of the land had not increased in the foregoing years the terms of the second settlement had to be easier. Originally the Company had expected to raise the State demand in proportion to the increase in the produce of the soil, now it had to fix the demand of the State at what it had been during the third year of the first triennial settlement. The promise for the permanent settlement.⁸ The members of this commission were R W Cox and Henry St George Tucker. Meanwhile the Divisional Commissioners were also instructed to prepare the grounds for permanent settlement and the government repeated its promise for it again.⁹ Meanwhile the Ceded and Conquered Provinces were now called the Upper Provinces. A large number of Collectors and revenue officials of the province reported that the region was not ripe for permanent settlement and that it be postponed for the present.¹⁰ The commissioners also recommended for its postponement, and that the ensuing settlement be concluded for four years.¹¹ The members of the Commission accepted their reasoning and recommended for the postponement of the permanent settlement to the Government. This recommendation was not pleasing to the Directors and the Governor-General in Council.¹²
- 13 By 1810, the Court of Directors concurred with the Commissioners and wrote to the Governor-General on 27 February, 1810, that they were unable to sanction a permanent settlement of land revenue unless they were supplied with more information and details.¹³ But, the Governor-General repeated on August 31, 1810 the government's conviction.¹⁴ The advocacy for and opposition to the permanent settlement continued and by 1812 it was criticized in whispers and low tones, but it became loud in 1815 when "The great mistake which unquestionably occurred in forming the permanent settlement"¹⁵ was realised by the Directors and the Governor-General that the term of the land settlement should not exceed five years.¹⁶ The result of the Court's despatch

of November 1811 was that, a new assessment was made in accordance with Regulation IX and X of 1812. In making the new settlement, it had been decided that all estates of which more than one-third of the cultivable lands were in actual cultivation should be considered ripe for permanent settlement.¹⁷ By 1815, it was realized by the government that it was not proper to make the fourth settlement a permanent one in Upper Provinces, and, therefore, in 1816 Regulation IX of 1818 extended the term of the settlement up to 1232 *fasali year* (A.D. 1824-25) in the Conquered Provinces.¹⁸

- 1 4 The procedure of these early settlements was most uncertain and loose. "The settlement", Moreland rightly remarked, "thus combined an element of the auction room with an attempt to decide on the validity of the various claims, and it will be readily understood that the latter object was very imperfectly realized".¹⁹ The early settlements were almost always summary settlements and, therefore, suffered from the defects inherent in the system. A great defect of these early settlements was that under them there was no machinery or scheme to calculate the gross and net produce of the soil, as the land was farmed out to the highest bidder without the produce being calculated. Secondly, the best and the rightful claimants were usually neglected or ignored on account of their low-bidding. Thirdly, in the zeal of acquiring land, the adventurers began to bid for higher sums of money than the soil could easily produce and more than they could pay. Settlement of the land with the highest bidder, the harsh methods of collection of land revenue, sale of land and property in slight default in payment of the land revenue, all began to tell upon the economic condition of the cultivators and the agriculture of the province. The mischievous subordinate officials of the revenue department like, tahsildar, the qanungo and the patwan took full advantage of the system. They began to withhold the collection they had made, let the revenue fall in arrears and then auctioned the property of any poor and ignorant cultivator, purchasing it either in their own name or in the name of some relation of theirs or under some fictitious name.²⁰ This condition was observed in the Upper Provinces before the termination of the first three triennial settlements. It was estimated that nearly half of the two districts of Kanpur and Allahabad thus passed into the hands of former employees of the Government.²¹ Such troubles became event of daily occurrence and at last T.C. Robertson, later Lt. Governor of N.W.P., had to intervene and made a protest with the Government against such gross misappropriation and illegal transfers of land by petty officials under the cover of the sale law and auction of the right in land.
- 1 5 The strong protests of Robertson led the Government to make a searching enquiry. The result was Regulation I of 1821, whereby all the iniquitous rules which had deprived the "poor and innocent men" of their property and land by operation of the sale law were cancelled. A Special Committee was appointed to enquire into all transfers of property which had taken place during the first eight or ten years of the Company's Government in the upper Provinces.²² Holt Mackenzie's, Secretary in the Territorial Department was asked to prepare a memorandum describing all defects of land settlements in the Upper Provinces and to suggest methods for their removal in the next settlement. Holt

Mackenzie produced a big volume of about 760 paragraphs. Most of his suggestions were incorporated in the settlement made under Regulation VII of 1822, and this guided the revenue administration of the province for next ten years. The main recommendations of Macenzie were (1) a careful cadastral survey of land, (2) a full and complete record of rights and interests in land, (3) a just and moderate assessment of land revenue demand by the State, and (4) protection of the rights of the tenants against the oppressions of all agencies²³

- 16 Under the Regulation VII of 1822 a regular settlement was undertaken for the first time. The principles laid down by this settlement governed all settlements and land revenue administration not only in the Upper Provinces but, practically throughout British India²⁴. The main features of the settlement was the investigation of all records of rights and an attempt to find out the person justly entitled to the profits of the land. It also laid down that the revision of the settlement and survey involving it should be village to village and pargana to pargana. The Collectors and the settlement officers were now required to note and record the interest of all the parties concerned. Though the scheme established under Regulation VII of 1822 proved to be costly and extremely slow in returns, but was hailed from every corner and was made to work. Regulation IX of 1824 extended the settlement of the Ceded Provinces of 1822 to the Conquered Provinces also for a period of five years. Regulation II of 1826 gave a second lease of life to the existing settlement extending it to 1239 fasali year. Ultimately, however, it was found that a complete settlement of the Upper Provinces under Regulation VII of 1822 was not possible. So, some members of the Board of Revenue were deputed by the end of 1830 to make a tour of the Upper Provinces and report on the cause of the failure to complete the work. The report of this Board dated May 25, 1831, revealed the fact that the Collectors, who had to make the settlement had to write out very voluminous reports of their proceedings and had to complete a great bulk of papers. They recommended the necessity of curtailing this enormous work and waste of time and labour. Realizing the necessity of the above recommendations, the Governor-General recorded a minute on January 20, 1832, and remarked, "it thus appears to be the general opinion that the minute researches which have been hitherto made can lead to no practical useful results"²⁵. Bentinck, who had taken land revenue reform to heart, pursued the matter seriously. At that time he was on a tour through the Upper Provinces. He saw the things for himself and was convinced that something must be done. He recorded another minute on September 26, 1832. A conference of revenue officers was finally convened by him at Allahabad on 21, 22 and 23 January, 1833, which led to the passing of the famous Regulation IX of 1833. Thus, came to a close the early period of land settlement experiments in the Upper Provinces or modern Uttar Pradesh.

II

- 21 The period under review saw outstanding developments in the structure of administration. These were the years of considerable experimentations. The

formulation of these land settlements, naturally made the revenue administration highly technical and the British officials found it very difficult to make a permanent revenue settlements. Not only this, the new settlements had considerable impact upon the agrarian society. The early land revenue arrangements reveal the existence of two broad types of village organizations in the area - the Zamindari villages and the *bhaiachara* or *Putteedari* villages²⁶. During these early years of confusion and uncertainty many clever local chiefs took advantage of disorder to establish the dominance of his clan in a particular areas²⁷ and many examples of caste solidarity are found²⁸. It was during this phase that the Jats in Western region and the Rajputs in eastern region established their hold over land and their authority over village and in collection of revenue, as Zamindars remained undisturbed. The British officials utilized this agency of local magnates for their collection of rents and realized that legislative interference might seriously upset the provision of rural credit and jeopardize the security of the land revenue. Under these circumstances, the Zamindars emerged powerful in local areas owing to their land holdings, local influence, money and as rent collectors. The Raja of Sattasi, in Gorakhpur, Durga Singh in Farrukhabad, Dundi Khan in Aligarh may be quoted as prominent examples.

- 2.2 But situation changed drastically with the coming of the tahsildar in rural stage after 1802²⁹. It was now not necessary to make land settlements with them alone but depended upon the suitability of the person concerned³⁰. Their landholdings might now go at any time through auction whenever the rent went into arrears to the highest bidder. This undermined the material and social position of landed aristocracy in the settlements made at this time, it is thought, was a contributory cause of the revolt of 1857³¹. Another noticeable characteristic which emerged was the Absentee zamindars particularly in Rohilkhand division³². Many of these Zamindars preferred to live in the town and managed their property through agents. S. M. Boulderson, the Collector of Bareilly wrote - "The main body of Proprietors in Bareilly are non-residents, they are generally speaking not attached to the lands they hold by any ties other than interest. Zamindari are here bought and sold as other merchandize. Some of the largest landholders who have been bred in the town of Bareilly have never seen from the time of their childhood a greater portion of the villages they possess not have they in any direct manner taken the management of them into their own hands"³³.

III

- 3.1 The formulation of new land settlements categorized peasants into four major groups - the *khudkasht*, the *pahikasht*, the *ghair manrusi* and the *shikami raiyats*. The *khudkasht* peasants were self-cultivating peasants, they had often had long-standing association with the village while they enjoyed a certain customary status. These cultivators were nevertheless subject to the authority of the zamindars. They generally did not pay ground rent for their houses and were often allowed building material free of charge³⁴. So long as they paid their

fixed rent, the zamindars could not oust them. The *pahikasht* raiyats or non-resident peasants were those who did not live in the villages in which they cultivated lands. They did not enjoy any customary lien on the lands, but leased them on a purely contractual basis each year. Although in certain cases we find them paying at the same rate as the *Khudkasht*, it was more usual to charge them at a lower rate. This may have been partly to compensate for the fact that they were generally given inferior lands and those furthest from the village site, partly also the desire to attract cultivators, who were not easily available, may account for the lower rate.³⁵ "To the class of *Paeekhast Ryuts*," wrote James Fraser, "Who till only the most distant lands, great indulgences are usually extended, particularly when they first break up the *Bunjur* ground to introduce cultivation"³⁶ Certain other cultivators were found resident in the village where they cultivated land but are distinct from the *maurusı* raiyats or *ghair maurısı* raiyats who appear to have been of more recent origin and were distinctly related with the *khudkasht* raiyats, and the *shikamı* raiyats seem to have had a peculiarly personal connection with the Zamindar, for they were often his household servants and often the illegitimate offsprings of Rajput Zamindar father and a muslim mother.³⁷ They were something like household slaves or, at best, personal retainers of the Zamindar and were often resented by the other cultivators because the Zamindar used them to beat the latter down to his own terms.

- 3 2 But, whether *khudkasht*, *pahikasht*, *ghair maurısı* or *shikamı* raiyats, the conditions and the settlements were favourable to none. The 'assessment of rent was always very high for them to pay, which generally went into arrears, on the one hand, and Zamindars' oppressive attitude unbearable on the other hand. In some cases the peasants may have welcomed the British as deliveries from the oppressions of local tyrants. But there were many instances where rebelling Zamindars were often supported by the peasants of their villages, who were often members of the same caste and presented an example of caste solidarity.³⁸

IV

- 4 1 The new settlements imposed great financial burden upon the peasantry and this intensified rural indebtedness and broke up peasant property. The spacing of the installments of revenue (*gists*), and the rigidity with which they were enforced, was a source of considerable hardship to the peasants since they were inadequately related to the peasants of varying paying capacity during the different seasons of the year. There appear to have been eight to ten *gists* during the year, generally one month apart. As they had to pay their revenue before their crops were ripe, the peasants had no alternative but to borrow money at heavy rates of interest and, often, to mortgage their crops at a low price. The migration of peasants from the villages was another noticeable impact upon the rural life during the period under review. The sufferings, oppression and indebtedness accelerated the process of migration. The main reasons for such migration were hardship, oppression, over-taxation, or simply

better prospects where available. The Collector of Bareilly aptly wrote that "Desertion was an effective weapon in these provinces since cultivators were not plentiful"³⁹ This tendency greatly affected the agrarian life and disbalanced the village economy. No doubt, over-assessment, decrease in land holdings, oppression by the police, the revenue officials and the local zamindars made the life of peasants miserable.⁴⁰ Another noticeable impact of these land settlements was that the land gradually slipped from the cultivating class - the landlords and the peasants to the non-agricultural class - the local banyas and mahajans.⁴¹ The transfer of property was another noticeable characteristics during the period under review. This was the direct result of the new land settlements. The transfer of property, whether by public sale for arrears of revenue or in satisfaction of decrees of court for debt or else by private sale or mortgage continued throughout the period so much so that so much land had passed into the hands of the money-lending classes that in 1854 the government considered it necessary to carry out an inquiry into the sales of land.⁴² This process reflected both the strictness with which the revenue was realized and the governments policy towards the problem of agricultural credit. Last but not the least, whatever the method of collection, the revenue could not be gathered without the aid of armed troops which were a regular part of a revenue Collector's establishment in those troubled times. Thus, we notice that these early land settlements though short in nature provided not only the basic foundation to the British policy makers but they also had great impact upon the agrarian society. The land revenue administration was an important instrument in the process of change. This was the period of experimentations and as such these settlements had many weak points and problems. The Regulation IX of 1833 solved most of these problems of land revenue in the province and guided the destinies of the people for about a quarter of century and was finally amended in 1855 when the Saharanpur Rules was passed.

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- 1 Treaty of 1775, see Bengal Consultants, 6 June 1775, C C Davis *Warren Hastings and Oudh*, pp 84ff
- 2 Handbook to the English Pre-Mutiny Records in U P S A p 8
- 3 Treaty of November 14, 1801 see Aitchison, *Treaties, Engagements and Sanads*, II, p 122, Owen, *A Selection from the Despatches, Treaties and other Papers of Marquess Wellesley*, pp 207-211, Sleeman, *Journey through the Kingdom of Oude*, II, pp 186-188, J N Sarkar, *Fall of the Mughal Empire*, IV, p 266
- 4 Regulation XXV of 1803
- 5 Macnaghten on 7 April, 1831, No 676, to Sadr Board of revenue, (vide Revenue Proceedings, No 62 of 24 May 1831, Allahabad)
- 6 Handbook to the English Pre-Mutiny Records, p 9
- 7 Treaty of December 1803, see Aitchison, *op cit*, V, pp 284-286, Muir, *Making of British India*, p 236, Owen, pp 419-422
- 8 J W Kaye, *Life and Correspondence of Henry St George Tucker*, p 216
- 9 Administration Report of the U P for 1911-12, p 16, Baden-Powell, *Land Systems of British India*, II, pp 15-17

- 10 J W Kaye, *Administration of the East India Company*, p 238
- 11 *Ibid*
- 12 Macnaghten to the Board of Revenue on April 7, 1831, No 676 (vide Board of Revenue Proceedings, Nos 62 of 24 May, 1831)
- 14 *Ibid*
- 15 Moreland *Revenue Administration of the U P*, p 31
- 16 Administration Report of the North-Western Provinces for 1882-83, pp 42-43
- 17 Macnaghten to the Board of Revenue, *op cit*
- 18 *Ibid*
- 19 Moreland, *op cit*, pp 31-32
- 20 Macnaghten to Board of Revenue, *op cit*
- 21 J W Kaye, *Administration of the East India Company*, pp 241-45
- 22 The Mofussil Special Commission under regulation I of 1821 Resolution of Govt 27 Feb 1831, Para 23 (Revenue Selections Published 1873, pp 37-8)
- 23 Field, *Regulations of the Bengal Code*, p 115, Baden-Powell, *op cit*, pp 22-24
- 24 Field, *op cit*, p 29
- 25 Baden-Powell, *op cit*, pp 25-27, Field, *op cit*, p 117
- 26 Zamindar Village - The Proprietary right in the land rests with a single individual or in a community of people For details see Asiya Siddiqi, *Agrarian Change in a Northern Indian State, Uttar Pradesh 1819-1833* Oxford 1973, Ch II
Bhaichara - The word is a compound of bhai (brother) and achara (custom) and refers to estates where land holding and other matters were regulated by a custom of the brotherhood For details see Baden-Powell, *Land Systems of British India*, I, 62
- 27 Local gujar chief in Saharanpur, Nahar Singh carved out for himself a very substantial principality, R Cavendish, Principal Asst on Deputation, Manglaur, to Board of Revenue 15, July 1824 (India Office Library, range 95, 26, 17 July 1825, no 5)
- 28 Gujar insurrection in Saharnpur in 1814 set off by the government's decision to take over Raja Ramdayal's muqarrari lands on his death For details see Extract from Court of Directors, Judicial letters to Bengal, 10 April 1816, (quoted in 10 Personal Records, VII, pp 297-301)
- 29 The post of the tahsildar was first created in this province in 1802 by H Wellesly Tahsildar was a principal local Indian agent in charge of collecting revenue For details see Asiya Siddiqi, *op cit*,
- 30 Cf Makenzie, Memo, 19 Oct 1826, paras 419-20
- 31 For instance, the case of the Raja of Sattasi For details see Asiya Siddiqi, *op cit*, p 89 E Currie, Dy Collector, to S M Boulderson, Commissioner Gorakhpur, 26 and 28 March 1832, Gorakhpur Commissioner's Office Guard Book 74, File 9 I, II (U P S A)
- 32 H S Boulderson reckoned that out of the total *jamma* of the district, amounting to Rs 14,43,190 12 annas, 5 gundas, the sum assessed on the estates of absentee zamindars residing in the town of Bareilly was Rs 461174 9 annas, 15 gundas This showed the number of non-resident proprietors which far exceeded that in any other part of the country H S Boulderson, Asstt Collector Bareilly, to Board, 9 July 1824 (India Office Library, Range 95, 27, 9 August, 1824, no 3)
- 33 S M Boulderson, Collector, Bareilly, to Board, 11 Jan 1825 (India Office Library, Range 95, 47, 26 Jan 1825, no 3)

- 34 e g J Carter, collector, Gorakhpur to Board, 30 April 1822 Report on Investigations in Mauza Bharganna, Pargana Amroha Mauza Lubdehi, Pargana Aurangabadnagar
- 35. Asiya Siddiqi, *op.cit* , pp 39-40
- 36 James Fraser, Collector, Agra, to Board, 20th Sept 1825
- 37 E A Reade, Dy Collector, Kanpur to Commissioner, 9 Jan 1833
- 38 Charles Lloyed, Acting Agent to the Governor-General at Farrukhabad to Charles Buller, Secretary of the Board, Fort William, 10th April 1805, (Board's Collections No 3508, pp 1-109)
- 39 H S Boulderson, Collector of Bareilly to Commissioner 10 Dec 1832
- 40 R Lowther, Commissioner Bareilly, to Board 11 Sept^r 1833 (India Office Library, Range 96, Vol 75, 4 Oct 1833, no 37)
- 41 For details see Asiya Siddiqi, *op cit* , pp 130-35
- 42 *Ibid*

STATE, TRADE AND THE PRE-COLONIAL ECONOMIC STRUCTURE OF MALABAR

SEBASTIAN JOSEPH*

I

- 1.1 The 18th century is a very important phase in the history of Indian subcontinent. It was a great transitional period, which saw the change from the traditional to colonial phase, with elements of continuity and change. The traditional socio-economic structure with remnants of pre-colonial exploitation seems to have remained in different regions in varying degrees. The mode of land control in greater parts of India remained highly exploitative. Along with peasants, the artisans and merchants also were victims under an exploitative system.
- 1.2 When we talk about the pre-colonial situation we have to be cautious about certain important issues. For the 18th century Indian sub-continent there was neither a national economy nor a single pattern of mercantilist praxis. Nor was there a single society, or single social formation. Similarly, the agrarian structures varied in their essentials from region to region.

When trade takes place between two distant markets, it may not be essential that their character should be the same or identical. Throughout history trade has taken place between unequal partners, between societies with different rates of growth and development. But, when the buying and the selling markets are connected through a process, it not only calls for an examination of the intricacies of trade but also leads us to other questions related to the state and the economy.¹

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- 1 3 Although the English East India Company and the Dutch East India Company organised their trade on the basis of a bureaucratic institution acting as a central distribution agency in the selling markets of Europe, the markets in which they purchased goods still remained, traditional ones with a large number of individual merchants offering their services to the customers. These products were both agrarian and artisanal.

II

- 2 1 For the present study, I have taken up Malabar coast as my focal point. Politically speaking, Malabar coastal region did not represent a single state. Traditional Malabar was a highly fragmented political entity. The region in the 18th century was divided into a number of Princely States or Rajadoms.

A local Raja was not a Raja alone, but often the principal *Janmi*² within his domains. He was also the ritual head of the locality. Below the level of the Rajas we have the *Naduvazhis*, who were also the principal *Janmis* of the area. The *Naduvazhis* had along with this, both civil and criminal authorities vested in them. Below the *Naduvazhis*, we come across *Desavazhis*, who also possessed similar rights at a lower level.

- 2 2 A *Desavazhi* was not one who could be transferred or removed from position if any other supra - local power. His rights were not only socio-religious but also political and economic in nature.³ A *Naduvazhi* was the chief of the *Nadu*. His powers and privileges were the same as that of the *Desavazhi*. In addition to this, he had a share of every branch of the Raja's revenue, fines, customs and confiscation of the property⁴ etc. *Naduvazhis* used to pay certain fees to the Rajah.⁵ In times of war, a *Naduvazhi* was bound to march at the head of his Nair militia at the command of the Raja.
- 2 3 However, one cannot assume from these explanations that the nature of authority in Malabar, from the *Pramani* to the Raja was pyramidal and hierarchical. Instead of that, authority was exercised at different levels in different degrees. In those which were under the direct control of the *Naduvazhi* or the Raja, the rights of the head of the village belonged to the chief.⁶ The line of demarcation between *Desavazhi* and the *Naduvazhi* was so thin that sometimes a successful village headman ripened into a *Naduvazhi*.⁷
- 2 4 A *Desavazhi* did not hold a fief from the *Naduvazhi* or the Raja. Similarly, a *Naduvazhi* too was not a subordinate landholder of the Raja. They could not be transferred or removed by the Raja because they themselves claimed to hold office by a tenure as old as that of the other Raja.

III

- 3 1 Territorial segmentation was another important feature of the Malabar polity of the pre-modern period. There was a clear absence of a paramount power to extend tentacles of sovereignty and authority over the entire land mass of

Malabar until the Mysorean interlude In the absence of that we come across a large number of Rajas and quasi Rajas having their own sphere of influence and enjoying sovereignty within those limited arenas Those rulers, who functioned parallelly, had the same aura of royalty, privileges and paraphernalia right from the Zamorin to a lesser Raja or a Desavazhi Because in such a segmentary polity, there were numerous centres of power working simultaneously

However, among these, the Zamorin of Calicut enjoyed nominal primacy over other Rajas of Malabar, not on account of his control over land, or the monopoly of legitimate force but he achieved his primacy on the flimsy altar of ritual and customs ⁸

IV

MERCANTILE REALM

- 4.1 While the inner-logic of the Malabar polity was segmentary, there were also other spheres of influence which lay parallel to territorial segmentation Thus, we come across a clearly identifiable mercantile sphere of influence, which can be termed mercantile realm ⁹ It was not complementary to state power It always worked parallel to state power and often moved outside the penumbra of it In the 18th century, the Dutch, the French and the English merchants functioned within their realms of power, almost in an autonomous way They acquired landed properties,¹⁰ and advanced loans to the local merchants as well as to the Rajas This process finally resulted in the conversion of the local merchants into a subordinate position of agents and contractors of the foreign trading companies Through yet another process of treaty agreements, the Rajas of Malabar were transferred into the position of trade partners and collaborators
- 4.2 A mercantile realm, enjoying limited autonomy did not mean the ascendancy of the Malabar merchant Within the realm, he had to be content with a subordinate position Therefore, it is not surprising that the Malabar merchant did not become a precursor of capitalist growth in Malabar ¹¹

V

MYSOREAN INTERLUDE

- 5.1 The Mysorean interlude in Malabar history marks a new beginning Both Hyder Ali and Tipu Sultan tried to build a strong state with a sound economy in the second half of the 18th century Most of the 18th century states have attempted to achieve greater state power and political integration and unification through the application of such techniques such as tax-farming, support of urbanisation and commercialization in their domains

- 5 2 The formation of a strong state under Tipu Sultan will have to be understood against the background of these processes. For any such state formation, a unified capitalist relations within the boundaries of the state was essential. Unlike many of his contemporaries, Tipu Sultan made a serious attempt to create a strong economy to support a strong politics, which he was indulged in.

THE SULTAN AND THE MONOPOLY TRADE

- 5 3 Tipu Sultan had attached great importance to foreign trade. Tipu had decided to conduct maritime trade with some foreign countries in an organised manner and on an extensive scale, through the establishment of commercial factories and the stationing of commercial agents in those countries.¹² Tipu had clearly understood that the British power, both political and economic, depended primarily on trade profits. And hence, he tried to invite and encourage non-British private traders from other areas. There is substantial evidence to suggest that Tipu had officially encouraged large number of foreign merchants to open trade contacts with the ports of Mysore. Through correspondence, they were offered several concessions.¹³
- 5 4 He had written such letters to Armenian merchants, merchants of Muscat, Cutch and others. In his letter to Yakob and other Armenian merchants, he stated that all duties would be exempted on goods imported by them.
- "Wherever, you may (choose to) bring your goods, there a place shall be assigned for your residence, and if you should, at any time, be in want of workmen or labourer, the same shall be furnished to you on hire by our Tahsildars"¹⁴
- 5 5 When Mao Saith, the *Dallal* at Muscat, asked Tipu to remit the anchorage duty as well as of one fourteenth of the traditional duties at the port of Calicut, Tipu readily acceded to the request¹⁵ and reduced all the port duties considerably. In his letter to the Imam of Muscat dated 16th January, 1786, he informed the fact that half of the amount of the duties had been remitted and therefore, he should continue to send his ships and Dows, laden with merchandise to Tipu's ports.¹⁶
- 5 6 On similar lines, letters were written to the merchants of Cutch, promising them duty exemption. He was also interested in developing trade relations with China. In his commercial regulations, he took special care to say something about the importance of Chinese trade with his ports. He also mentioned about the need to have a convoy of Mysorean ships to protect the Chinese ships, whenever they wanted to depart the borders of Mysore.¹⁷
- 5 7 He had established several factories in foreign ports with three types of functionaries, viz, the *Darogha* (Commercial counsel), *Mutsuddis* (accountants), *Gumasthas* (clerks). Tipu had even undertaken the task of getting ship building (Dows & Dingies) by carpenters through the *Darogha* from Muscat to Mangalore. The *Darogha* was directly placed under the Amil of

Mangalore ¹⁸ He had sent his agents Gulam Ali Khan and Shah Noorullah to Constantinople He had also specifically instructed the *Darogha* to take special care to sell the Sandal wood, black pepper, rice and cardamoms exported from Mysore He wished to procure silk worms and persons acquainted with the manner of rearing them He also wanted pearl divers from Bahrain and Hoormuz ¹⁹

- 5 8 Tipu Sultan used to go to the minutest details while giving instructions to a Daroga ²⁰ Periodical instructions were sent to them to wait till sufficient prices were ensured for commodities like black pepper, rice, cinnamon, sandalwood etc ²¹ During 1793-94, new commercial regulations were framed which was a major step towards the expansion of foreign trade It clearly stipulated the duties of the officials of the commercial department These officers were altogether nine in number who constituted a kind of board ²²

"They were to see that various articles required for commercial purpose, such as silken stuffs, sandalwood, pepper, cardamoms, coconuts, rice, sulphur, etc , were duly provided as well for importation as well as for exportation "

They were to draw foreign merchants to Mysore, by transmitting to them, for that purpose, the most solid and encouraging assurances

VI

- 6 1 In order to prevent frauds or malpractices, very vigorous measures were undertaken At times, the members of the board used to sit together to consult mutually and to take collective decisions ²³ Each member separately prepared the minutes, which were later seen by the Sultan Tipu Sultan was very particular that the commercial board should be an effective organisation with financial facilities The Board was allotted a capital of 4 lakhs of Rahities (£128,000 sterling) exclusively for commercial purposes ²⁴

The Commercial Board was instructed that all the articles required for exports were to be purchased with the assistance of asafs Seventeen foreign factories were originally planned to be established in place like Kurnool, Madras, Pondicherry, Pune, Kurpah, Tanjore, Wyrang, Maligury, Pagar Koteh, Uturu (belonging to the Rastoo), Naudair (Hyderabad dependency), Humnabad, Raichur, Muscat, Cutch, Karachy, Mahe etc ²⁵

- 6 2 All these regulations and meticulous involvements spoke of the basic character of the trade itself What Tipu aimed in Mysore was a monopolistic trade Most of the important commodities of Mysore like Pepper, Sandalwood, betel nut, cardamoms, etc , were state monopolies His policy against the British and their allies and his predilections on state monopoly forced him to impose severe restrictions on trade with the English as well their allies ²⁶ Therefore, all trade with Madras and the dominions of the Nizam were banned In his letter to the Foudar of Calicut, Tipu wrote that he must give strict orders to all the merchants and other inhabitants of that place, neither to buy any goods

nor sell any to the British candy²⁸ It would be strange to notice that after half a century the Company wanted its contractors to procure at the rate of Rs 100/-²⁸

- 6 3 In the year 1788-89 Tipu Sultan established a monopoly for all the goods that were usually exported from Malabar Buchanan says that a principal factory was established at Vadacara There were other factories at Mahe, Coilandy and Calicut²⁹ At these factories goods were received at a certain fixed rate, and paid for by the Government and were afterwards sold by the factories According to the accounts of Buchanan, there existed considerable variation in the price paid while the goods were brought from the internal trader or cultivator and the price the factories received from the purchasers who were primarily foreign Companies³⁰ While the factories paid Rs 100/- per candy of pepper, they sold it for Rs 150/- to Rs 170/-,³¹ a candy to the non-English A writer like Buchanan laments that 'as a result of the monopoly the trade of Vadacara fell entirely into the hands of strangers'³²
- 6 4 Under the effective embargo of Tipu Sultan the East India Company found it difficult to load their ships from Malabar to Europe³³ Tipu had ordered the merchants to sell their commodities to none other than the officials of the Government That is why Murdoch Brown wrote in 1786 that nothing can be bought without advising the sovereign which occasions a delay of at least fifteen days³⁴ From the French sources, we get almost a similar view of the difficulty of pepper trade ever since the Sultan assumed the monopoly trade³⁵ Tipu had realised the fact that the strength of the colonial power rested on its control over the commerce of Malabar Hence, any movement against the British power in Malabar had to be aimed at destroying the commercial edifice of that power In 1784,³⁶ we find Tipu ordering the destruction of pepper vines and sandal trees In 1786, he laid an embargo at his ports on the export of pepper, sandalwood and cardamoms³⁷ and in 1788-89, he established two circar factories, one at Vadacara and the other at Feroke, for the collection of the produce of Malabar³⁸ Shaikh Kunjee, one of the three merchants in charge of the state monopoly, stated that apart from the two major factories there were other subordinate factories in every Taluk From the Subordinate factories, commodities like coconut, betelnuts, pepper, sandalwood etc, were sent to Vadacara and Feroke factories³⁹ The trade profit was ultimately absorbed by the state

VII

CONCLUSIONS

- 7 1 It was a common phenomenon in the 18th century in many parts of the world to build up strong states by the application of such techniques as tax-farming, support of urbanisation and commercialization in their domains Long-distance trade played a crucial role in this process However, in the case of Malabar, inspite of the fact that the region was exposed to international trade for centuries and the commercial cultivation had increased either since the arrival

of the Portuguese and the Dutch, it did not bring corresponding returns to strengthen the state system

- 7 2 During the first half of the 18th century, segmentation was noticed at two levels. At one level, we find territorial and political segmentation. At another level, we find the figmentation of political authority from a Raja to Dasavazhi. The mercantile realm too was not complementary to state power, but it functioned at a parallel level.
- 7 3 Tipu Sultan's attempt to integrate and politically unify the region calls for our special attention. He attempted to use monopoly trade as a tool to strengthen the state system against that of rising British authority. Here, Tipu's failure was not ultimately a military failure alone.
- 7 4 Thus, we find that in spite of the best of his intentions and originality, Tipu failed in fully utilising the potentialities of commercial operations in the late 18th century. Although he had laid great emphasis on economic activity and the industrialisation of Mysore, there were many factors which stood in the way of his achieving his goals. A considerable portion of the state revenue, including the trade profits were spent on the war-front. A state monopoly in trade could be achieved only through an over-arching bureaucracy, which was basically a relic of the pre-modern culture in the case of Mysore. Through his monopoly trade, embargo and other measures, he not only restricted the colonial trade, but to a great extent it killed the initiative and the capabilities of the private Indian traders also. Finally, Tipu was not the only one, pursuing a monopoly trade, the British were also simultaneously pursuing it in those areas where they had political and diplomatic control. And the success of the monopoly trade of the state had to depend primarily on the state's coercive political power itself.

NOTES AND REFERENCES

- 1 A writer like Karl Polanyi made a fundamental distinction between trade which was conducted through economic calculations and that which was expression of political or social will. According to Polanyi market trade was a double movement of goods in opposite directions passing through a supply demand and price mechanism. However, according to him, institutional trade was independent of such a market. Here, the chief or the king on behalf of the community acquired the essential goods.
See, Karl Polanyi, C M Arenburz and H W Pewison (ed) *Trade and Markets in Early Empires*, New York, 1987.
- 2 Janmom was a form of absolute private property in land. Janmom holders were the biggest landlords of Malabar.
- 3 A *Desavazhi* had chiefly four rights:
(a) The Ambala Pudi or direction of the religious ceremonies of the village Pagoda (b) Ooramah or the management of the village Pagoda Lands and servants (c) *Desmi* or the control of marriages and all village armories (d) *Desadepat* or the general supervision of affairs of the Desam or village.

See Thomas Munro, *A Report of the Judicial system in the province of Malabar, 1817*, (Tamil Nadu Archives)

- 4 PKS Raja, *Medieval Kerala*, p 259
- 5 *Ibid*
- 6 *Ibid*
- 7 *Ibid*
- 8 Van Rhude, the Dutch commander (17th century) in Malabar states in his Memoir to his success that it would be inaccurate to speak of the malabar system of government or belonging to any of the three recognised Types - Monarchy, Republic or Democracy. Neither the king nor the nobility nor the people exhibited the high power. He found that the dominions of the King extended over princes, sometimes styled allies, who exercised in their own lands, power and authority or quite as that of the king over his own lands.
Dutch Record, *Van Rheld's Memoir*, No 14, Chapt VIII-XI
- 9 See Sebastian Joseph, *Political Economy of Malabar 1766-1818* (Unpublished Ph D thesis), Bombay University, 1984, Chapter II
- 10 Here, realm is taken as a domain or an arena of activity with or without territory
- 11 The process of Treaty agreements creating this kind of a situation can be seen from both Dutch and English records.
For example, the Dutch record II of Adrian Muens, *Memorandum on the Administration of the Wart of Malabar*, 1781 (Tamil Nadu Archives speak of various such treaty agreements and the Dutch procurement of lands)
- 12 Bonaventure Swai "East India company and the Moplah Merchants", *Social Scientist* 85, p 62
- 13 Brian Davey states that the mid 18th century Indian merchant capital only existed in rules under European protection and in trade, connected with the European companies.
See, Brian Davey, *The Economic Development of India*, Bristol, 1975, p 28

THE WEST AND THE METROPOLITAN INDIAN MIND : A CASE STUDY OF CALCUTTA IN THE NINETEENTH CENTURY

RANJIT SEN*

The most important achievement of the cultural changes in Bengal in the 19th century was the brightening of the female face. A careful study of the Social Reform movement of the time will show how the Bengali mind was bent on bringing about a redemption of the social status of women. The entire problem was approached from both ethical and practical ends. But what is seldom noted is that, personal motivation sometimes acted as a big cause for social change. Widow remarriage is a specific problem that comes to corroborate this statement. In the 18th century Raja Rajballav of Dacca was desirous of remarrying his widowed daughter and therefore, he "solicited the opinion of the learned Pandits of Davidas, Tailanga, Banaras, Mithila and several other places."¹ The celebrated Maratha General Parasuram Bhau Patwardhan sought to remarry his young widowed daughter Durgabai and his prayer was upheld by such an eminent authority of the time as Navadish Ram Shashtri.² Likewise at later times, "Babu Shyamacharan Das of Calcutta being sorely mortified at the widowhood of his young daughter, circulated among the pundits of Bengal the question, 'if the widowed daughter of a Shudra who had not known her husband and who was unable to practice the higher virtue of con cremation with her husband's corpse, or endurance of the hardships of a life of widowhood could be remarried agreeably to the Shastras'."³

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Family bereavement often acted as a tremendous social force and especially when such bereavements struck the elite society. A new shock seemed to radiate through social veins. It is not that the elite is the only mobiliser of the society. But since the elite forms the substantial part of the literati, it can articulate the voice of reason and change. So far as the widow-remarriage is concerned, the entire context for change came from above. Here family bereavement supplied the social impulse which was the need of the time but which the mute mass could not articulate. In later years when Ishwar Chandra Vidyasagar supplied new insight into the conceptualisation of the change long contemplated by the society and when he supplied missing links into the chain of logic that was already being steadily built up in favour of widow remarriage, he too depended on two components of the society. One was the Brahmins, here and elsewhere, the traditional law givers of the Hindu Indian society and the cultured, sophisticated and rich lay elite who at that time seemed to be the determinants of the changing social parameters. In a letter to Hon. J.P. Grant, member of the Governor General's Council, Vidyasagar wrote,

"You will no doubt be glad to hear that his Highness the Maharaja of Burdwan has promised his assistance to the furtherance of the sacred cause of the marriage of Hindu widows. It is really a matter for congratulation that the first man of Bengal is going to take up the cause. He entertains such enlightened views that we have every reason to hope for substantial assistance from him."⁴

What is significant in the renovation of Indian culture in 19th century Bengal is a tremendous reliance on the rich lay elite of the society. What was absent was the popular mass demand for change. Even such issues as the stoppage of sati, prohibition of Kulin polygamy and widow remarriage were long standing needs of the society. But the need remained tacit in the social mind so much so that the organised social demands highlighting a tremendous public resentment did not ever manifest itself in the public life. The demand was made to take shape only when powerful individual spokesmen brought the then contemplating minds to act upon the problem.

The second aspect already stated above was a heavy reliance on the ancient scriptures and on the Brahmins as the law givers of the society. This is one area where the oriental pattern of social reform differed from occidental ones. When John Stuart Mill argues for freedom of women he seldom showed any predilection for religious sanction. To him liberty of women was well-known because its absence condemned a substantial and finer component of the human society into degradation. Liberty of women was welcomed not because such liberty was written in the scriptures but because without liberty women cannot claim equality with men. In the Western social context, the concept of liberty was intertwined with the concept of equality and liberty and equality were harmonised into a compound to build up a pattern of male female partnership in life. When the Indian social reformers thought of a social purge, they telescoped their attention through religion so that

they mixed the socio-economic propriety of their problems in a pool of vague and nebulous extravaganza of religious interpretation. To place the social problem on the social anvil was not there

Frequently there was reference to *Manu* and no one drove home the idea that the Indian society had made many century's journey towards its evolution since the time of *Manu*. In the question of widow-remarriage, the question of *Kanyadaan* was a specific issue at stake and time and again *Manu* was referred to as the paramount guide for Indian social behaviour. For example, in one issue of "*Bengal Spectator*" there was a reply from a writer in the *Sambad Prabhakar* of 26th April, 1842. In this *Manu* was referred to as a valid point of authority for social discussions.⁵ Many years later in the last lecture of his life, Rabindranath Tagore discussed the question as to what extent *Manu* was valid for a very fast-transforming society that was available in Bengal in the 19th century. In this lecture later published under the title *Savyatar Sankat (crisis of Civilisation)* he said that *Manu* propounded very well-thought-of rules of an ethical society and these rules are called *Sadachar*. He said, "It is difficult to find a suitable Bengali equivalent for the English word 'civilisation'. That phrase of civilisation with which we were familiar in this country has been called by *Manu Sadachar* (Proper conduct) that is, the conduct prescribed by the tradition of the race. Narrow in themselves, these time-honoured social conventions originated and held good in a circumscribed geographical area, in that strip of land, *Brahmavarta* by name, bound on either side by the rivers *Saraswati* and *Drishadvati*. That is how a pharisaic formalism gradually got the upper hand of free thought and the ideal of 'proper conduct' which *Manu* found established in *Brahmavarta* steadily degenerated into socialized tyranny."⁶ This is how Tagore looked at the sanctions of *Manu* operating in a degenerated and devitalized society of medieval India. In the 19th century when by the touch of western culture there sprang a new life at the bosom of the society, efforts were being made to return to *Manu* and all ancient scriptures in order to determine whether the new animation of society was consistent with the prescriptions of the ancient Hindu culture. This was unique as a case in history that the rules of a defunct society were being invoked to rejuvenate a society lost in taboos. This tendency to return to the ancient scriptures as necessary tools for regenerating and revitalizing the social face of the Indian women was particularly marked among thinkers upto the time of Ishwar Chandra Vidyasagar. Perhaps, the Derozians were the only set of men who thought it necessary to resort to enlightenment from Western culture than to take recourse to knowledge derived from ancient scriptures. This tendency on the reliance on ancient scriptures particularly the sanctions from *Manu*, *Yajñabalka*, *Vasishtha* etc. did not last very long and during the second half of the 19th century this submission to scriptures had disappeared. Tagore himself vouchsafed this,

"During my boyhood days the attitude of the cultured and educated section of Bengal, nurtured on English learning, was charged with a feeling of revolt against these rigid regulations of society (*Sadachar* of *Manu*). A perusal of what Rajnarain Bose has written describing the ways of

the educated gentry of those days will amply bear out what I have said just now. In place of these set codes of conduct we accepted the ideal of 'civilization' as represented by the English term."⁷ There were two ways of looking at the scriptures. One way was to seek affirmation for certain causes and beliefs entertained by a section of the society on the entire society as such. The other way was to seek whether there was any point of negation for any idea or practice current in the society. The first was the one which the Bengal reformer •Vidyasagar thought it prudent to analyse. The second way was championed by men like Rammohan who wanted to eradicate culpable social practices. Vidyasagar's aim was to remove a taboo which acted as a brake on the social uplift of women. Rammohan wanted to negate a social approval of a culpable social custom. Widow-remarriage was to be introduced and sati was to be stopped. The society turned its face against remarriage. The society did not turn its face against social killing. In their efforts to uplift the face of women this vulgar turning of the social face was sought to be corrected and the scriptures were thought of as the most powerful apparatus with which this could be done. The Bengal government provided the umbrella towards these efforts for correcting the distortion of the social face. In Bombay the government thought in a different way. It looked at the scriptures to find whether there was any prohibition of the marriage of widows. If the prohibition was not there the practice might be given currency. An extract from the *Friend of India* may be quoted below in support of this observation. "The marriage of Hindu widows has lately engaged much of the attention of the Hindu Community and the repeated discussions of it in the native papers, appears to indicate the approach of some favourable change. The Bombay government are also said to have turned their minds to it, and to have enquired of those learned in Hindu laws *whether there was any peremptory prohibition of the marriage of widows . to be found in the Shastras*"⁸ (italics ours)

Below the level of the leaders, when there was the question of mass consciousness, we find a steady drop from this customary emphasis on the scriptures. In the journals of the time, correspondence often introduced enlightened concepts borrowed from Western culture. For example, a correspondent of the *Bengal Spectator* wrote of widow-remarriage as a necessary move to sustain female liberty as a per with that of men. He wrote,

"The remarriage of Hindu widows is one of those subjects which have frequently engaged the attention of the public and we believe it has been satisfactorily established, that the existing restrictions against it are unfair, in as much as they deny to woman a liberty which is enjoyed by men and that they are productive of a great deal of vice and misery. During the period the discussion of this question has been resumed, not a single member of the native community has come forward to vindicate our social system with reference to this point."⁹

This attempt to retrieve women from their loss of independence and to restore them to all aspects of social equality must be recognised as a major step towards contemplating women as social partners of men. Uptil now the focus of research on Social Reform Movement in the 19th century Bengal has failed to appreciate this, that social parity was one of the major aims towards which the spirit of reform directed itself. The general view point is that enlightened people of the society were grieved to see the misery in which the entire women folk had fallen. It is believed that there was pathos in the hearts of men like Rammohan, Vidyasagar and Keshab Chandra and it was this pathos for a fallen folk that had galvanised the entire social reform movement into action. There is no doubt that tears might have rolled down the cheeks of social fathers when they saw that the right of life was denied to a widow or when they saw that a young widow was forced to live in the dark corridor of life. The corridor of reform that connects the entire period between Sati and widow-remarriage was thought of as one where life was charged with kindness, feeling was electrified by pathos and sentiment spurred by tears. It is seldom thought that there was a social need out of which the reform movement could originate. Men needed women as partners. They had enough of experience as social masters lording over the lives of females. A new need had suddenly cropped up in the minds of the enlightened males that they needed companions. That women could be held in comradeship was certainly a feeling brought out by the necessity of life. The tensions in the joint family system that had already begun to suffer fissures led men to think of the new role of women in the family. As the Western culture burst on them, the new awakening came that for long the social living of the males had been very much a predatory living in which women were sacrificed as preys before the crouching tigers of uncultured male lusts, passions and ambitions. The concept of Western chivalry was a new introduction in oriental culture and male yearnings were directed towards performing act of chivalry to women. On 15th January, 1843, the editor of the *Bengal Spectator* wrote

"To procure the abolition of this law, to legalize the marriage of widows and to make the laws recognise the issue of such marriage as legitimate heirs to their ancestors, will be *an act of glorious chivalry* and the sign of the first step of advancing civilization in this land."¹⁰
(Italics ours)

In the pages of some of the 19th century journals there was stress on the introduction of widow-remarriage as a means of "domestic improvements"¹¹ and it was urged that widow marriage should be allowed as a programme of the reform of the household. Vidyasagar was perhaps the most outspoken leader of the time who brought home the idea that unless widows are re-settled in life the public ethics of the society would not take proper shape. This standpoint to regulate the social practice from a deeper understanding of social ethics was essentially an importation from the West. Oriental society was essentially a need-based society where the usefulness of a female ward depended upon the objective social need she could satisfy. Where the society failed to balance between its needs and its human components, women were made to suffer most. The framing of needs was essentially on the basis of certain rude calculations of life, so much so that vis-a-vis women the oriental society presented all signs of a closed backward-looking non-contemplative society. James Mill, the historian of the British imperial achievement of the East has made an excellent utilitarian exposition of the condition of women in human society. His observation is this, "the condition of women is one of the most remarkable circumstances in the manners of nation. Among rude people, the women are generally degraded, among civilised people they are exalted. As society refines upon its enjoyments and advances into that state of civilisation, in which the qualities of the mind are ranked above the qualities of the body, the condition of the weaker sex is gradually improved till they associate on equal terms with the men and occupy the place of voluntary and useful co-adjutors."¹² Mill added that "a state of dependence more strict or humiliating than that which is ordained for the weaker sex among the Hindus can not easily be conceived."¹³ When James Mill was giving his comments on Hindu women he was speaking as a representative of a society which had progressed very far in the way of industrialization. The kind of exaltation a refined society is prone toward to women certainly was not available even in England at that time because in later years his son John Stuart Mill had to battle very hard for the liberty of women. When an industrialised society was struggling for the uplift of women, it was natural that a passive-agriculture-based society could not create the milieu where social exaltation of women could be thought of as a common phenomenon. The Indian social leaders could congratulate themselves that in their battle for social regeneration they could strike at one most sensitive points of reform namely reform of the life of women which was equally current and dear to the English society. The very fact that reform towards regeneration of women found support among the ruling circles of the time was largely due to the fact that in England utilitarian philosophy had got upper hand. This utilitarian backdrop which had allowed various kinds of reform movements to take place in England became equally operative in India. Benthamite utility refused to accept society as a static model. Unless reform was introduced, a utilitarian would say, social well-being becomes incorrect and illusory. If the redress of the condition of labour was propagated as a philosophy born out of industrialization, then the condition of women, worked out as a major social reform issue, became a product of western utility.

The oriental mind had its own inner dynamics but when such dynamics slowed down, western utilitarianism came as a powerful stimulus and swelled the force of the logic of social change.

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SOME REFLECTIONS ON A 19TH CENTURY DEBATE ON RELIGION, SCIENCE AND PHILOSOPHY

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A historic debate on "Religion, Science and Philosophy" took place at the Deccan College Gathering presided over by R G Bhandarkar, the well-known Indologist, on 10 May 1885. The debate was not pre-planned. It sparked off spontaneously from Bhandarkar's Presidential speech in which he said that religious reformation was a pre-condition and prime necessity for a desired social transformation. Besides Bhandarkar, the other distinguished participants in the debate were, M G Ranade, V M Mahajani, B G Tilak and G G Agarkar. Principal F G Selby of the Deccan College, whose pamphlet on "Butler's Method of Ethics" which was earlier strongly criticised by Ranade as an undesired primer of agnosticism, and William Wordsworth, (grandson of the great poet), Principal of the Elphinstone College, were also present on the occasion.¹

While on the one side Ranade and Bhandarkar asserted that "the existence of the higher virtues or even the commonest morality is indissolubly connected with the maintenance of a certain kind of religion", the other side led by Agarkar, in equally strong terms, maintained that "morality and even the highest virtue can exist and flourish without depending in the slightest degree on religion, and that the morality of the common mass will be improved sooner by giving them some insight in modern science and philosophy than by merely appealing to their religious feelings".² The divergent views were pressed by each side with such enthusiasm and earnestness on the passive students and the others present on the occasion as to make some of them waver to which side they should give their allegiance. The debate received wide coverage in the contemporary press, especially in the *Kesari* and the *Mahratta* which published major articles on the subject. This paper seeks

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to examine some of the key issues raised in the debate, which are relevant to the historical consciousness of India today. The debate was essentially a clash between the two schools of Western thought, the one, religious, represented by the theologians like Bishop Joseph Butler, and the other, sceptical, of the philosophical sceptics like J S Mill and Herbert Spencer to which the then college students were introduced through their text-books³. Butler was a standard author of moral philosophy in the Bombay University since its establishment in 1857. Ranade, who upheld the claims of religion, had studied Butler's *Analogy and Fifteen Sermons* for his B A examination in 1862, and was deeply influenced by them. Agarkar on the other hand, was a keen student of Mill and Spencer who denied validity of religion in promoting public morality.

In fact, the debate was an extension of the intellectual duel that Ranade and Agarkar had earlier fought over the validity of Bishop Butler's *Analogy and Fifteen Sermons* as a sound system of moral philosophy. The main purpose of Butler's ethical writings was to defend Christianity and also the connection between religion and morality against the rising tide of deism in the 18th century Europe. There are two important things to be noted in Butler's system of moral philosophy. First, he assumes at the outset the principle of teleology the existence of "final causes". The teleological interpretation of the world and human nature is, in his thought, an inference from the belief in a divine Creator and the Governor. The second, Butler holds that the dictates of Conscience are the Voice of God⁴. "Conscience", he says, "was put into man by God to point out to him his duty and make him to do it. He, however, grudgingly admitted that conscience is an altruistic principle, and often come in conflict with self-love. To overcome this difficulty, he brought in his argument from the final causes. "Self-love", he argued, "though confined to the interests of the present world it does in general perfectly coincide with virtue, and leads us to one and the same course of life. But whatever exceptions there are to this, all shall be set right in the final distribution of things. The belief in a Moral Governor of Universe enables us to suppose that in the long run the path of duty will be seen to have been the path of true self-love"⁵.

The book was prescribed for graduate students of logic and moral philosophy, and Prof. Selby had to teach it in the Deccan College. In 1881, he brought out a pamphlet on *Butler's Method of Analogy* to enable the students to judge the method and conclusions of Butler in the light of the Evolutionary Philosophy to which along, in his opinion, one must look for a true psychology of ethics". He criticised Butler for his unsound assumptions and shallow reasonings, and said that "An age of scepticism is generally fruitful in ethical speculation". An age of scepticism does for a country, what nothing else can do. Unless doubt begins, progress is impossible.

Agarkar, a rationalist and a past student of Selby, favourably reviewed the book in the *Mahratta*, and said that "Butler's way of argument bears a close resemblance, and is in some cases identical with the orthodox Brahmanic way of proving moral and metaphysical problems, and the exposition of the fallacies of the one would have led, in some degrees at least, to that of the other"⁶. He also agreed with Selby that acquisition of fresh knowledge is an indispensable condition for every step in social progress but a spirit of doubt and love of inquiry are necessary.

conditions of such acquisitions. Regarding the question of conscience, he said that "Whoever reads Lecky's *History of European Morals* cannot but be impressed with the truth that the elements of conscience of each generation differ from those of the conscience of the preceding generation as well as the succeeding generations."⁷ This variation, he said, is governed by a definite rule, namely, those elements which have an infelicitic tendency grow obsolete in his mind while new elements are added which are felicitic under special circumstances. Again, he said, history accounts for the union of religion and morals in older times on account of the non-moral emotions in the low stages of development as well as due to the inefficiency of the social, political and sympathetic functions, and the weakening of that union through every successive stage of intellectual progress thus, the connection of ethics and religion may be finally severed, and the former be treated as an independent science itself.⁸

Ranade could not have missed Agarkar's high appreciation of Selby's rational critique of Butler's fallacies and that must have pained him. A few months later, in January 1882, he wrote a damning review of Selby's book which was as much a rebuke to Selby as it was to Agarkar. "We cannot but regret", he wrote "that the young students of the Deccan College are fed on such pabulum in the most plastic period of their life". He criticised Selby firstly, for his looking down upon "those who believe in immutable principles of right and wrong, as labouring under a delusion", secondly, for saying that "our conscience is a varying quantity, and is the result of inherited experiences of what makes or does not make for happiness", and thirdly, for denying the existence of God, as "revealed in nature and man", and as a "perfectly good, wise as Almighty Being as Hindus and Christians, Musalmans and Parsis have for thousands of years believed him to be". Further, he accused Selby of accepting "Mill's dilemma of God being either deficient in goodness or power as unanswerable".⁹

Ranade defended Butler against all the charges brought against him, on the ground that "neither in his *Analogy* nor in his sermons did Butler announce a complete theory of morals and theology". Butler's main object, according to Ranade, was to show that theism and absolute morality were matters of reasonable certainty, sufficient for the purposes of the understanding and for practical conduct.¹⁰

Ranade did not question Selby's right to his own honest convictions. He, however, regretted that Selby's "position as a teacher in one of our leading institutions should give him unusual opportunities to sap the foundations of his students' faith in matters of such grave import".¹¹ He ended his review rather on a questionable note.

"Hindu students especially need strengthening influence which faith in God, and in conscience as his voice in the human heart, alone can give. The national mind cannot rest in agnosticism. The experiment was tried once on a large scale by the greatest moral teacher of this or any age. The failure of Buddhism is a warning that such teaching can not hold on the national thought. Agnostic and atheistic teaching is certainly out of time at the most

plastic period of youth, and can only result in a perversion of the understanding and the decay of all moral earnestness. Our Colleges are already cried down as places of godless education, and if the neutrality of the Government system of instruction is turned to account for the propagation of agnostic teaching, this charge will be to great extent substantiated. We trust both professors and students will bear this view of the matter in their mind, and avoid all overt occasions for such an outcry.

Ranade thus perceived agnostic teaching as "national danger"

Ranade's review brought a sharp rejoinder from Agarkar. He once again reiterated the soundness of Selby's work and said that it was his duty as teacher to point out to his students Butler's "Circular reasonings and the *false* analogies and inductions". He further said that "none but a student that gropes in the dark and believes in all the superstitious notions that our mythology is so full of, can be satisfied with *all* the arguments of Butler." Finally, he asked if Ranade, by citing the example of failure of Buddhism is firmly of the conviction that the atheistic "teaching can have no hold on national thoughts", why should he fear so much the supposed atheistic principles of Prof. Selby or any other Professor?¹²

It was against this background that the Deccan College debate took place, Ranade and Bhandarkar, in upholding the claims of religion, made certain assert which were vehemently challenged by Agarkar. In one of his assertions, Ranade spoke of Christianity and of Christian philosophers, old and new, with some degree of disrespect and lavished high praise on the ancient Aryans for having developed the best system of religion that the world has ever seen, and to Aryan philosophers for their working out the deepest problems of theological metaphysics. Secondly, he spoke of direct relation between religion and morality, and of the prime necessity of religion to guide in moral conduct of the human beings. Both these assertions were refuted by Agarkar with equal force. Agarkar argued that the morality can exist and flourish without depending in the slightest degree on religion, and that the morality of the common people will be better served by giving them some insight into modern science and philosophy than by merely appealing to their religious feelings. Surprisingly, Tilak supported all the arguments of Agarkar on this occasion.¹³ This made Ranade to lose his temper, perhaps for the first time in his life, and he chastised Agarkar and his supporters for denigrating the value of religion as a great moral force.

The debate was neatly summed up in two articles under the heading "Religion, Science and Philosophy" in the *Mahratta*.¹⁴ Very probably they were penned by Agarkar. Referring to Ranade's angry outburst, the *Mahratta* said that this "unhappy incident" showed that "even the most judicious minds, when led away by religious enthusiasm, so easily lose their balance that they readily plunge into fallacies, unpardonable in a neophyte in science and philosophy and cannot see the plainest truths without material distortion. It is such incidents, and they are not rare, that clearly exhibit the power of emotions and passions over reason, when the latter is engaged in the examination of untasteful truth."¹⁵

As regards Ranade's claim of the superiority of Hinduism the *Mahratta* raised the question "What is this Hindu religion?" and answered it in the following words "It is a confused anachronistic record of all the stages through which the religious belief of the ancient Aryans passed in their advance from barbarism to civilization. From the wildest polytheism to absolute pantheism in which the soul of man becomes completely identified with the soul of the universe. There is probably every stage of belief to which the Hindu religion gives its sanction." Is this religion, asked the *Mahratta*, which Ranade wanted the people to follow and revive, each according to his taste?¹⁶

The *Mahratta* pointed out that the relation of religion & metaphysics, properly so called, is neither direct nor practical, for while religion has become a matter of faith in almost every case, metaphysics still retains its argumentative character which is approachable only by a few. It said that modern science and philosophy are slowly but surely undermining the foundations of religion. But it said that so long as religion cannot be driven off from its last refuge in emotion it is not possible to hope that science and philosophy will gain their final triumph over religion and relieve it forever from all its concerns in human life. Nevertheless, the writer in *Mahratta* maintained, through the dissemination of the truths of science & philosophy it is possible to banish the religious hold on the people, but so long as this dissemination is incomplete, the best course to follow is to assume an attitude of indifference towards religion.¹⁷

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THE CHRISTIAN MISSIONARIES : THE EVOLUTION OF FEMALE EDUCATION IN WESTERN INDIA, 1857-1921

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The Christian Missionaries played a pioneering role in promoting female education in Western India¹ They were the initiators as the East India Company was reluctant to take up such issues being busily engaged in fighting wars and consolidating its hold over newly acquired territories It also feared that by taking up the issue regarding women's education it might create hostilities among the Indian people and would amount to interference in social and religious activities The Indian intelligentsia who had received western education on the other hand, had no clear perception of female education and it had not chalked out any programme of action

The Christian missionaries not only entered the scene at this stage but they did so with a motivation to take up the dangerous and sensitive issue of female education in India guided purely by their humanitarian and evangelical zeal It was the general thinking amongst the missionaries that female education alone could help in developing the personality of the women in India They also thought that female education will enlighten the women and prevent them from submitting to irrational customs like Sati, enforced widowhood etc Besides, education could promote essential qualities in women such as natural tenderness, love, domestic and social virtues and above all ability to mould the character of their children A popular poem entitled Songs for the little one at home, British and American children learned —

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"See the heathen mother stand
Where the sacred current flows
With her own maternal hands
Mid the waves her babe she throws
Send, Oh! send, the Bible there,
Let its precepts reach the heart,
She may then her children spare
Act the tender mother's part "

A parallel was drawn between Social regeneration and Women's education with the general state of Indian society. In other words, social progress was closely related to women's education. John Wilson who belonged to the Scottish Missionary Society clearly stated that "I am more and more convinced that in seeking for the moral renovation of India we must make greater effort than we have yet done to operate upon the female mind. In India it is the stronghold of superstition. Its enlightenment ought to be an object of first concern with us."³ Further there was a realisation that education was a vital channel through which they could influence the people particularly women and impress upon them the gospels and teachings of Jesus Christ, thereby converting them to the Christianity. In this process the entire family could eventually be converted to the fold of Christianity. In fact, education was considered as the cause and end of Proselytization. The constant focus of missionaries on elevating the position of Indian women was an attempt to emphasize the superiority of British Social System over the Indian Social System prevailing. Missionaries were not only helpmates of the Imperialist rulers but they were in fact Cultural Imperialists providing educational base entirely on English values. In the post Mutiny period, there was a deep concern of the rulers on "improving" the people by changing their habits thus making once for all, India safe for Europeans to rule.⁴

The important Missionary Societies whose work became prominent in Western India were the Roman Catholic Missionary, American Missionary Society, the Scottish Missionary and the London Missionary Societies. Despite varied Missionary organizations operating, their activities were more or less similar viz., spreading of female education and proselytization.

There were three agencies through which these Christian Missionaries worked in promoting female education. They are

- i) Girls Day Schools
- ii) Orphanages and Boarding establishments
- iii) Domestic Teaching of women arranged in middle class and higher class families - popularly termed as "Zenana Teaching"

The Day schools were by and large formal in nature. Apart from Bible teaching which formed the core of the curriculum, the students were instructed in reading, writing and arithmetic (3 'R's). Environmental education was also emphasized upon. The American Missionaries did pioneering work in Western India in the matter of establishing and successfully operating Day Schools in Western

India As early as 1824 they established first girls school in Bombay Presidency and two years later they reported an increase of 9 girls day schools with an aggregate attendance of 340 peoples In 1829 the number rose to 400 of whom 122 were able to read, write and do cipher work The girls were also able to do plain needle work⁵ Although such day schools were opened by all the other Missionaries Societies subsequently, the efforts of Margaret Wilson deserves special mention Her sincere labour in promoting women's education gave a firm footing to the Scottish Missionary Society in Western India On her arrival she determined to take up women's education in India as a challenge Quoting her own words - "We have come to Bombay - the place destined to be the scene of our future labour and trials"⁶ On her own initiative she established six Day schools for girls and personally associated herself in their growth and development She learnt the local dialect and vernacular viz , Marathi for establishing closer rapport with her pupils and taught them in vernacular She also translated some of the English books into Marathi For example, Rollin's *Ancient History* for the benefit of her students⁷ The popularity of her institution can be visualized from the fact that by 1832, her schools had on role 157 girls She gave her heart and soul to the schools as she keenly felt that she was doing service to God and Humanity by imparting the knowledge of Divine Truth to the women of India Quoting in her own words - "I take the entire superintendence of the school and consider this affords me a most valuable opportunity of conveying the knowledge of Divine truth to the female of India I feel that every increase of population brings with it an increase of happiness and I see in this arrangement a wonderful illustration of the goodness of God Had I contemplated at a distance the number and variety of duties which now devolve upon me, I should have been appalled at the prospect, but instead of listening they greatly add to my enjoyment"⁸

The Day schools opened by Missionaries greatly expanded between the period 1813-1833 Gradually this emphasis underwent a change and we find that from 1833 onwards, the Missionaries concentrated on opening Secondary schools and colleges⁹ In Bombay Dr John Wilson founded the magnificent college which afterwards bore his name In fact Wilson College was the first Arts College to admit lady students In 1886, the first lady student who entered Wilson college belonged to the Parsi community They were Ratanbai Ardeshir Vakil and her sister Meherbai Ratanbai specialized in French and was elected as a Fellow in 1890 From then till her early death in 1895, she taught French in this college Meherbai took to medicine¹⁰ Gradually the college had a long roll of women graduates who subsequently took degrees in medical science and law¹¹

The Report of Director of Public Instruction states that in the year 1897-98 there were 14 lady students on the college rolls during the first term, of whom 7 were studying for the previous examination, 3 for the intermediate and two for the B A examination

It is interesting to note that when Wood's Educational Despatch was received in 1854, Missionary Institutions formed the bulk of educational enterprise in India It was because of their efforts that Wood's Despatch specially mentioned liberal grant to Missionary schools The higher institutions of learning emphasized law, medical science & European languages¹²

In the region of our study, Mission schools became popular among the Parsis, Gujaratis, Maharashtrians, Muslims and the Protestant Christian converts ¹³ It is significant that among the Hindus, the Brahmans who were the highest in social hierarchy attended Mission schools Mary Carpenter in her account states that in Poona 25 little Brahman girls attended as day scholar in Mission Boarding schools ¹⁴ Margaret Wilson appointed Brahmin teachers in her schools not only to impart instructions to her pupils but also to help her in gathering more students from among the Brahmin community ¹⁵ The Orphanages and Boarding establishments found the second important agency through which the Missionaries carried out the promotion of female education Almost all the Missionaries established the kind of institution which served twin purpose viz , promotion of female education and carrying on humanitarian work among the destitute section of society Its importance lay in the fact that they provided vocational education to women in lace making, weaving, knitting, needle work, etc The main idea was to make the people self-reliant ¹⁶

At the close of 1850, the various Missionary efforts of female education in Western India as well as in the rest of India resulted in establishment of 354 Day schools with 11549 girl students Besides, 91 Boarding schools were also established with 2346 girl students These girls were taught mostly in vernacular languages The break-up of these Missionary schools in various provinces is as follows -¹⁷

Province	Day Schools	Girls	Boarding schools	Girls
Bengal	26	690	28	836
NW Province	8	213	11	208
Madras Presidency	222	6929	41	1101
Bombay Presidency	28	1087	6	129
Ceylon	70	2630	5	72
	354	11549	91	2346

The above statistics reveal that by 1854, Missionary activities in this field not only covered Western India but female education spread over the rest of India The third agency viz , Zenana system or domestic system of education was by and large informal in nature This system catered for the education of women in middle class and higher class families who were denied access to formal institutions of learning owing to prevalent customs and traditions In certain cases it became a feasible alternative to a few years of formal schooling To most of the Europeans the Zenana system of education in families was considered to promote intrigues and prejudices The places where such system of education was practised were considered as bastions of ignorance and breeding places of disease ¹⁸ To do away with such

lacunae and shortcomings, the Missions tried to educate the women folk and convert them to Christianity. While the Missionaries succeeded in imparting education to women, they could not succeed in their second mission of converting women to Christianity¹⁹

The curriculum in the Zenana system laid emphasis on the 3 'R's, fables, stories and imparting moral education with a view to inculcate certain virtues among young girls. These virtues include obedience, patience and chastity. The girls could understand the joy of motherhood and the merit of becoming an educated wife and companion to the husband. In several ways Zenana system of female education was ideally suited for creation of a total feminine personality in that period.

In Western India the earliest to promote the Zenana system of education was the Society for Promotion of Female Education in the East. In fact in 1842, it was the first organization to attempt at the introduction of Zenana system of education in the Indian society. This Society first sent a lady to Bombay to cater for the female education of Parsi community. Later on it also became pioneer in all its subsequent efforts. It established a training school and home for Zenana teachers and workers at one of its headquarters in North West India. This Society selected agents for other Societies to carry on similar work in other parts of India.

For spreading the Zenana system of education and to ensure its proper functioning, the need of well trained teachers was keenly felt by the Societies. It was this need and realization that compelled Mary Carpenter to suggest establishment of Normal schools for training of female teachers for such purpose. Her endeavour led to the establishment of such Training schools in Bombay, Poona and Ahmedabad in 1862. Zenana teaching brought into sharp focus the need of women doctors and female nurses who could look into the medical requirements of women-folk particularly during child-births. It was in child-birth that full horror of Purdah system was observed. The women were allowed to die during deliveries before they could be persuaded to get themselves examined by male doctors. To meet the medical care of women folk, pioneering efforts were made by Miss Clara Swain who belonged to Methodist Episcopal Church of America. She began her work initially at Bareilly in the United Provinces. Her efforts bore fruit and in 1887, 17 lady students were studying at the Grant Medical College Bombay. Of these, two were matriculates working for LMS degree and the others were pursuing studies in medical science for the award of diploma and certificates.

Hospitals exclusively meant for women were also established in Bombay Presidency. The earliest hospital for women was opened in Poona by the Church of Scotland. In 1892, St. Margaret hospital for women was established where medical problems faced by women were attended to. This was followed by opening of similar hospital at Kolhapur by the American Presbyterian Mission.

Thus the Zenana system along with Day schools and Orphanages did succeed in laying the foundation of female education in Western India. However, the 1857 Uprising followed by the Queen's Proclamation of 1858 which emphasized religious neutrality and later on the appointment of Indian Education Commission of 1882 brought about a sea change in the position of the Missionaries operating in

India These Missionaries now adopted a policy of restricting their activities to the maintenance of a few educational institutions in high state of efficiency and abandoned their earlier dream of commanding and controlling the entire educational field in India

It is ironical to note that though these missionaries became the pioneers in women's education in India, their efforts could never acquire a popular base among the people of India. In fact, their activities became very much restricted and virtually amounted to a drop in ocean. The deep rooted social prejudices, fear of conversion to Christianity prevented women in India from acquiring education in the Missionary schools. By this time, the Indian intelligentsia dominated by males established private schools for girls. For example, Jotiba Phule established schools for girls in Bombay Presidency in 1851. In 1907, Maharishi Karve started Mahila Vidyalay and in 1916, he established the famous S N D T University for women in Bombay. These institutions gradually gained popularity among the people because of their secular character. Another significant factor which contributed to limit the Missionary activities was the growing interest shown by the British Government in spreading women's education. As mentioned earlier, the Educational Despatch of 1854 had stressed on promoting women's education by Government of India. Among other things, the Despatch of 1854 recommended that all schools for girls including Zenana System, be brought under a comprehensive educational system and assisted through grant -in-aid. Similarly, the Educational Commission of 1882 emphasized on the expansion of secondary education and training of women teachers and appointment of women Inspectors of schools.

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THE PIONEERING WOMEN LABOUR LEADERS OF BENGAL (1920-47) : SOME OBSERVATIONS

MANJU CHATTOPADHYAY*

The Contribution of Women to India's long, complex and heroic struggle for freedom was no less than that of men. This is as much true for Bengal as for any other province of India. The contribution of the working class movement to our freedom struggle has also not obtained due recognition from historians. Is it any wonder then that the contribution of the handful of women who boldly came forward to organise the working class in the twenties and the thirties of the present century, has rarely been discussed by historians and scholars? This paper seeks to repair such acts of omission in a humble way. My discussion will be confined to the pioneering women labour leaders of Bengal only.

As is well-known, the All India Trades Union Congress was born in 1920 in Bombay. Only a handful of activists went forward at that time to work among the labouring population. In Bengal, the early labour leaders, all of them men, like Ashwini Banerji, Premtosh Bose and a little later Mrinal Kanti Bose - primarily worked among Bengali Workers-pressmen, Jute-workers and textile workers. Their contacts with the Hindi or Urdu speaking vast working class population was totally insignificant.

Hence, it seems remarkable to us that the handful of highly-educated women, who voluntarily chose the extremely difficult task of organising the down-trodden working class of Bengal, were the first to freely mix with not only Bengali, but also Hindi and Urdu speaking (also Oriya) workers - Hindus, Muslims, Bengalee, Bihari,

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U P walla, Oriya and Aadibasi workers. They were the first to go to the Scavengers of Calcutta and became their unchallenged leaders. Santosh Kumari Devi who was a lieutenant of Deshbandhu Chittaranjan Das, was the path-finder and she organised the Jute Workers in the *Gauripore Sramik Samiti*. In 1922 and 1923, Santosh Kumari and her union successfully led strikes which won substantial benefits for the workers and the union became a model for Jute Workers of the whole Kankinara-Jagatdal belt.¹ Johnston and Sime, British labour leader were full of praise for her and wrote that there were quite a few paper unions, "but there is one exception, 'the Bengal Jute Workers' Association, which has been inspired for the past 2 years by an interesting and self sacrificing little lady, Mrs Santosh Kumari Gupta"²

I had the rare good fortune to meet Santosh Kumari several times from 1981 to 1985 and in reply to my queries as to the pattern of her activities, she alertly replied

"After the success of the Gouripore strike, Jute workers from all over 24 Parganas, from Budge to Kamarhatty used to come to me for advice. We had cordial, informal discussions and they went back to form unions in their factories. We also encouraged them to set up night schools for workers in their area. In this way the consciousness of the workers spread without which I alone could have achieved little."³

What about her ideology? She was a fervent patriot and as she emphatically stated, she was not a communist. But she had no hesitation in working jointly with early communists like Bankim Mukherjee and Kali Sen.⁴ As early as 1923, Santosh Kumari wrote in *Atma Shakti*, a radical Swarajist weekly of Calcutta

"At present, all over the world, Movements are going on to improve the conditions of the working people and workers of our country too, should follow suit. That is why we have formed the *Gouripore Sramik Samiti* and call upon brothers and sisters working in all Jute Mills of Bengal to form such unions and increase their strength through unity and organisation."⁵

Nationalist newspapers of Bengal carry reports of Jute workers of Naihati, Hajinagar and other areas holding meetings and forming unions-almost everywhere. Santosh Kumari presiding over such meetings.⁶

When the All India Traders Union Congress held its fourth Congress in Calcutta, in March, 1924, C R Das presided over the session and Santosh Kumari was unanimously elected as Chairman of the Reception Committee.⁷

It was at this point of time that Santosh Kumari brought out a workers' own weekly called *Sramik*, priced only one pice. In one of its editorials, she wrote "This paper will make the capitalists realize that the working class is in no way inferior to them, nor is the peasantry inferior to the Zamindar."⁸

Santosh Kumari also organised solidarity campaign with the striking Railway Workers of Lillooah in 1927-28. A key organiser of that strike, Gopen Chakravorty, an accused in the Meerut Conspiracy case recalls "We had organized a solidarity

march of over a thousand workers along the B T Road When the rally reached Hajinagar, Jute Workers' leader Santosh Kumari Devi arranged for a regular feast for all the strikers"⁹

Space does not permit further elaboration, but one thing has to be mentioned The workers 'en masse' called Santosh Kumari 'Ma' or Mother and she also protected their rights with motherly care and courage - irrespective of their language, religion or caste This was quite remarkable for the period 1922-25, when even the early Communists had not yet appeared on the scene

The educated middle class trade unionists rarely considered it worthwhile to organise the scavengers of Calcutta The scavengers were then the worstpaid workers in the city, they were the untouchables, but their work was most invaluable

Two remarkable women took upon themselves the task of organising this neglected sector and leading their strike-struggles Dr Prabhabati Das Gupta was the unchallenged leader of the scavengers strike in Calcutta in 1928 and again in 1929, while, an aristocratic Muslim lady, Begum Sakina, was the unquestioned leader of the scavengers of Calcutta, during their strike in 1940 Prabhabati Dasgupta passed MA in Psychology from Calcutta University, then obtained a further MA degree from Columbia University in USA and a doctorate degree in 1927 from the Frankfurt University in Germany The noted Communist leader Moni Singh, who knew her well writes "Prabhabati Das Gupta was not a communist but a progressive nationalist"¹⁰

In 1928, she became the President of the *scavengers' Union of Bengal* and Dharani Goswami, a communist, its secretary Prabhabati a highly educated and Westernized modern woman, mixed freely with scavengers, went to their *bustees*, sat in their hovels, and soon was accepted as their mother Mataji ¹¹

Her name and fame spread and the Jute workers of Bengal elected her President of their union and she was one of the key leaders of the first ever Bengal Jute Workers' General strike in 1929 ¹² From 1 July to 30 September 1929, a total of 272,000 Jute workers were out on general strike and would negotiate with the Mill-owners only if their *Mataji* agreed A decade later, even when she was no longer active, ten thousand Jute workers gave her a standing ovation in Titagarh - a young communist activist present there then, now a CITU top leader gave me this vivid account ¹³

An equally remarkable figure was Begum Sakina, the first Muslim Woman advocate of Bengal She was the daughter of a Persian revolutionary and had married a high government official Their ways soon parted and Sakina entered politics to be elected a councillor to the Calcutta Corporation in 1939 Her full name was Begum Sakina Faruk Sultana Moazzeda It was as a councillor of Calcutta Corporation, that she was moved by the miserable condition of the Scavengers, some ten thousand strong, employed by the Calcutta Corporation She at once plunged into the work of organising them, and like Prabhabati, dined with them and shared their lives Biren Roy, the present veteran CITU leader of the Corporation workers' Union told me in 1986 and also wrote in an article that Begum Sakina was

fabulously popular with the workers. They called also her mother¹⁴. She was persecuted, arrested, exiled from Calcutta for leading the scavengers' strike in Calcutta in 1940, but did not betray the workers¹⁵.

Santosh Kumari, Prabhabati and Sakina were highly educated and belonged to the upper middle class. A different character was Sudha Roy, a lower-middle class lady from East Bengal, connected with revolutionary movement who became a Communist as early as 1934, joined the Bengal Labour Party and became one of the organizers of the Dock Workmen strike, late in 1934¹⁶. She moved fearlessly day and night among Urdu-speaking Muslim dock workers and they too, protected her honour - their sister (Bahinji)¹⁷.

It is interesting to note, that some years back, when I had interviewed Dr Maitrayee Bose, Octogenarian INTUC leader, and asked her whether she faced any hostile reaction from Muslim dock workers, because she was a woman, she snapped back "No, never. I was always treated with warmth and respect by Muslim dock workers, who called me 'Bahinji'. Rather, some of my highly educated friends & relatives looked down upon my work among dock workers, whom they considered low brows"¹⁸.

Certain interesting features in the activities of these 5 (and others) pioneering women labour leaders of Bengal emerge from my study. All five were highly educated and except Sudha Roy, all came from well to do families. Yet they went ahead to organize the most downtrodden sections of the society - the scavengers, the Dockers, the Jute workers. Four of these women came from so-called upper-caste Hindu families of Bengal (the fifth was an aristocratic Muslim lady). Yet the workers whom they loved and organized were Urdu or Hindi speaking, either 'untouchables' or Muslims or so called down and outs. They went to their slums, drank tea with them, shared their food unhesitatingly and became their 'Mataji' (Mother) or 'Bahinji' (Sister). This was indeed a remarkable achievement!

What drove them to go to the working class? With the sole exception of Sudha Roy, nobody had a clear cut ideology. Perhaps it was the mother's or sister's instinct in them that brought them so close to the toiling masses. In their memoirs, both Santosh Kumari¹⁹ and Prabhabati²⁰ repeatedly recall that their greatest satisfaction was that the mass of the workers had accepted them as their mother.

Another significant point is that these oppressed, down trodden, semi-literate toilers never hesitated to accept their leadership on the ground that they were women, on the other hand, a significant section of even the nationalist middle class did not take kindly to these women labour leaders. A leading Calcutta Daily grossly insulted Santosh Kumari,²¹ while Sanibar Chatterji and even Prabasi²² hurled ridicule at Prabhabati. Sakina Begum was insulted in Corporation Meeting by no less a person than Dr B C Roy for 'instigating' scavengers' strike²³.

The question that keeps on surfacing again and again, is why did these pioneering women labour leaders disappear from active political life after 5/6 years - especially Santosh Kumari, Prabhabati and Sakina Begum. Santosh Kumari always kept her lips sealed whenever this question was posed before her.

Prabhabati in her recorded interview blames the communists for her "premature retirement" from Labour Movement²⁴ Begum Sakina just disappeared from the scene

One reason for this, was undoubtedly their strong individualism. They passionately loved the working class and no doubt worked in a dedicated fashion for their welfare, not as class-conscious organisers, but as mother - Ma or Mataji. This gave them a sense of being the 'trustee' of the oppressed workers. So when the working class changed itself in course of struggles, formed their own strike committees and threw up working class activists like Ismail, Chatur Ali, Bama Charan Sani or Suroth Pachal from their own ranks, they perhaps found the 'Mother' to be too over-bearing.

But this is only one side of the picture. The new trade-union leadership, notably the communists, with whom they had worked, took perhaps a one-sided, sectarian, critical view of these women leaders, missing their great contribution in creating the early consciousness among the disorganised and relatively docile toiling millions. The impact of Santosh Kumari, Prabhabati and Sakina on the working class was profound and it is on the basis of this, that the next big step forward was taken by the Leftwing trade-unionists, notably the communists in Bengal.

Of the pioneering 5 women labour leaders, 2 were of different type - Sudha Roy and Dr. Maitrayee Bose. From the first they had a clear-cut ideology and a well-planned goal. Sudha Roy was a Communist, the second woman to become a member of the CPI²⁵. Dr. Maitrayee Bose was a Congress socialist and both tried to inject the ideal of socialism among the workers. Perhaps that is the reason why Sudha Roy remained wedded to the Labour movement from 1934 till her death in 1987, and that is why Dr. Maitrayee Bose's association with the working class movement lasted from the thirties to the seventies of the present century. All these, however, require more detailed and in-depth research.

Finally, a great quality of all these women leaders was that they were totally non-communal and secular in their views.

In conclusion, I would only like to assert that despite all their limitations, the handful of pioneering women labour leaders of Bengal blazed a trail, that was truly heroic and they do deserve a salutation from scholars assembled in the rostrum of the Indian History Congress.

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**SOCIO-ECONOMIC BACKGROUND OF
NATIONALISM IN INDIA DURING
THE LATTER HALF OF 19TH CENTURY
AS REFLECTED IN
VERNACULAR NEWS PAPERS**

(WITH SPECIAL REFERENCE TO UTTAR PRADESH)

B.D. MISHRA*

The paper is to present the Socio-Economic Background of nationalism in India (with special reference to Uttar Pradesh) during the latter half of the nineteenth Century. To obtain the objective I have consulted both official and non-official records. However, for this paper I have mainly depended on my study of the Vernacular news papers of the period in English version as available in the yearly selections from Vernacular News-Papers.

The study reveals the fact that in India the socio-economic consciousness of the Indian people formed the nucleus of the Indian nationalism. And this socio-economic consciousness was directly associated with the rise and growth of English education in India.¹ The case in Uttar Pradesh was also the same.

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Our socio-economic consciousness of the nineteenth century was the direct outcome of our intellectual development of the period. This development was associated with the rise and growth of English education in India. This education inaugurated the era of inquiry and change, the very essence of modernity, and prepared the background for the emergence of growth and changes revolutionising the life as a whole.

The areas in India where English education got congenial atmosphere to take root and develop rapidly, became pioneers in the field of socio-economic consciousness and the resultant growth of nationalism. Bengal being the first place of both the origin and development of British Rule and English education in India, stood first and foremost in the 19th century socio-economic renaissance and national developments. The origin, growth and force of these trends in Indian life had been conditioned by the rise and spread of English education.

The pioneers of our socio-economic renaissance and national consciousness were either the English educated Indians or those who had been abroad for other purposes. Our nationalism starting from our new socio-religious consciousness soon pervaded our life as a whole.

The emergence of nationalistic feelings in India was preceded by a new socio-religious, economic and cultural consciousness of a few English educated youths of India who could correctly grasp both, the actual nature of British colonialism as well as the rich cultural heritage of India.² Such youths were spread all over India. However, their number varied from one region to another. This variation may be traced to the varying facilities for English education in different parts of India.

The English educated youths were fostering the cause of nationalism in two ways. Firstly, they were analysing the British policy and moves to exploit India to the maximum possible extent for the British imperialistic aspirations. They brought out their economic drain which had ruined India in all walks of life.³ Secondly, they made sustained endeavour to create awareness among their brethren in regard to the evils of their socio-religious life. They exhorted them to awake from their lethargy and carelessness and advised them to educate them to get rid of ignorance and improve their condition.⁴ They did it through their discussions and vernacular press. Their nationalistic feelings and sentiments were getting full expression in their dailies, weeklies, periodicals and other vernacular literature.

As regards Uttar Pradesh (then known as the North-Western Provinces) the number of English educated youths till the last quarter of 19th century was negligible due to its negligible facilities for the education.

Truly, the bedrock of modern English system of education was formalised with the initiation of Calcutta Madarsa (1771), and Sanskrit College Varanasi (1791). Yet, U P stood far behind in its scheme for the spread of English education as compared to Bengal or other Presidencies of India.

When in 1843 education became provincial subject,⁵ the atmosphere of U P was not found congenial for the encouragement of English education. Accordingly, the provincial government decided⁶ to educate the people through the medium of their mother-tongue. The teaching English was entrusted to colleges only.⁷

This decision of the government proved detrimental to both, the growth of English education and the emergence of renaissance and national consciousness in the provinces. So, U P stood far behind from Bengal in both, the arrangement for English education and the rise and advancement of renaissance and national consciousness. Consequently, when in the latter half of the 19th century Bengal was witnessing⁸ the tidal wave of renaissance and the advancement of nationalism from the sphere of religion and society to the arena of politics, U P was content with the ripples.

The English education at school level in U P could get some encouragement after 1860 when some of its notables were inclined to contribute for it.⁹ This movement set on foot by them gained momentum as the time passed and the awareness of the educated ones grew by the turn of the century.¹⁰

As referred earlier, the deficiency in the field of English education was the prime factor of the belated rise and slow advancement of the renaissance and nationalistic feelings of the people in U P.

Actually, the rise of renaissance and nationalism in U P is associated with Bharatendu Harish Chandra¹¹ (1850-85). It is his genius, imagination and foresight that inaugurated the era of socio-economic consciousness and nationalism in the provinces. But, in his life time their growth was immaterial. However, as the facilities for English education increased and to meet its requirements the University of Allahabad was founded¹² (Nov-15, 1887). The process of socio-economic renaissance and the consequent spread of nationalism gained momentum.

The last quarter of the 19th century in the provinces was marked with the explicit manifestations of the socio-economic, religious and cultural consciousness of the English educated Indian though a few in number. They like their brethren in other parts of India grasped the true nature of the British colonial rule in India and the pressing need of education and social consciousness for the amelioration of their national life.¹³

The social and economic issues like education, economic drain, child marriage and permanent widow-hood, suttee, marriage expenses, girl trading, infanticide, adorning child with precious ornaments, use of spirituous liquors, prostitution, gambling conversion, beggary, foreign visit and also the socio-religious refoxnas, got free expression in their vernacular news-papers and such other literature. In fact, these were the themes of their discussion and action.¹⁴

They discussed them thoroughly and suggested ways and means to solve them. For instance, their suggestion to form community associations to deal with

them was the notable one ¹⁵ Remarkably, their efforts bore fruits Some community and general associations were organised and their annual meetings held ¹⁶ Most remarkable, even an Strisamaj (women's Association) came into existence at Meerut and its fourth anniversary (1893) was attended by seven hundred women ¹⁷ Similarly, a professional association (Graduates Association) was constituted at Allahabad under the Presidentship of Pandit Sundar Lal, High Court advocate ¹⁸ In this way they tried to set on foot a movement to mobilise society as a whole for its regeneration and upliftment

Education, specially higher, got top priority in their scheme of social and national reconstruction ¹⁹ They thought it panacea to all their ills This fact is well reflected in both, the editorials and the learned articles on the subject published in the vernacular newspapers of the period It was their common view that salvation of India lay in her being educated Hence, they cherished it most and struggled hard for its encouragement by both the government and the Indians Any sort of impedance in its rise and growth was a bugbear for them For example, they vehemently resented through their vernacular press the reduction in the educational expenditure by the local government in the name of financial strigney ²⁰ A correspondent of the *Oudh Punch* (Sept 1877) considered the reduction in education as "storm"²¹ on the means of spreading civilization and enlightenment all over the country

It were the educated ones who clearly brought out the fact that the grinding poverty of the people was the result of British economic drain of India In the provinces the press and the writers of ail shades discussed this issue at length ²² The editor of the *Kavi Vachan Sudha* (June 18, 1877) is, perhaps, the first in the provinces to observe that India had become a victim of British "Through and systematic robbery"²³ Ever since its footing in India, the British empire had been sucking her life blood in an increasing order as per its, expansion and consolidation It ruled India on commercial principles ²⁴ This truth brought out by the editor got full expression in the succeeding years till 1900 ²⁵ Naturally, the understanding of this fact largely helped in shaping and strengthening the feeling of nationalism in the provinces

Thus, it may be observed that the rise and growth of the feeling of nationalism in Uttar Pradesh during the latter half of the nineteenth century had been the outcome of the new socio-economic background of the provinces In the creation of this background the rise and growth of English education in the provinces had played paramount role

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- 24 *The Sahas*, May 31, 1882 (Selections, pp 353-54)
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CASTE DIVISIONS AMONG THE JEWS OF KERALA

P.M. JUSSAY*

I

- 1 1 In the multi-coloured fabric of India's population, the Jews form a long and continuous strand, thin though it be. They are found scattered in Konkan, Kerala and Manipur. Among them one of the most ancient is the Jewish Community of Kerala. But this has almost faded out. Most of them have emigrated to the modern state of Israel leaving just a handful behind. These pitiful remnants of a once proud and powerful community are desperately clinging together forgetting their age old divisions and dissensions in a last ditch attempt at retaining their identity. But this was not the case a generation ago when bitter passions and partisanship divided them into the White and the Black on the basis of the colour of their skin, Paradesi and Malabaree on the basis of the nationality of their origin or adoption and Meyuhasim and Meshuhabim on the basis of their birth. These divisions were maintained with such rigidity that it prevented intermarriages and even free association on social and religious occasions.¹
- 1 2 But this does not seem to have been the case in the beginning when the Jews first settled down in various places along the Malabar Coast.² Their earliest settlements were at the famous trade centres of Calicut, Cranganore and Quilon.³ Of these the most important was the one at Cranganore, known in the west as Muziris or Shingley. Muziris is derived from the ancient Tamil name, Muciri. It was the city proper. Shingley was formed from Changla Azhi, the original name of the harbour. Even today it is known in its shortened form

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Azhi This was perhaps the Jewish quarter and when Joseph Rabban, the wealthy merchant, was installed a prince of the State and the leader of Anjuvannam by Bhaskara Ravi Varma, the Cheraman Permal,⁴ it came to be known in the west the Jewish Kingdom of Shingley This is evident from the words of Rabbi Nizzim of Barcelona of the 13th Century, who sang

'I travelled from Spain
I had heard of the city of Shingley
I longed to see an Israeli King
Him I saw with my own eyes'⁵

- 1 3 They seem to have had another powerful colony with a governor at a place called Kunja Kari, who paid toll tax to the ruler of Quilon ⁶ But of the two, the principality of Shingley was more important and famous as it seems to have endured longer with seventy two successors to the title ⁷ The Prince was granted many royal privileges and prerogatives including the right of collecting taxes and tolls from the area under his jurisdiction ⁸ This was the golden age of the Jewish settlement at Cranganore when the community enjoyed not only unprecedented prosperity but also internal unity This is evident from their ancient wedding songs wherein they sing of the glorious days of Chirnanandan ⁹
- 1 4 But, according to tradition, at a later date, two brothers who were descendants of Joseph Rabban, quarrelled and the younger brother Joseph having power and influence plotted with the King of Cochin and murdered his brother Aaron Since this event the title of Anjuvannam became a bone of contention between two parties ¹⁰
- 1 5 But another tradition tells a different story The male line of Joseph Rabban having become extinct, a dispute arose between two brothers for the title One had the support of the meyuhasim, the Jews of the pure lineage and the other was backed by the meshuhrarim, a large assortment of slaves, freed or otherwise, their descendants and the children of the concubines of the meyuhasim Meanwhile the number of meyuhasim had dwindled, probably because of endogamy which they practised Their standard had deteriorated and so they were held in very low esteem,¹¹ while the Meshuhrarim had increased in numbers, become a large community and were rich and intimate with royalty and princes ¹² So the Meshuhrarim became bold and demanded marital union with the daughters and grand daughters of their masters The master resented the impudence of their slaves and rejected their demand contemptuously This enraged the slaves and they also appealed to the Zamorin advising him to pretend to support one party against the other and cheat them both They also promised to show him the weakest parts of the town The Zamorin attacked on a Sabbath night when the innocent people were asleep, sacked the town and caused great destruction The Jews fled and took refuge in places like Cochin, Ernakulam, Parur, Chennamangalam, Palayur and Muttom ¹³ All these places were under the Rajah of Cochin who was hostile to the Zamorin and friendly to the Jews

II

- 2 1 Although there seems to be some sediment of truth deposited at the bottom of these traditions, the main reasons that prompted them to abandon Cranganore seems to have been different
- 2 2 In 1341 there was a great flood in Periyar river which silted up the harbour mouth at Cranganore and opened a new natural harbour at Cochin. With this the importance of Cranganore waned and Cochin became a flourishing centre of international trade. Thus the trading communities like Jews, Christians and Muslims began to congregate at Cochin. By 1344 the Jews had built at Cochin their first synagogue outside Cranganore¹⁴
- 2 3 Meanwhile the Moors had already appeared on the scene as rivals of the Jews in trade. They had the support of the Zamorin. So the Jews had to abandon Calicut and move down south to Cranganore and its precincts. Here also abetted by the Zamorin the Moors continued to harass them¹⁵. So they sought the help of the Portuguese to fight the Moors. It was for this purpose that David Reuben from the Jewish settlement at Cranganore went to Rome and had an audience with Pope Clement VII. The Pope gave him a letter of recommendation to the King of Portugal. The King promised him military aid to fight the Moors. But before aid could be despatched the settlement at Cranganore was attacked and destroyed. Disappointed and disillusioned David turned a Mystic and returned to Rome where he was proclaimed the Messiah. He had a large following among the Jews of Central Europe. But in the end he was brought before the Inquisition, and exposed as a pretender. He was taken to Portugal in chains, where he seemed to have perished in prison¹⁶

III

- 3 1 With the destruction of the settlement at Cranganore, the Jews abandoned it and dispersed in small groups to settle down in Cochin, Ernakulam Parur, Palayur, Chennamangalam and Muttom¹⁷. Of them the largest and the most important settlement was the one at Cochin. The tragedy that befell them at Cranganore seems to have sobered them for the time being because we find them gathering together as one united congregation first at Cochangadi Synagogue, built in 1345 and then at the Kadavumbhagom Synagogue built in 1550. Before long, however, the age old dissensions seem to have erupted again. In 1568 another synagogue was built by a batch of Jews who arrived from Spain. Because it was built by foreigners it was dubbed the Paradesi Synagogue by the natives or Malabarees. The members of this congregation were handpicked meyuhasin, or those of pure lineage. The majority of them were White and hence they were called the White Jews. Thus the community was split into the Paradesi and the Malabaree which was synonymous with the White and the Black
- 3 2 But a close examination of the composition of the congregation will reveal that not all of them were foreigners nor Whites. It included noble families and

members from the royal house of Cranganore. Evidently it is through them that the Copper Plates came into the possession of the Synagogue. So also not all of them were White¹⁸. It is clear that a group of them joined together and considered themselves *meyuhasim* and by implication all the rest as *meshuhrarim* - or of mixed origin. The claim they made was not only arbitrary but also unjust because among the Malabarees many were descendants of the original Jewish settlers and men like Nehemiah Mota, Everayi¹⁹ and others, who were certainly men of merit, character and calibre. It is, however, true that there were among them slaves, emancipated or otherwise, their descendants, children of concubines of *Meyuhasim* and proselytes²⁰. It is on record that being treated with contempt in the *Paradesi* Congregation they revolted and continued the fight until the indignities they were subjected to were removed²¹. Not only in the *Paradesi* congregation but many of the Malabaree congregations also witnessed conflicts between the *Mehyhasim* and the *Meshuhrarim*. In the Congregation at Parur the *Meshuhrarim* were denied equal rights with the *Meyuhasim* in the synagogue. This resulted in a bitter dispute. Since it could not be settled amicably they went to the Court of law much against the spirit of Judaism.

IV

- 4.1 The main dispute between the *Meyuhasim* and *Meshuhrarim* especially at Cochin was with regard to intermarriage. We have seen how this had split the community at Cranganore and brought about the eventual destruction of this ancient settlement and their consequent dispersal. It erupted again at Cochin as is evident from the letter that the *meshuhrarim* wrote to the Rabbi at Cairo complaining that "the *meyuhasim* do not intermarry with them and call them slaves and on this account they have quarrels without end"²².
- 4.2 The letter does not make any mention of colour and so it must be presumed that it was written before 1568 when with the construction of the *Paradesi* Synagogue exclusively for the Whites, the community was split on the basis of colour. Thereafter many writers accepted this basis of dividing the community into various groups²³.

In fact De Costa divides the Jewish Community of Cochin into five categories on the basis of the colour of their skin and birth. They are the brown *meyuhasim* whose ancestors had come from Palestine on the destruction of the Temple, the black non-*meyuhasim*, the White who were relatively new comers, the *meshuhrarim* or emancipated slaves and finally, slaves²⁴. From this it is evident that the earlier division based on birth was later reinforced with colour. This was a reversal of the process that had taken place in the Hindu Community which was first divided on the basis of colour into *Savarnas* and *Avarnas* after the fair skinned Aryans conquered the dark skinned Dravidians. The victors considered themselves superior to the vanquished on the basis of the colour of their skin. But later as a result of the mixing of communities, the colour seems to have lost most of its shine. Thus during the puranic period

we find Krishna, the dark prince, being honoured by the Aryan groups of Pandavas and Kauravas

- 43 The Jews did not adopt the Hindu Caste System in toto but only the principle of superiority of groups on the basis of birth. Even this is against the spirit of Judaism which proclaims the fatherhood of God and the brotherhood of men. No other Jewish community in the world considers some group to be superior to others on the basis of birth as the Jews in India do²⁵. Hence it must be considered as a special feature adopted from the larger Hindu Community²⁶.

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26 The author acknowledges with gratitude the fellowship grant given by Jewish studies, New York, U S A for preparing this paper

IMAGE OF WOMEN IN STREE DARPAN (1909-1928)

KAMLESH MOHAN*

I

- 1 1 The issue of image of women in *Stree Darpan* (a Hindi magazine, launched in 1909 at Allahabad) was linked with India's dominant and urgent concern for recasting its own identity and historical consciousness from the early nineteenth century onwards. India's past became the anchor as well as the sounding board for testing the validity of new constructs and ideologies, evolved for sorting out the 'crisis' produced by cultural and ideological encounter between India and England¹ which was heavily overlaid by colonialism. The task of writing a new script for the past, which would reinforce the process of making of India as a nation and reflect its new socio-cultural and political aspirations, became inevitable. Women's question was the key constituent in the reconstruction of historical consciousness and search for the golden age.
- 1 2 The print media, especially vernacular magazines in various provinces of British India played a major role in this self-defining project for Indian men and women. With the emergence of women as rudimentary intelligentsia, in the early twentieth century there was a qualitative change in approach to the ongoing search for a new woman - Brahmo, Arya, Sikh and Muslim with special focus on the refashioning of their self-image and world-view in keeping with the demands of the colonial milieu and the material needs of urban middle classes². In contrast to the nineteenth century social reformers, who

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treated women as objects for reform or upliftment, these radical women, not in the sense of subverters of tradition but sensitive intelligent and eclectic interpreters of tradition, used media for projecting the persistent social blindness to the contentious issue of gender-relations and nature of women's oppression, especially institutionalisation of male control of female sexuality, fertility and labour in the name of shastric wisdom and tradition. However, they went beyond social reform and improvement of familial relationships and carved new spaces and roles for women.

II

- 2.1 In this paper, we have chosen *Stree Darpan* for analysing women's image on two counts. Firstly, it was unlike the other women's magazines *Saraswati*, *Chand*, *Grih Lakshmi* (Allahabad), *Panchal-Pandita*, *Jalvidya Sakha* (Jullundur), *Tahzeeb-e-Niswan*, *Sharif Biwi* (Lahore), *Punjabi Bhain* (Ferozepur), whose male-editors had some times co-opted their wives as editors, and was launched by a woman independently in 1909. In spite of her orthodox upbringing in the segregated 'Zenane' as the daughter of the Arya Samajist Raja Narendranath³ in Lahore who did not share the Arya Samaj ideal of new woman) and her lack of formal education,⁴ Rameshwari Nehru undertook the unusual task of cultivating women's mind and crusading against those customs, which imprisoned her mind and body. Even more daring and ambitious was her endeavour to redraw and extend the contours of social consciousness of not only the mentally infantilised women over centuries but also of self-centred men through the rational process of dialogue and interaction.
- 2.2 Secondly, this magazine had gradually become the nucleus of women's movement not only in the Hindi heartland but also for the entire north India. In this connection a significant fact may be mentioned that the establishment of the Prayag Mahila Samiti by Rameshwari Nehru in Allahabad in 1909⁵ had coincided with the launching of *Stree Darpan* which sought to offer wide social and communication space to women and helped to locate their issues in the main stream perspective of the national struggle for *swaraj*.⁶

III

- 3.1 In order to understand the new image of women in the *Stree Darpan*, it shall be helpful to discuss its aims and policy.⁷ Its lines were influenced by its editor's perception of the urgent problems of Indian society and politics, and her belief that contemporary magazines including the one run for the benefit and in the name of women, though making admirable contribution, were not fully alive to concerns and social agony of women, their point of view and their changing self-image. Hence *Stree Darpan* was launched with a view to presenting not only women's perception of existing social mores, problems and current national issues but also the common man's opinions and aspirations. It undertook to sculpt a new model for Indian women self-reliant, confident and capable of securing her own independent economic, social status and rights.

However, its major aim was to cultivate minds of women and to make them conscious of their own predicament growing out of their socialisation and conditioning within the patriarchal mould and values. It also proposed to accelerate the pace of the then ongoing socio-cultural and political changes in India and manifold developments in the world.

- 3.2 Having been exposed to the *purdah* culture in her natal home and the liberal westernised atmosphere of *Anand Bhawan* as the daughter-in-law of Moti Lal Nehru,⁸ Rameshwari Nehru was aware of the tensions and clashes between both the points of view. As one of the early but fully motivated and active crusaders for women's rights as a full-blooded human-being endowed with as much intelligence, sensitivity and keen sense of right and wrong as any man, she proposed to utilize her magazine for initiating dialogue between the upholders of two points of views on every issue, social, cultural and political.⁹ While the diehard traditionalists regarded new ideas and trends as destructive and obstructive, the protagonists of a liberal approach and western values viewed new light as a happy sign. For the formation of an enlightened public opinion, the magazine followed the policy of generating discussion and debate between both the groups. By serving as a forum for creative dialogue, and exchange and circulation of ideas, it proposed to enable its readers especially women to understand and identify the roots of social problems and participate in the process of social change and also to harness the heat of ideological friction for recreating or 'inventing' tradition¹⁰ and recasting gender-relations. The positive assessment of the role of *Stree Darpan* in changing the self-view and world-view of women by contemporary newspapers and magazines such as *Pratap*, *Vankateshwar Samachar* and others represented a section of intelligentsia's endorsement of the editor's bifocal strategy of social change and the magazine's policy.¹¹

IV

- 4.1 Being primarily a social action journal, the *Stree Darpan* from its inception (its first available issue dated 1911), directed its discourses towards women from the families that were undergoing a process of modernisation. It was meant to cultivate the minds of these women with two major goals in view - one to raise them to a level where they could be suitable companions for their husbands. The ideal of *Sahadharmini*, consciously by the Indian women,¹² was a useful construct for the middle classmen who had entered professional careers and business, and were required to interact with the British whose perceptions and attitudes no longer reflected the positive Orientalist view¹³ of Indian civilization and society but the negatively critical paradigm of utilitarians.¹⁴ The second goal was to groom them for the dual role as active crusaders for social-reform and as patriotic fighters for freedom through constructive work and resistance.
- 4.2 Hence, the majority of the Indian middle class men were anxious to get rid of the three embarrassing aspects of Indian tradition - duplicity of ethical and social norms, caste-discrimination and simultaneous glorification of women

and their oppression. They wanted women to accept perhaps the Victorian as the new model of home not *Zenana* and their role as cultivated and cultured wives and well-trained healthy mothers who could rear up a healthy progeny.¹⁵ Equipped with practical knowledge about nutritious food and regimen of health, the new women were expected to provide a home where their husbands could find solace and companionship after their day-long gruelling routine and the tension-producing manipulations of the business and professional world.

- 4.3 It is not surprising that the *Stree Darpan* should have targeted at and addressed their message to the bulk of Hindi-knowing middle class women throughout India. In fact, the contents of various issues of this journal showed that it was a family reading material as well. Apart from the editorial responses and articles on social issues such as mismatched marriages, *Vidhava-Vivah*, dowry, gender-relations, female-education etc. and political issues like demand for enfranchisement of women and their participation in multi-dimensional struggle for national freedom, the journal published prayers, patriotic poems, serialised novels-penned by a large number of socially-aware women, some of them being politicized as well. Male-writers too made their useful contribution. Among the well-known names were included left-wing writers Radha Mohan Gokul Ji, Satyabhakt, Ramashankar Awasthy, the famous Hindi poet Sridhar Pathak and the journalist Ramrikh Sehgal, Hukma Devi, Abadi Bano, Uma Kumari Nehru, Roop Kumari Nehru/Wanchu and many others. Mahatma Gandhi's articles, messages and letters to women figured frequently in this journal from 1920 onwards. These writers hailed from U P, Bihar, Punjab and Central Provinces (now called Madhya Pradesh), West Bengal and Sindh.
- 4.4 *Stree Darpan* had a separate section 'Kumari Darpan' its first issue being published in 1916 with Roop Kumari Nehru as the Assistant editor. The latter had addressed its message to the impressionable teenaged girls and aimed at training them as prospective housewives and primarily for their unconventional new role as propagandists and active workers for *Swadeshi* movement at the earlier stages of the nationalist struggle and for mass-based Civil Disobedience and Quit India movement emphasizing their importance in full public view.
- 4.5 Its editor Rameshwari Nehru (1909-1928) while underlining the non-commercial character of the journal run on no profit-no loss basis, frequently issued appeals to the public, through its own columns and other nationalist vernacular newspapers, for adding to the number of subscribers. Aware of the male-prejudice and resistance to becoming subscribers, Rameshwari Nehru urged them to read *Stree-Darpan* and articulate their disagreement through its columns.¹⁶ She had argued that the readers would benefit more intellectually if the opposite points of views on various issues and problems were juxtaposed.¹⁷ However, she had indicated her resolve to continue its publication, in spite of the price hike of stationery and printing without comprising its quality and reducing its size.¹⁸ It was remarkable that *Stree Darpan* managed to publish its issue on time barring three months during the problem-filled first seven years.

V

- 5 1 Let me turn to issues and themes in the columns of *Stree Darpan*, which became the indicators of rising level and expansion of feminist consciousness and its constituents - self-view and world-view of Indian women. Some of these major issues like education, *purdah* system, mismatched marriage etc generated heated discussions or debates in context with the central issue of redefining women's role in a new socio-economic and political environment, ultimately providing nucleus for long-term campaigns.
- 5 2 During the period between 1911-1920, *Stree Darpan* published a numerous articles and a few poems on the theme of education which remained the central issue in Indian women's movement. Indian society and family structures experienced considerable strain on account of the glaring unequal mental awareness between women and men in the middle classes especially because the latter had access to western education and exposure to new ideas and social values. These growing number of educated men, while interacting with their English Colleagues and bosses had accepted new role-models, they felt frustrated with the tradition-bound and illiterates women in their family. Obsession with gender specific roles within family and society coupled with new challenges and demands posed by new socio-cultural and politic-economic situation had compounded the existing contradictions. As a result, social-agony of women acquired a distressing dimension-daily insults and humiliation of wives at the hands of their educated husbands.
- 5 3 Perceiving the lack of education as the basic cause of their oppression and humiliation, the enlightened women began to oppose child-marriage and *purdah* primarily because these deprived them of education. Spontaneous note of protest was sounded through poems by women writers, in its issue of May-June, 1911 *Stree Darpan* published, Braj Rani's poem 'Vidya Parho', obviously an exhortation to women, is based on the premise of an honoured tradition of women's education in ancient India, represented by Madalsa, Maitryi and others. In the same issue, Yadunandan Prasad deplored the indifference to women's education in the twentieth century which was otherwise marked by rapid strides in the field of education all over the world¹⁹. Advocating an intensive campaign for their education, he argued that without educated, capable and efficient mothers India's salvation was not possible. Its earlier issue of January, Kamleshwar Devi's article 'Stri Shiksha Se Deshonnati' cited the example of educated Japanese women who contributed to every aspect of national life, in order to demolish arguments against education of Indian women. Through education, they would be trained to discriminate between right and wrong. In the issue of February 1918, Smt. Krishna Kumari (Lahore) linked India's decline and degeneration with the lack of women's education. In her view, education imparted grace to women and equipped them with skills to perform their wifely duties efficiently and their *pativrat dharma*²⁰. In its August 1918 issue Rameshwar Nehru's editorial "Deshi aur Vilayati Nari Shiksha" added to the list of benefits of education saying that it would enable women to develop a sense of pride in being Indians.

- 5.4 Another important point in this ongoing debate, initiated by the 19th century social reformers, was the nature and content of education. Should women be given education concerning domestic affairs or social and political ideology, and problems? which should be the model for their education-indigenous or western or both? *Stree Darpan* projected the case for a sound social and political education which would prepare girls for their responsibility as committed participants in the nationalist struggle. The question of content of their education was linked to the broad issue of role and position of women in the social and family structure. In spite of the broadening scope of women's activity from domestic to public life and enhancement of their personal dignity and status, the image of their traditional nurturing role still dominated the social psyche. Acutely aware of the painfully slow pace of attitudinal change among men as well as women, the male reluctance to accept the intellectual potentialities of the latter, their social and political rights and their freedom of choice as autonomous individuals, the ideologues of the women's movement campaigned for women's liberation. For them education had an instrumental value in recasting gender-relations and balance of power and authority in family system encased in the patriarchal values and mould. It is a measure of the changing self-image of women, so well epitomized by Hirdayamohini's rebuttal of Akbar Allahabadi's views on women's education,²¹ published in the June 1917 issue of *Stree Darpan*. Parodying Akbar's couplets, she wrote

Public mein kya zaroon ki ja kar tane
raho/parh likh kar apne ghar hi mein
ishwar bane raho/tum ko bitha ke taak par
pooja karenge hum/bhogo jo ghar mein
baith, na latton ko hove gam

- 5.5 Debate on the issue of women's education in *Stree Darpan* had assumed the form of social agitation in U.P. by the second decade of the twentieth century. While Kanya Mahavidyalaya, Jullundur (Punjab) had owed its birth to the missionary zeal of the male Arya Samaj reformers, the Central Hindu School (now known as Besant Kanya Mahavidyalaya) was the product of the single-minded efforts of Annie Besant—one of the early architects of Indian women's movement and a life-long crusader for women's rights.²² A vigorous campaign against *purdah*, which Patricia Jafferey, has characterized as 'sexual apartheid', was conducted through the columns of *Stree Darpan* under the editorship of Rameshwari Nehru.²³ The women's writers like Satyawati and Saubhagyawati demonstrated their ability of understanding the complex issue of *purdah* in context with larger issue of systematic and organized social oppression of women. While analysing its harmful consequences. She pointed out the futility of the abolition of *purdah* in isolation when women were deprived of education, real knowledge, wealth and personal freedom. It would acquire meaning in relation to the total removal of all oppressive social custom and practices.²⁴ Criticising it as a major obstacle to a girl's education, Satyawati went a step ahead and linked it with the women's right to good personal health like every other human being. However, these budding intellectuals tended to attribute the popularity of *purdah* to the influence of Muslim rule. In spite of

physical segregation from other women, these women were gradually developing emotional and bonds and sisterhood as a result of circulation of ideas and opinions, and proxy interaction facilitated by *Stree Darpan*. Their membership of ladies' association, initially formed under the wings of various social reform organisations and later of Women's Indian Association or All India Women's Conference were indicative of their expanding feminist consciousness-their changing self-view and world-view. Rameshwari Nehru, who rose to be one of the prominent leader of All India Women's Conference, had also helped the women of her natal family to discard *purdah* despite Raja Narendranath's well-known opposition to women's emancipation.

- 5.6 The debate on mismatched marriages was yet another issue which highlighted the growing resentment of critical women against the discriminatory social norms of a patriarchal family system in India which subjected women to both mental agony and denied them control over their sexuality and fertility. Especially the increasingly popular practice of widowers remarrying greatly agitated their minds because it was responsible for adding to the number of child-widows and thus posing a grave social problem. *Stree Darpan* became the forum for a creative dialogue between the supporters and opponents of widow-remarriage. In this debate both the issues of social health and fundamental right of women to satisfy their natural sexual urge within the institution of marriage remained alive in the contributions to this journal. In its January, 1911 issue, debate was sparked off by the publication of the text of Savitri Devi's lecture in Prayag Mehta Samiti. Manglanand's Commentary had not only questioned social sanction to remarriage of widowers and advocated widows' remarriage but also redefined *pativrata dharma*. He said *pativrata dharma* did not imply devotion to dead husband but observance of fidelity to the man whom the widow married. In this, widow remarriage would certainly not lead to moral corruption among women. Safe of girls was treated as a separate issue.
- 5.7 Interestingly, the battle of widow remarriage was more keenly fought by male-writers than women. It led credence to the uplift perspective of women's movement at least on this issue. Men's projection of their role as saviours of widows remained dominant even in the second and third decades of the twentieth century when women's movement was vibrant and the agitation for their rights stridently vocal. Even the vigorous campaign against widower's remarriage by educated women like Hukma Devi, the Principal of a Girls school in Dehradun, had not openly advocated the formulation of new social norms which gave an equal right to widows to resume conjugal life. In the August 1917, her article 'Stree Unnati Kaise Ho' had focussed attention upon the devaluation of women as indicated by the clarity of widowers remarrying. Even during their life-time, women suffered neglect when sick. Neither her beauty, nor her accomplishment nor her life-long devotion to her husband's entitled her to his (husband's) fidelity love and dignified status in family. In fact, it could be said that the women with strong feminist consciousness showed acute awareness of the gap between the scriptural status of women and harsh reality of their existence in the patriarchal system. 'Paon Ki Jooti' an

expression used by Hukma Devi in her article "Ardhangni ya Paon ki Jooti" became a recurring symbol of shame and humiliation for Indian women. The metaphor of dumb cattle-cow, dog etc reinforced their image of facilities existence

- 5.8 In February 1918 issue, Gulab Devi Chaturvedi's (Kota) letter on this issue was widely recommended for reading and thought by the editor Rameshwari Nehru. The crux of her message was that women themselves have to assume the role of saviours against the organized social oppression including the new form of assault on women-galore of widowers' remarriages. However, stories by women-writers did not show their heroines taking the radical step of ending their miserable plight as widows through remarriage. The stories entitled 'Prem Bindu' in June 1917 issue and 'Aradhana' in May/June 1919 issue illustrated the stronghold of the traditional image of a self-sacrificing and suffering women.
- 5.9 Hukma Devi had articulated this turn in women's movement in the April 1918 issue of *Stree Darpan*. She proposed the organisation of Kanya Hit Karni Sabha (A society for Welfare of Young Girls) which had a list of fourteen objectives including a united front for 'active resistance' (Sakriya Pratirodh) and the publication of a newsletter called *Kumar aur Kumari*. The fact of the high level of feminist consciousness was proved by Hukma Devi's suggestion to the editor to present a petition to the British Government seeking the imposition of legal restriction upon the practice of widowers' remarrying. It was also attested by the enthusiastic responses to Hukma Devi's proposals in the form of a score of letters whose writers had offered her sustained co-operation in the coming years. The impact of *Stree Darpan's* active campaign on this issue had positive implications for Indian women's movement not only in India but also for its advocates abroad. In 1917, its editor Rameshwari Nehru was invited to help the organization of Kanya Hitkarni Sabha in Rangoon. Thus, *Stree Darpan* had played an active role in raising the level of Indian women's consciousness as well as in consolidating the movement for their social and political rights. Rameshwari performed the role of a moderator in the creative dialogue or debate between two points of views on major social and political issues concerning Indian women.

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- 1 Himani Bannerji "Fashioning a Self Educational Proposals for and by women in Popular Magazines in Colonial Bengal" *Economic and Political Weekly*, 26 October, 1991, p 45-52. In writer's view, "The language of social reform in 19th century, and the early years of the 20th, is inscribed with the discourse of 'crisis'. Allusions to 'continuity and change', 'tradition and modernity', all involve the management of gender roles and division of labour outside and within the family, in terms of the needs of the new times. For example, Tapan Ray Chaudhury in *Europe Reconsidered Perceptions of the West in Nineteenth Century Bengal* makes this idea of 'new times' and encounter' between 'the East' and 'the West', the point of departure of his whole interpretive and historical exercise. The 'encounter', he points out, means 'a change'. "It is a part of modernisation", "the revolution in their world view"

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- 3 Om Prakash Paliwal, *Rameshwari Nehru Patriot and Nationalist* (Delhi, 1986), p 4 Also Kusum Pant, *The Kashmiri Pandit Story of a Community in Exile* (Delhi, 1987), pp 171-73
- 4 Ibid, p 2 Also interview with Gulab Pandit, Secretary and close-associate of Mrs Rameshwari Nehru
- 5 Somnath Dhar "Rameshwari Nehru Passes Away" in the *Modern Review*, February 1967, Vol cxx, no 2, p 107 Also Kusum Pant n 3, p
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SECULARISING THE INSTITUTION OF MARRIAGE WITH PARTICULAR REFERENCE TO TAMIL NADU

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There was clear indication from the time of the Sepoy Mutiny that the British authorities were not prepared to remove the social evils under the guise of maintaining religious neutrality. This tendency of the British became increasingly conspicuous particularly from the beginning of the 20th Century. Sir Henry Maine as Law Member of the Governor-General's Council introduced the Civil Marriage Bill (1872) as the Government was then immediately concerned with an enactment to prescribe a civil form of marriage applicable only to Brahmos by whom they were moved for the enactment of a secular law to enable them to contract marriages,¹ its provisions were limited. It was realised that the absence of a Civil Marriage Law led to perjury and artificial conversions.

It was note-worthy that Sir Henry Maine had advocated, during the 1860's the establishment of a Non-sectarian Marriage Law in order to prevent the abuse resulting from conversions.² Under the Special Marriage Act of 1872, which was ordinarily styled the Brahmo Marriage Act, parties to a marriage, who were Brahmos, had to declare that they do not profess the Christian, the Muhammadan, the Parsi, the Buddhist, the Sikh or the Jaina religion. It permitted intercaste marriage under certain condition, was considered 'a great nuisance' and many people, even though they were not religiously inclined, objected to such a declaration or statement and this stood in the way of many taking advantage of the Act.³ The Anand Marriage Act which was passed in 1908 validated intercaste marriage only among the Sikhs.⁴

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In early 1911 the Special Marriage Bill was brought by Bhupendranath Basu in the Central Legislature. Mr. Basu generally pursued a policy not quite in keeping with the advanced political creed he held,⁵ "that such a man should have felt the necessity for such a measure is perhaps the best proof as to the urgent necessity for the proposed measure"⁶

In India, the registration of Civil Marriage by officers of the Government was in force only for Christians. Hence, Mr. Basu's efforts were directed to make up for this omission and his Bill, 'which was in consonance with the modern spirit of progress would be a factor in the development of freedom of conscience for which there was a great need in India'⁷ Basu claimed that the condition, which was imposed by the Act of 1872 of having to renounce religious affinity for the sake of marriage, should be removed.⁸ However, the Bill afforded a salutary check on priestcraft and on all expensive ceremonials. It further provided for the just dissolution of the marriage bond wherever it was considered inevitable to mutual apathy or ill-will between the parties.⁹

Much has been said and written on Basu's Special Marriage Act Amendment Bill. "High-placed Government officials, profound jurists and eminent philanthropists have no doubt given their staunch support. But the ranks of the opposition were also swelled by equally eminent gentlemen"¹⁰ like the Maharaja of Burdwan, Dadabhai Naoroji and Subha Rao. Progressivists felt it was very unfortunate that people like Subha Rao should say 'that the Bill, if passed would be the cause of a revolution in India'.¹¹ Some even argued that in ancient India, intermarriages between different castes were taking place and "the restoration of this practice will put an end to Child Marriages. polygamy and polyandry will soon become things of the past".¹²

The Social Conference held at Banaras, Kurnool, Allahabad, Bareilly welcomed such a legislation. The Krishna-Guntur District Social Conference in 1911 and the Vizagapatnam District Social Conference in Vizianagaram had passed resolutions to this effect.¹³ The meeting presided over by S. Srinivasa Aiyangar in Madras declared 'that this meeting records its approval of the general principles of the Hon'ble Mr. Bhupendranath Basu's Civil Marriage Bill, but is of opinion that the operation of the Bill should be restricted for the present to intermarriages amongst the Hindus'.¹⁴ So far as the meeting was concerned the opposition was a small minority, however, it was impossible to ignore the extent of orthodox opposition.¹⁵

To use Mr. Suba Rao's striking expression in the Imperial Legislative Council, there was a feeling that the moment the Bill was passed, everybody would marry anybody.¹⁶ A meeting in Madras to protest against the Bill was held at the Victoria Town Hall in September 1911 which was presided over by Diwan Bahadur P. Rajarathna Mudaliar, who made a powerful speech against the Bill. He confined himself to the social aspect of the question and held that it was unsuited to the society at that moment and therefore unnecessary.¹⁷ The Resolution opposing the Bill was proposed by Professor Rangachari who held that the sacramental ideal of marriage was an essential element of Hindu religious thought and life. The 'opponents' characterised the Bill as a measure 'calculated to undermine the very foundation of Hindu religion'.¹⁸ The real objection was to the right of collateral

succession which the off-springs of mixed marriages may claim, for such succession was inseparable from the duty to perform obsequial ceremonies ¹⁹

Taking into account the opposition of Dadabhai Naoroji and the like-minded people, Mr Jenkins demanded a full and undivided support for the Bill to be passed. Hence, Basu's Civil Marriage Bill was rejected owing to the opposition from Government. In 1918, Vitthalbhai Patel introduced the Intermarriage Bill which permitted subsectual intermarriages among the Hindus. It was expected of the Bill to provide for inter-caste marriages of brides who have attained age and also to provide against marrying more than one wife while such a wife was alive ²⁰

The orthodox group believed that 'the Bill was similar to the one proposed to be introduced by Bhupendranath Basu and there was no doubt that Patel's Bill would also be rejected by the public. They said that the Bill did not related to any administrative matters but to caste customs and added that it was unnecessary for the Government to interfere in matters connected with caste ²¹. This Bill, they feared, would have the effect of wiping out the Hindu community, by providing for a promiscuous intermingling of even the highest and the lowest classes. They said that some people were foolish enough to think that this would result in the abolition of the caste system. "However immoral one may be in private, it is seldom that one is prepared to give up the faith, customs and traditions, one one's community" ²²

The *Sampad Abhyudaya* condemned the intermingling of castes by marriages as being opposed to the science of Eugenics and the ancient *Shastras* of the Indians alike ²³. Even the English Newspaper, *The Madras Mail*, tried to impress on the Madras Government that almost all the Hindus were opposed to Patel's Bill ²⁴

The Shankaracharya of Karvir Mutt in Bombay declared that the Government of India had no powers to pass the Bill and that 'if they exceed their powers and pass it, the Hindus should resort to *Satyagraha* and that, if Mr Patel does not withdraw his Bill, miserable consequences will ensure' ²⁵

The *Dravidan* expressed its surprise at the Bill being opposed by some Brahmins whom it characterised 'as professing a false orthodoxy and clinging to antique ways' ²⁶. The *Andhraprakasika*, wrote "The Government should know that any law which aims at the destruction of the caste system would receive the support of all the Indians except the Brahmins and requested the Government to pass all such laws "without paying any regard to the representations of meetings held at the instigation of the Maharaja of Durbhunga" for "the law in question will not kill religion, with which it has nothing to do" ²⁷. While the *Dravidan* published the proceedings of a public meeting held in the Pachayappa's Hall to support the Bill, the *Desabhaktan*, and the *Swadesamitran*, published the proceedings of a public meeting held in the Gokhale Hall to protest against this Bill ²⁸

There were some extremists who were not fully satisfied with the provisions of the Bill said that the Intercaste Marriage Bill was defective in (1) that it did not prohibit child marriage, (2) that it did not condemn polygamy, (3) that it did not provide for divorce in necessary caste, (4) that it did not allow marriage between different races and religions ²⁹. Though most of the educated men were in favour of

the Bill³⁰ and the Bill had been accepted by a majority of non-official members of the Legislative Council³¹ yet it met with the same fate as that of Mr Basu's Bill of 1911

In early 1922 Hari Singh Gour introduced the Special Marriage Amendment Bill but it was at first defeated. Referring to the rejection of the Bill, it was pointed out that this is an instance in point to show that the Indian Legislatures do not in fact represent the people³². However, the Intercaste Marriage Bill, introduced by Dr Gour was referred to a select committee for report.

The *Krishnapatrika*,³³ while favouring the Bill stated "We do not of course scorn the old customs, but their necessity has ceased to exist. The necessity has now come to relax the rules framed for the protection of differences such as those of race, religion and caste and to establish institutions which will promote the unity of man".

Though the Bill was initially defeated, it was passed in October, 1923 with certain modifications³⁴. Referring to the passing of the Bill the *Mysore Star* remarked "on a scrutiny of the various clauses of this Act, it becomes abundantly clear that it does not seriously endanger the position of the Hindu Community and joint families or interfere with the performance of religious rites therein in any way. Few, there will be who will resort to this Act for gratifying their wish of going in for intercaste marriages and such people alone this Act is intended to help. Nevertheless, we feel that legislation of this kind contribute to a gradual relaxation of the rigid customs prevailing among the followers of the Hindu dharma"³⁵.

Referring to the opposition, the *Dravidan* observed "Is it not quite clear from this that these pseudo pandits are only devising means for establishing the ancient wretched rule of *Manu* in the land? It is only on this account that we hate the wily *shastras* of the *pseudo* Brahmins, their followers and their political influence. We apprehend that in case they get into power the cruel and unjust rule of the Brahmins will be established in our country"³⁶.

So far as the Bill was concerned it permitted marriage among Hindus and people of allied faiths - Buddhists, Jains and Sikhs. The Act did not insist that the parties did not profess any religion. The Special Marriage (Amendment) Bill - a further Amendment to the Special Marriage Act of 1872 was introduced in early 1925 in the Central Legislature by H S Gour.

On 7 March, 1941, Dr G V Deshmukh introduced a Bill titled as The Special Marriage (Amendment) Bill in the Central Legislative Assembly³⁷ which stated that those who had been married according to the mode of the Hindu Law should have the choice of having that marriage registered if they so chose to do. The motion that the Bill be circulated for the purpose of eliciting opinion was adopted.

In 1946 Sri Prakasa introduced the Hindu Intercaste Marriage Regulating and Validating Bill. This Bill was sought to be in the nature of permissive measure giving freedom to persons wanting to marry outside their caste or sub-caste but desiring at the same time to solemnize the marriage in accordance with religious rites and

ceremonies, having conscientious defections to a mere civil marriage. The Bill also introduced some desirable measures of social reform such as registration of marriage, raising the age of marriage to 16 for girls and 21 for boys and also prohibition of polygamy.

The Self-Respect Movement was started in the 1920's to bring about all-round change in the Tamil Society. One of the reforms introduced was the Self-Respect Marriage or Reformed Marriage. The originator of this form of Marriage was Periyar E V Ramaswamy, the founder of the Dravidian Movement in Tamil Nadu.

The Self-Respect Marriage or Reformed Marriage involved a declaration by each party to the marriage that he or she took the other to be his or her lawful wife or lawful husband. It was followed by the practice of the bride and bridegroom garlanding each other or adorning the other with a ring or the tying of the tali around the neck of the bride by the bridegroom.³⁸ No other rites or ceremonies were needed for the marriage to be complete. This form of marriage came to be performed from 1924 onwards. Since then, thousands of followers of Periyar throughout the length and breadth of Tamil Nadu have adopted this form of marriage. In spite of the fact that lakhs of people voluntarily adopted this form of marriage, it was not legalised till 1967, when C N Annadurai, the most popular disciple of Periyar E V R, formed the Government in Tamil Nadu in 1967. Accordingly, the Hindu Marriages (Madras Amendment) Act, 1967 was passed adding a new Clause 7(a) to the Hindu Marriages Act, 1955.³⁹ The Act of 1967 gave legal sanction to not only the Self-Respect Marriages to be performed in future but also legalised all such marriages which had taken place till that time.⁴⁰

Periyar E V R's rejection of the practice of employing Brahmins at the marriage was due to the spirit of Self-Respect he was advocating. His arguments to avoid Brahmins was as follows: "A Brahmin is not our man; neither he follows us, nor he treats us equal. A man who feels that he is different from us, who could not follow us and who does not treat us as equals cannot be the master or the conductor of our ceremony."⁴¹ One more aspect in the Self-Respect Marriage is, it is a declaration made public of a decision made by a man and a woman, to live as joint members with collective responsibility.⁴² Since the Self-Respect Marriage happens to be a settlement between a man and a woman, it implies mutual rights and responsibilities on the part of both the man and the woman.

Since the marriage in the Self-Respect Movement signifies only a settlement between a man and a woman, it provides also for the right to break the settlement, if any one of the party feels that the terms of the settlement are not observed by the other. The Self-Respect Marriage not only recognises the equality of man and woman and provides safeguards for mutual understanding among the couple. Caste or religion has no place in a Self-Respect Marriage. Periyar was the greatest advocate of casteless society in India and it was no wonder that he advocated the Self-Respect Marriage.

After Independence, the educated Hindus of India in general felt the need to rectify the Hindu law. On 5th May, 1955, the new Hindu Marriage Bill was introduced. Pandit Jawaharlal Nehru, had rightly pointed out that no other Bill had

ever attracted and had been discussed so widely by the people as this Hindu personal Law. The Hindu Marriage Law was put into practice from 18th May, 1955. This Act recognizes sacramental marriage, marriage before the Registrar of Marriages and any other form of marriage recognised by Customary Law.

But the Self-Respect Marriage of Periyar E V R does not come under any of the above three recognised forms of marriage. It is neither sacramental, nor customary and the registration before the Registrar of Marriages is only optional. Above all, it is the simplest form of marriage which insists only on the public declaration by both the bride and bridegroom that they accept one another as husband and wife.

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RABINDRANATH TAGORE ON THE PROBLEMS OF NATIONALISM & COMMUNALISM

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At the very young age of 15, writing in his elder brother Dwijendranath Tagore's Bengali monthly journal *Bharati*, young Rabindranath, in an article captioned *Jhansi Rani* wrote "Tantia Tope and Kunwar Singh are not merely two insignificant rebels. If history is properly written in our country, their name should take the pride of place beside the great patriotic heroes of the world. We can also sketch the life-stories of scores of other sepoy-heroes during the rebellion of 1857, who had they been born in Europe, would have had their names inscribed in letter of gold in the annals of their country."¹

30 years later, a maturer Tagore indicated modern imperialism in the following words:

"To deny the right of national independence to India is a shameful act, but England covers up her shame by putting on the mask of imperialism. What is misery for India's humanity, is a matter of arrogant pride for England. It is indeed one of the worst crimes of history to impoverish for all times the vast millions of our country and to keep them permanently disarmed. But such a crime, such a sin is sought to be covered up with the cloak of grand phrases!"²

Then with a wonderful sense of history (and sati) Tagore ends his article with an excerpt from *Peloponnesian War* by Thucydides, when the Athenian general is conversing with the Melians whose land was already under the Jack boots of the Athenians. A small portion is presented here:

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"*Melias* It may be your interest to be our masters, but how can it be ours to be your slaves?"

"*Athenian* To you the gain will be that by submission you will avert the worst and we shall be all the richer for your preservation"³

Much earlier, when he was only 20, Tagore sharply attacked British Imperialism for their nefarious behaviour during the opium wars in China between 1840 and 1860. He wrote, in his own inimitable style "For greed of profits a whole nation was forced to take poison. Such shameless banditry, the world had never seen, China pleaded in vain. We shall not smoke opium. British merchants said No, you must! China was tied hand and foot and then opium was forcibly stuffed in her mouth and still later, full price for that opium was exacted from China"⁴

In the early nineties Tagore incisively condemned colonialism all over the world. In a letter to his niece Indira, he wrote "Those who have committed genocide against the Red Indians in North America, those who shoot down unarmed aborigine women of Australia like wild dogs, those who get away scot-free even if they kill Indian coolies how dare they try to teach us about sacredness of life"⁵

In another bantering article, in 1904, Tagore wrote 'Imperialism will wage war in Tibet, our job is to finance that war, Imperialism will go to crush a rebellion in Somaliland our task is to supply sepoys who must lay down their lives, commercial crops must be produced in tropical islands, our duty is to supply cheap, semi-slave labour! Such are the laws of the game when the powerful and the weak have to play together'⁶

When the First world war broke out, then in September 1914, in a profound article called *Laraier Mul* (Roots of the war), Tagore wrote "Europe wants to lord over all Asia and Africa. The trouble now is with Germany. It has woken up much later. It has reached imperialism's feast at a very late hour - there are only crumbs at the dining table. So Germany is seething with anger and threatens to take away dinner plate from others, unless she is given her due share. Germany has declared that there are only two kinds of men - Lords and Slaves. Lords will take all and slaves are to go on supplying the same for the Lords"⁷

During the war Tagore toured Japan and USA, delivering a series of lectures, which was published later on in English, with the title as *nationalism*⁸. In one such lecture, Tagore declared "Their European War of Nations is the War of retribution. Man, the person must protest for his life against the heaping up of things where there should be the heart and systems and policies where there should flow living human relationship. The time has come when for the sake of the whole outraged world, Europe should fully know in her own person the terrible absurdity of the thing called the nation. The nation has thriven long upon Mutilated humanity"⁹

What about Indian Nationalism? India after all was waking up to the nationalist ideal of emancipating the motherland from the bondage of an alien ruler! In the last article, of the book, entitled 'Nationalism in India' the poet wrote "The temptation which is fatal for the strong is still more so for the weak. And I do not welcome it in our Indian life, even though it be sent by the Lord of immortals. Let

our life be simple in its outer aspect and rich in its inner gain. Let our civilisation take its firm stand upon its basis of social cooperation and not upon that of economic exploitation and conflict "10

The great October Revolution in Russia in 1917 did not go unnoticed by Tagore. In an article entitled 'Cross roads' Tagore wrote "we know very little of the history of the present revolution in Russia and with the scanty materials in our hand we cannot be certain if she in her tribulations, is giving expression to man's indomitable soul against prosperity built upon moral nihilism. It is not unlikely that as a nation she will fail. But if she fails with the flag of true ideals in her hands, then her failure will fade, like the morning star, only to usher in the sunrise of the new age "11

In 1919, Tagore put his signature on 2 documents. The first was the *Declaration of Independence of Thought* and among the signatories were, apart from Tagore, Gorki, Bertrand Russell, Kathy Kolvitz, Upton Sinclair, Heinrich Mann, Romain Rolland, Henry Barbusse and Stefan Zweig "12

Henry Barbusse by then had become a communist and was editing a paper called *Charte*, where he and his friends issued a 15 point declaration, denouncing, war, colonialism, racism and violence and supporting democracy, human rights and abolition of all forms of exploitation. This manifesto was also signed by Tagore, together with Rolland, Anatole France, H.G. Wells, George Bernard Shaw and others "13

As is well known, Tagore was a fervent supporter of India's national struggle for Independence, but he was never an insular, narrow nationalist. He scathingly criticised both colonialism and our own brand of chauvinism.

In 1916, writing from USA, where the worshipping of mammon had shocked him, Tagore wrote in great anguish "To me humanity is rich, large and many-sided. Therefore, I feel deeply hurt, when I find that for some material gain, man's personality is mutilated in the Western world. "The same process of repression and curtailment of humanity is often advocated in our country under the name of patriotism, such deliberate impoverishment of our nature seems to me a crime "14

In 1926, during his visit to Mussolini's Italy, Tagore was misled for a short time, but very soon, helped by Rolland he corrected his views and wrote

"The methods and principles of Fascism concern all humanity and it is absurd to imagine that I could ever support a movement which ruthlessly suppresses freedom of expression, enforces observances that are against conscience and walks through a blood-stained path of violence and stealthy crime. I have said over and over again that the aggressive spirit of Nationalism and Imperialism, religiously cultivated by most of the nations of West, is a menace to the whole world "15

The rest is only too well-known to all - Tagore's visit to Soviet Russia in 1930 and his full-throated support to the Socialist experiment then, his active opposition to Fascism and Nazism and expression of solidarity with Abyssinia, China and

Republican Spain, as well as his resolute condemnation of British Imperialism's repressive orgies in India Space does not permit me to dilate on those issues

The poet felt that humanity was in peril before the Nazi onslaught When Paris was declared an open city and the poet was mortified, a French Lady informed him that on that very day, Radio Paris was enacting Tagore's 'Post Office' The ailing poet sat up on his bed, his face glowing he softly said 'This certainly is a reward' ¹⁶

We now pass on to the other theme of my paper Tagore's attitude towards the Communal question and the problem of Hindu Muslim unity Writing self-critically as early as 1914, Tagore sharply declared

"We have not even cared to cover up the ugly face of Hindu-Muslim differences A decade back, during the days of Swadeshi Movement against the partition of Bengal, a nationalist propagandist refused to drink a glass of water, because a Muslim compatriot has touched the glass The Bengalee Muslims did not share our agony over the partition of Bengal, because we had never thought of them truly as our brothers There is a proverb in Sanskrit, that when fire has already engulfed our house, it is no use then to start digging a well Yet, we did precisely that during the partition of Bengal, because it was only then that we felt the necessity of drawing the Muslims close to us A little dust flew up from our digging efforts, but no water came To the educated nationalists, India meant the India of the highly-educated - the common people, the average Muslim and the so-called low caste Hindus were not part of that 'India'" ¹⁷ (Translated into English from Tagore's Bengali original)

A few years earlier, expressing his reservation about the foundation of a Hindu University, Tagore had declared

"There was no real effort from the depth of our consciousness to unite Hindus and Muslims, except when we felt that by uniting with Muslims, the Hindus can reap certain political benefits This led to doubts in the Muslim mind about our sincerity This doubt cannot just be wished away We have never tried to draw the Muslims close to us from a sense of genuine brotherhood - it was always a move born out of sheer selfish necessity That is why, when such necessity disappeared, we did not hesitate to push them away This is one of the basic reason why the Muslims generally do not respond to the nationalist call As our nationalists put on Hindu overtones, the Muslims also started feeling that they should assert their separate Muslim identity The Muslims now want to be equal with the Hindus in all respects We should whole heartedly support this effort of the Muslims" ¹⁸ (Translated from the Bengali original)

Immediately after the Non-violent Non Cooperation Movement of 1921-22, Tagore, in a letter to Kalidas Nag, stated "The Hindus practise non-violent non cooperation with all other religions Their religion is hereditary and is based on social practice Hence their sectarianism is even sensible The Muslims can easily dine and invite Hindus to their homes but the Hindus are reserved in this respect During the Khilafat Movement, the Muslims embraced the Hindus much more warmly and

invited them even inside their mosques, but the Hindus were not so warm-hearted in their public behaviour, social practice brings men together most easily, but it is there that the Hindus have erected a number of social barriers this prevents them from forging unity of heart with believers in the other religion"¹⁹ (Translated from the Bengali original)

After the death of Swami Sraddhanand in 1926, when the communal situation all over India had taken an ugly turn, when Hindu and Muslim fundamentalists were holding the sway for the time being, Tagore, in a homage to Sraddhanand, wrote

"India has two major communities - Hindus and Muslims. If we think that we can achieve our welfare by excluding the Muslims, we shall be committing a grave error. Out of anger, one may say that while building the roof, we shall erect not eight but five pillars, because we hate the other three pillars - yet that will not lead to erection of a stable and strong roof when the Swadeshi werewolf reached our country, I was active in it. The Muslims did not join it, mostly they were against it. Some of our leaders in anger then said: Let us go ahead totally ignoring them. But none of them queered. Why are they opposed to Swadeshi Movement? We learnt nothing but ignored the gulf of difference."²⁰ (Translated from the Bengali original)

By 1931, Tagore had come to the conclusion that Religion and politics must be separated - the national movement must find out secular basis of unity. In an article written during the height of the Civil Disobedience Movement, Tagore unequivocally stated: "A country where the main basis of unity is religion, is indeed most unfortunate. A country where religion divides the nation, that is an accused land. A country where religious beliefs pollute political wisdom, who can save such a country? yet the Hindu and Muslim must unite in the common cause of giving birth to Independent India - the right hand must clasp the left hand warmly to create new history. That may be a very difficult task, but we cannot give up that effort."²¹ (Translated from the Bengali original)

The Lahore Resolution of 1940 was passed when Tagore was almost on his death bed. He realised that communalism was being fermented by the Colonial rulers in order to perpetuate their stranglehold on our country but he never gave up his main point, that it was our own weakness, our own folly, that has to be combatted, if we want to get rid of alien rule, because they would always utilise our weaknesses.²²

Today, more than 50 years after Tagore's death, his entire life's message brings out clear and true for all of us. Nationalism is noble only if it is humane and based on universal brotherhood. Otherwise arrogant nationalism spells ruin for those who practice it - whether in the West or in the East. India and the world today are living proofs of the validity of Tagore's warnings. On the Communal issue too, the twin pillars on the basis of which we can defeat that divisive monster are secularism and humanistic interpretation of all religions. There is no other way forwarded for us in India.

Let us close this essay with the words of Tagore, which are as true now, as they were 70 years back, when they were written.

"We shall not achieve any kind of true emancipation, unless we can break down the barriers in our own mind. We now believe that our cage is greater than our wings—we must totally change this concept. Hindu-Muslim unity will come only when the new age dawns. We must spread out our wings, breaking out of the narrow confines of century-old cage - there is no other 'way forward' " ²³ (Translated from the Bengali original)

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A NOTE ON JOBBERS AND JOBBERY

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I

The jobber or the sardar and the sardari mode of recruitment is one of the most fascinating and intriguing aspects in the history of early Indian industrialization. Traditionally seen as the more articulate member of the working class and their natural leader, the jobber it is argued played the pivotal role of bridging the gap between the workers and mill owners on one hand and between workers on the other. The jobber and the prevalence of jobbery is certainly an ubiquitous feature of Indian factories in the past (and some would also argue in the present) and the many government reports, contemporary studies and historical monographs testify to this.¹ Traditional labour histories though wide ranging in scope (but perhaps not in depth) from Karnik, to Revri to Sen and Saha² have, however, little to say or often gloss over the role of the jobber. Perhaps this was a function of the kind of history they were writing, which was often elitist, focussing only on well known and well publicised strikes. The other reason for this bias could be that the writers often used as sources documents and books written by trade unionists themselves, who being active participants and enthusiastic organizers of that vague collectivity 'the worker' perhaps overlooked internal contradictions. However, recently the jobber has attracted renewed attention. Historians are claiming that a social history of the working classes will be incomplete if the role of the jobber is not evaluated. Dipesh Chakrabarty has made the jobber a point of entry into the study of working class culture.³ In this short note I propose to re-evaluate the existing views on jobbers and jobbery by focussing on some evidence from Bengal, more specifically for the period 1918-1924 which saw a spate of strikes in the Greater Calcutta Region just after the First World War.⁴

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II

The sardar (literally 'headman') was the chief recruiter for the mill managers and was primarily responsible for the supervision of labour inside the factory. As the *Report of the Royal Commission on Labour*⁵ (hereafter ROLI) put it

one of the most remarkable of Indian factory organization usually combines in one person a formidable series of functions. He is primarily a chargeman. Promoted from the ranks after full experience of the factory, he is responsible for the supervision of labour while at work. Many jobbers follow the worker even further than the factor gate.

Outside the factory the sardar, whose social origins were similar to that of ordinary workers, often controlled the channels of housing, food and credit. Dipesh Chakrabarty has shown that sardars dominated the caste panchayats of up-country Hindus and were important patrons of ulemas in the mill areas. Mosques named after sardars still exist in the jute mill areas in Bengal, testify to their influence. It may even have been, 'an example of a pre-colonial, pre-capitalist institution being made an essential feature of the process of industrialization in a colony'.⁶ Ranajit Dasgupta has also shown how the jobber was a traditional form of bondage for Indian labour, to which the colonial employers acquiesced in their quest for a cheap labour supply to the local mines, tea plantations and jute mills. In stressing this point Dasgupta has exploded the myth of a 'free' labour in an 'open' labour market structure.⁷ Sardari was certainly an important institution in the early years of industry in India, when labour supply was erratic and sardars had to be sent to villages to recruit people. The ROLI has observed that this led to a situation that, 'in some areas recruiting was confined to a few villages where connections had been established, adjacent villages making no contributions'.⁸ In the later years, the mill managers retained the system of sardari because it was a cheap method of maintaining supervision over and communication with workers.⁹

The sardar was therefore, an important and influential figure both inside and outside the factory. The worker recognized this in his payment to the sardar of *dastoory* (variously translated as fee, 'cut' or petty bribe).¹⁰ His position had distinct social advantages too. In some fascinating evidence of sanskritization, R N Gilchrist, the Labour Intelligence Officer for Bengal in the 1920's has noted that jobbers would, 'change their names from their artisan appellation to a name signifying a high caste'.¹¹ I want to end this section with a quote from the evidence which the Bengal Government gave to the touring *Royal Commission on Labour*, which sums up the prevailing views on the jobber.¹²

'The immediate employer of a worker is his sirdar. The sirdar gives him his job and it is by his will that worker retains it. The sirdars are the real masters of men. They employ them and dismiss them, and in many cases

they house them and unhouse them They may own or control the shops which supply the men with food The operative, too, pays his lump or recurring sum to the sirdar to retain his job His life, indeed at every turn is coloured by sirdarism'

III

Let us now look at the sardar in the light of evidence from 1920's Bengal The strikes in this period coincided with the Khilafat-Non-Cooperation movement which added to working class volatility Since these accounts are based on conventional sources like government reports and newspapers the narrative is rather patchy

Both the nationalists and the British authorities understood well the advantage of having the sardars on their side It is therefore, not surprising that both of them used sardari leadership for policing functions In December 1919 for instance, just after the war, the nationalists decided to boycott the peace celebrations organised by the government in Calcutta city To make it effective the nationalists enlisted sardars of the local jute mills and mauvies to keep the workers away ¹³ Similarly, on December 24th, 1921, the day the Prince of Wales was to arrive in Calcutta, the government thought it prudent to enrol sardars and foremen as civil guards in the mill areas of 24-Parganas to prevent as a government report put it, 'an excited mob from flowing into Calcutta, when the Prince arrived' ¹⁴ This proved to be the authorities learning the tactics from the nationalists

Let us look at some more examples As the Non-Cooperation movement gathered momentum a variety of ways were used to force the government's hand Boycott became popular amongst workers, especially commercial boycott against shopkeepers who refused to close on hartal days ¹⁵ Arbitration courts ignoring government machinery were set up and panchayats sprang up in their place This was confirmed by a confidential government report which noted that, 'it was not uncommon for sirdar or foremen to set themselves up as courts and enforce their decisions by intimidations' ¹⁶ The prevailing atmosphere of strikes and the enthusiastic participation of the working classes of Calcutta city in the struggle against British rule found expression in the Bengal Labour Conference organised in 1921 Partly this may have been the direct result of the decision by the Congress to support the All India Trade Union Congress (1920) It is interesting that the preliminary meeting in preparation of the main Conference which was to be held on the 17th of April, 1921 had among its participants not only prominent leaders and trade unionists like J N Roy, C R Das, N C Sen, S N Haldar, K Chaudhury, Erfan Ali and Mohammad Daud but also mill sardars and secretaries of many labour unions (who were often workers) ¹⁷ On the day of the Conference which was held in the hall of the Indian Association, worker participation was widespread It will perhaps not be out of place to hazard the guess that part of the mobilization must have been done by sardars Although for our period there is no direct evidence of sardars leading strikes, they must surely have been active This is illustrated indirectly for example by a strike in a jute mill in Champdany where the workers

refused to work unless their sardar who had been arrested was released. Fearing trouble the authorities had to release him on bail.¹⁸

IV

The general picture of the jobber that has emerged from the preceding section as the natural leader of the working classes, fits in well with the evidence on jobbers that can be gleaned from official documents. The jobber as a figure of power and authority also seems substantiated. In fact modern scholars like R K Newman and Dipesh Chakrabarty who have written most eloquently on the jobber seem more or less to concur with this view.¹⁹ R N Gilchrist, the Labour Intelligence Officer for Bengal, has written of the 1920's that, 'the recorded strikes of Bengal show only one instance of a strike caused by a demand for dismissal of a sardar because of exactions'.²⁰ A little close reading of the evidence, however, reveals a different picture. Gilchrist's is probably a good case of seeing what he uncritically believed.

Let us look at the very period from which we have been citing examples so far. In January 1919, the *Amrita Bazar Patrika* correspondent reported a strike by the weavers at the old Champdany Jute Mill. It was reported that the workers wanted Mia Jan, the sardar dismissed because he, 'was not well disposed towards them'.²¹ This was not an isolated incident. In Wellington Jute Mills the workers on strike wanted Sardar Bhagloo dismissed. It was reported that the workers, 'held a private meeting (panchayat) in which it was decided to socially boycott Bhagloo'.²² In another instance intimidation was used to enforce the boycott, as the case of Safiat Sardar shows. Safiat sardar had dismissed his brother-in-law and for this offence he was called before a workers panchayat which ordered him to pay as fine a sum of Rs 125 and carry the shoes of the panchayat members on his head. When he refused to do this, in a collective act of retribution the workers looted his shop.²³

Here are some more examples from the period when the Non-Cooperation Movement was at its height. Workers had been recruited for picketing duty and it seems they were enthusiastic volunteers. Initially the mill managers were wary of re-employing such workers, till sympathetic strikes by workers in the mills forced their hand.²⁴ The nationalist movement and the resultant mobilization among workers was not just irksome for the white mill managers who had to perforce admit workers who had abandoned work for picketing duty but was also eroding the authority of the sardar whose work it was to keep the workers in control. Take the case of what happened in Northbrook Jute Mills, Champdany. When 500 worker volunteers for picketing duty returned to work, the mill authorities thought it prudent to admit them. However, this time it was their sardar who was against their reinstatement. When the word of this got around all the workers of the mill walked out demanding the dismissal of the sardar.²⁵

One last example from the jute mills. The cause of the Gandhi inspired anti-drink movement was being zealously espoused and had caught the imagination of the nationalistic bahadralok, whose spokesman the *Amrita Bazar Patrika* was pleased to note that, 'through the kind intervention of the public spirited Moulvies the labourers have been made to understand what moral degradation and miserable

poverty they have been driven to and this at once opened their eyes and they took the solemn oath not to touch the poison again' ²⁶ How did this affect sardari authority in the mills? In Howrah, 10,000 workers of three jute mills stopped work because of a sardar called Dhonai. As the newspaper report put it, 'the majority of the mill hands advocated the cause of anti-drink movement' but Dhonai and his men were against it. The workers wanted his dismissal ²⁷

V

What are we to make of this evidence? It now seems possible to modify the prevailing view of the jobber. And it certainly does not warrant the view of the Government of Bengal that the sardars were the 'true masters of men' or that the workers' life was 'coloured' at every turn by 'sirdarism'.

First of all, the evidence from the strikes against the sardars point to their shrinking and limited hold over the workers. It is also evident that the violence that was directed against the sardar by the workers was not indiscriminate. Certainly the experience of participation in strikes and the nationalist upheaval threw up new possibilities of mobilization to the workers. It seems likely that in cases of working class protest either the jobber had to restrain the workers to his own detriment or go along and lead the strike.

Secondly, the dependence of the mill managers on the sardar is also exaggerated. Janet Harvey Kelman has written that, 'the Calcutta sirdar has probably more influence than is usually wielded elsewhere, because in so many cases the managers and assistant managers under whom he works are European. Even if they have acquired a certain knowledge of Bengali and Hindustani, there are still four or five other languages which it would be necessary for them to know in order to talk freely with all their workers.' Continuing more generally Kelman has written that, 'it is not difficult to realize the kind of pressure that is brought to bear on the manager to increase output and to reduce expenditure. In this effort to secure these ends he is confronted with the sardar or jobber.' Such was the hold of the sardar that, 'if the employer or the manager went to his mill gates, or to the coolie bazar, and asked for workers, he would be received with laughter.' ²⁸ This view of the jobber certainly invites scepticism. Even if the jobber was indispensable to the manager it is a well documented fact that the overall management decisions like hours of work, pay, leave and general discipline was still the prerogative of the mill manager.

This brings us to the question as to why the sardar is so prominent in official reports and files. Can it be argued that sardari power was a construction available in the documents of the ruling class? Statements made by the Bengal Government and by contemporary authors like Kelman (quoted above) should be carefully weighed against the fact, that in conditions of work where the authorities were not willing to grant even minimum facilities like housing, pensions, provident fund or sickness insurance to workers, the sardar came to be used as a convenient scapegoat. Sardari authority came to be increasingly depicted in official documents and files as a deterrent and obstacle to official welfare measures. The authorities

pleaded helplessness, by contributing to the myth of sardari power. The lack of interest in worker welfare and inertia was thus conveniently hidden behind a thin veneer of sardari authority. We have already mentioned that for mill managers and factory inspectors, the sardar was often their only source of information and knowledge, since they never bothered to learn the local language. There is thus an automatic magnification of the importance of the sardar in official reports. The possibility of the sardar himself boasting his control of labour can also not be discounted.

It is now possible to see the sardar and sardari authority in a new light. While a case for sardari leadership in the mill areas cannot be ruled out, it seems that the informal leadership that the sardar exercised was limited and was threatened the moment the workers decided to act themselves.

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HISTORY OF COMMUNITY FORESTRY IN KUMAON HIMALAYA

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- 0 1 The onslaughts of man on the natural ecosystems have assumed serious proportions throughout the world but in the Himalayan mountains they have attained an alarming level. These mountains are young and still rising, therefore they are prone to surface removals. Moreover the high seismicity renders vast areas vulnerable and the catastrophe of Uttarkashi in the recent past is a burning example of this vulnerability.
- 0 2 In the Kumaon Himalaya, in the last few decades there has been an unprecedented growth in human population and a corresponding rise in developmental activities, including housing, industry, agriculture, mining and communications. Consequently, there has been a rapid shrinkage in the size of remaining natural habitats and forests. But the ecologists while discussing the onslaughts of environmental degradation do not take into account the forces of history which have been responsible for destroying forests. This paper is thus an innovative endeavour to trace the history of '*panchayat*' or community forest in the Kumaon Himalayas.

HISTORY OF FOREST MANAGEMENT AND COMMUNITY FORESTS

- 1 1 With the advent of the British in Kumaon in 1815, the first inkling of interest with relation to forest management was made in 1823 by Traill's revenue settlement. It resulted in the demarcation of village boundaries within which each villager could exercise rights of pasture and wood cutting on forest and

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waste land Again in 1826 on his recommendation, a proclamation was issued prohibiting the felling of sal (*Shorea robusta*) from the 'thaplas' or terraced land Later Sir Henry Ramsay, the Commissioner of Kumaon (1856-1884) undertook some strict measures like putting a halt to indiscriminate felling of trees for railway sleepers and for the first time certain areas were demarcated and declared as reserved In 1893 all waste lands were notified as protected forest and it can be assumed that the Government took a step further towards the conservation of forests These waste lands were placed in charge of the Deputy Commissioner who was given the power of a Conservator within his jurisdiction ¹ A year later further legislation provided for the preservation of the following eight species, Deodar (*Cedrus deodara*) Sal (*Shorea robusta*), Shisham (*Dalbergia sissoo*) Tun (*Toona ciliata*) and Khair (*Acacia catechu*) ² In 1903 the Government issued a further set of instructions under which Protected Forests were classified into two heads (i) Closed Civil Forest and (ii) Open Civil Forest It was decided that in the Closed Civil Forest, the District Magistrate would look after the rights and concessions of the village people In the Open Forests the village people would have without any interference, all the rights and concessions of the forests In 1911 another step was taken to convert the Protected Forests into Reserved Forests and forest settlement operations were commenced all over Kumaon between 1911-17 During this settlement, the Protected forests were classified into A, B and C classes The forests of A class were primarily for the requirements of the local people but these forests were placed under the control of the Forest Department Forests of B class were meant for the preservation of fuel and grass This class was also under the management of the Forest Department but here the vigour of control was less severe The forest of C class stood on the remaining forest land and was not under the control of the Forest Department It was left out for the use of the village people Concomitantly the Kumaon forest Circle was constituted ³ For administrative purposes, the forests of Kumaon Division were divided chronologically into the following divisions ⁴

S N	Forest Division	Year
1	Naini Tal	1857
2	Ranikhet	1871
3	Garhwal	1886
4	Tarai Bhabhar	1886
5	East Almora	1893
6	North Garhwal	1893
7	Central Almora	1903
8	Haldwani	1911
9	Ramnagar	1911
10	Pithoragarh	1912
11	West Almora	1925

- 1 2 In Kumaon, the administration of forests was beset with many complications and difficulties from the very beginning of the inception of scientific control and management. People in the hills relied on forests for timber, fuel and fodder, it was thus obvious that they resented the British policy. They felt that their forest rights were being encroached upon. The people of the hills were also against the protection of forests from fire. The importance of fire protection was realized as early as 1912 in Kumaon by the British and the same year for the first time it was commenced in all the chir pine (*Pinus roxburghii*) forests.⁵ The British policy of protection from fire was to reduce the period of strict fire protection to the minimum and thus to reduce to the minimum the danger of accidental or incendiary fires. In 1917 various kinds of departmental burning were introduced against which there was a lot of resentment.⁶ The burning of pastures and forests was traditional in the hills and it was believed that its burning at season times is helpful to the growth of grass. About this practice, Govind Ballabh Pant the Chief Minister of the United Provinces, and later appointed the Home Minister of India, in January 1955 had commented in 1921 "The practice of setting fire to the forest lands was in vogue in Kumaon from times immemorial. There is a strict prohibition against setting fire to the reserves, this is a source of widespread hardship and the opinion of all classes of people seems to be unanimous on this point."⁷
- 1 3 Before the management of forests was taken up, people had absolute rights over them as if it was their personal property. It was thus, obvious that inroads on indefeasible and immemorial rights created a general sense of insecurity or resentment amongst the people and there was a seething discontent against the forest policy. In some cases the British attitude was also of extending preferential treatment to the privileged class, e.g., according to notification No. 843 F-638-639 of 24th October 1894, there was a ban on shooting wild animals without a licence granted by the Deputy Commissioner. This rule relating to shooting was amended by notification No. 730/XIII-3098, dated 16th December 1902 to the extent that fishing in the lakes of Bhimtal, Naukuchia Tal, Sat Tal and Maluwa Tal was prohibited except under a similar licence. But at the same time by a G.O. No. 806/251-A dated 19th October, 1900, all gazetted officers of the Government, all commissioned officers of the army and all European non-commissioned officers and soldiers, and all Indian title holders were exempted from restrictions imposed on shooting and fishing.
- 1 4 The hill people apart from the forest policy also resented this attitude of the British towards the privileged class. Together with this, the possession and ownership by the Government of barren land 'benap' unmeasured land was considered by the people not only as improper and unlawful but also as usurpation of their rights. In 1907, a mass meeting was held in this connection at Almora under the presidentship of Major General Wheeler. But nothing fruitful could be achieved. Thus, when the resentment reached a critical level on account of the above policies people began burning of forests. Incendiary fires in Kumaon affected about 34000 ha of forest in 1916.⁸ Five years later another outburst caused no less than 317 fires in Kumaon Division had burnt down.⁹

- 1 6 As a result, the Government put up posters in public places stating, "Kumaonis the forests are yours" ¹⁰ Telegrams were sent to Dailies like The Pioneer, The Leader, The Indian Telegraph regarding the damage done to forests as well as animals and birds owing to incendiarism in Kumaon Circle ¹¹ Arrests were also made and the Government held the leaders of Kumaon Parishad responsible for this act of incendiarism ¹²
- 1 7 On witnessing the state of affairs, the Government appointed a committee in 1921, the report of which is popularly known as Kumaon Grievances Committee's Report The Committee was constituted under Forest Department Resolution No 712-C, dated 13th April 1921 ¹³ Instructions were to -
- (a) "Enquire into the grievances of the residents of Kumaon hill 'pattis' regarding the policy instituted in 1911 of reserving Civil Forests
 - (b) Report to Government what modifications of the policy or of rules or reservations made in accordance with that policy appear to be desirable"
- The members of the committee toured the region extensively and in all some 5040 witnesses were examined either in person or by representatives from all sections of the society The committee's report was issued in 1926 One of the suggestion accepted was, "Isolated forests to be excluded from forest management and converted to Civil and ultimately to become Panchayat"
- 1 8 The Forest Panchayat was perhaps a unique institution in India and was formed in 1930-31 in Kumaon Region with the idea of keeping pasture land within ready reach of community in the hills But this policy generated an animosity between the Revenue Department responsible for the Panchayat forests and the Forest Department looking after the Reserved forests This rivalry ultimately contributed to the deterioration of the ecosystem
- 1 9 Even after the recommendation of the Grievances committee the people in the hills were not satisfied, and the questions of the rights and concession of the village people in the hill reserves was again raised and people again took recourse to incendiarism The table below gives the data regarding breaching of forest rules during 1926-36 even after the recommendations of the Kumaon Forest Grievances had taken effect

Breach of Forest Laws, in Kumaon Circle 1926-33

Year	Cases	Convictions
1926-27	1919	3661
1927-28	1992	3786
1928-29	2545	3482
1929-30	2675	6019
1930-33	2511	4500
1931-32	2534	5514
1932-33	2629	5968

Source - *Annual Progress Report of the Forest Department for the years mentioned*

- 1 10 Those days Pd Govind Ballabh Pant wrote a book, 'The Forest Problem in Kumaon' which was published from Allahabad in 1922. He also, like the Grievances Committee, advocated free hand to the villagers as regards felling of trees by transferring the control of Class I forests to the Revenue Department.

II

VAN PANCHAYATS AND THEIR FUNCTIONS :

- 2 1 In Kumaon Himalaya about 20-70 per cent of the forests are under the control of the Revenue Department. They are owned by the village communities and are managed by the Van Panchayats or a committee of the village elders or members. The *van Panchayat* rules were framed in the year 1931 and according to those rules in a village two-thirds of the adult members had to pass a resolution for the formation of a Panchayat and indicate the forest land. The resolution was then sent to the Sub-Divisional Officer who was to get the land surveyed and prepare the 'khasra' or survey map. After this an approval was to be given by the District Magistrate and the final sanction by the Commissioner for the formation of the *van panchayat*. There could be five to nine members in a *panchayat*. These members were called *panch* and were elected by the villagers. The *panchayat* was headed by the *sar panch* who was elected from the members of the *panchayat*.
- 2 2 The *van panchayats* since then are under the administrative control of the District Magistrate though the technical assistance is provided by the forest department.¹⁴ The District Magistrate appoints the Sub-Divisional Magistrate as the Van Panchayat Officer who is assisted by a Van Panchayat Inspector. But the overall administrative control is of the Commissioner and he has the power of revisional jurisdiction. It is the duty of the *van panchayats* to frame regulations for proper discharge of their duties.

FUNCTIONS OF VAN PANCHAYATS

- (i) To project and develop the forest under the jurisdiction of the Van Panchayat
- (ii) To distribute its produce among the right holders in an equitable manner
- (iii) To demarcate its boundary by installing boundary walls and pillars
- (iv) To enforce the regulations of the Van Panchayats
- (v) To carry out the orders of the District Magistrate and Sub-Divisional Magistrate from time to time for the preservation and improvements of forests

POWERS OF THE VAN PANCHAYATI

- (i) The Van Panchayats can sell fallen twigs and grass for the bonafide domestic use of the right holders in the village

- (ii) An offence involving a sum of more than Rs 50, later revised to Rs 500 can be compounded with the prior approval of the District Magistrate
- (iii) Van Panchayats can confiscate the implements used for illicit lopping
- (iv) They have the power to impound stray cattle
- (v) Stolen timber etc if seized can be sold by the Panchayat with the prior approval of the Forest Department
- (vi) Local sale of surplus forest produce from Van Panchayats to the right holders can be made with the prior approval of the District Magistrate and the Divisional Forest Officer
- (vii) Commercial sale of trees in Van Panchayats' forests can be made with the prior permission of both the District Magistrate and the Divisional Forest Officer. The marking of trees and their sale is dispensed with the help of the Divisional Forest Officer
- (viii) Van Panchayats can tap resin in their forests with the technical guidance of the forest department

III

PROBLEMS IN MANAGING VAN PANCHAYATS :

3.1 The Van Panchayats are grass root organisations and have tremendous potential for enlisting peoples participation. But owing to the disdainful attitude of the administration and other associated problems, the Van Panchayats are not functioning efficiently. The several problems observed during a survey conducted by me are summarized below ¹⁵

- (i) The Van Panchayats are last in the priority list of the administration. The only full time officer for Van Panchayats is the Van Panchayat Inspector who has to administer an area which is beyond his capacity to control. In Almora district e.g. there are four Van Panchayat Inspectors who have to look after 1801 Van Panchayats. In Naini Tal district there are 200 Van Panchayats and only one Van Panchayat Inspector. The Van Panchayat Inspector gets Rs 5 per month for stationery and Rs 80 per month as travel expenses for 16 inspections which he has to conduct in a month. He has to attend the meeting of BDC (Block Dev. Commt.) which lies in his jurisdiction apart from the miscellaneous enquiries which he has to conduct from time to time. With this paltry amount it's not possible for him to do justice to the job.
- (ii) There is a dual control of the Revenue and Forest Departments in Van Panchayats. All administrative powers are vested in the Revenue Department and the technical powers are with the Forest Department e.g. marking and auctioning of trees, tapping of resin etc. This dual distribution of powers often leads to delay in decisions and creates a confusion.

- (iii) There are encroachments on Panchayat lands In Kumaon Himalaya more than twenty five per cent of the Van Panchayat land has been infringed upon Several cases of encroachments are pending in the courts and some of them are pending for the last ten years Since the Van Panchayats are unable to evict these encroachments, their very authority has been eroded
- (iv) Fines imposed by the Van Panchayats on people who violate the laws of the Panchayats are generally not realized, because there is no proper system or machinery to realize it
- (v) Most of the members of the Van Panchayats are ignorant of environmental issues and problems, so their interest lies in destruction rather than protection A sizeable number of the Panchayat members are involved in illegal sale of timber, which has become a lucrative business No action seems to have been taken against them Some of the members have been or still are forest contractors In private conversation some villagers stated that they have to grease the palm of the members to obtain timber for which they are entitled
- (vi) Each individual villager is allotted timber for his personal use like fuel, construction of houses and sheds etc by the *van panchayats* But there is no record of how much timber is really being utilized by him Moreover there is no enquiry or spot inspection regarding the purpose for which the demand has been made In some cases, the villagers are in league with the members of the Panchayat
- (vii) A peculiar characteristic of hill agriculture is the role assigned to women The women of the house are equal partners in the struggle to achieve economic security and apart from household chores, they help their husbands in cultivation, cattle rearing etc In spite of their important role, they are not represented in the Van Panchayats women participation is extremely essential

3.2 The peasant in the hilly regions of Kumaon who is always battling with the vagaries of weather and other problems has no time to think about forests and the environment Moreover he is not conscious enough to understand the eco-system Forests he must have and so also his usufructuary rights from the neighbouring forests, but he cannot have the cake and eat it at the same time The CHIPKO movement as well as the environmentalists have failed to emphasize that the forest also needs care for sustaining itself just like humans and it can be achieved only through a systematic forest management The concept of preserving forests and the fundamental ecological utility of the forests must be propagated by the forest department to the urban as well as the village population in the Kumaon Himalaya, otherwise the process of destruction for meeting the peasants' day to day needs in an unscientific manner shall continue and in the process the poor peasant, out of sheer ignorance, will contribute to the destruction of whatever forests are left now

- 3 3 In Kumaon about eighty five per cent of the agricultural land in the Lesser Himalaya is already affected by soil erosion. As a result of denudation of forest cover and mismanagement of land and water resources, the past twenty years have seen complete or seasonal drying up of 55% of hill springs and the rivers show great fluctuations in flow from season to season. At the present rate of decline, next twenty years will witness desertification commencing in many areas of the mountain and the people in future will leave their villages not only in search of livelihood, but also of water. The Almora town itself is a burning example. In the early years of the twentieth century, 300 springs were recorded there, out of which more than 60 per cent have desied up now owing to clustering of buildings and consequential felling of trees.
- 3 4 Presently agriculture meets only about half of the food grain requirements of the mountain people in the Lesser Himalayan region. Each unit of energy in agronomic production entails an expenditure of 12 units of energy from the surrounding forests in terms of fire wood, fodder and leaf manure. It means more than 15 ha of forest is required to maintain each ha of agriculture on a sustainable basis, whereas forest available in the hills is only about 1 ha per ha of cultivation.¹⁶ Keeping in view the various problems including that of the ruggedness of the terrain, neither the agricultural yield nor the area can be enlarged. The land holdings in the Lesser Himalayan region are small 0.8 ha per household. Thus there is a tendency to bring marginal slopes under the plough and encroaching upon the forest land. In the prevailing situation it is very important to protect the forests of the Kumaon Himalaya through peoples' participation and village committees should be educated to give effective protection to good management of forests.
- 3 5 In the Kumaon Himalaya, people are still at the subsistence economy level and are faced with problems of dwindling biomass energy sources. Historically, subsistence-agriculture and unregulated and illegal commercial exploitation of forests have led to the present state of inadequate forest cover. The present situation therefore calls for a major change in the development pattern, the crop system in the Lesser Himalayan region of Kumaon should be replaced by the tree-farm system.
- 3 6 Tree plantation certainly involves lesser soil disturbance than crop cultivation which requires frequent ploughing. Further, the amount of inputs per unit of production would be the least in tree-farming. Deeper tree roots promote water infiltration and check water flow which will help in prolonging the life of springs, the major source of water to the villagers. Moreover, the crop system fails to meet the food requirement of the mountain people for even half the year, thus a form of cultivation which is least dependent on natural forces is needed. This can be tree-farming only which can ensure the supply of fuelwood, timber and fodder. Since tree cultivation does not need animal power, fodder which is largely derived from forests would be required in smaller quantities. In that situation, the livestock

population, which would primarily consist of only milk producing animals, would be reduced automatically. Once motivated for quality animals, villagers may reduce the rearing of scrub cattle and may adopt stall feeding which is less destructive than grazing.

- 3 7 For the protection of the Himalaya and sustainable eco-development it is imperative that alternative energy sources be found to achieve these goals. In addition popularizing the fuel efficient ovens and stoves in the village areas, the streams and rivers could be harnessed to produce electricity by putting up micro-hydel projects. Pressure cookers should also be supplied in the villages at a subsidized rate to save fuel.
- 3 8 It has been observed that in the hills, the local population have developed a general apathy towards the foresters with the result that there is a lack of cooperation from the villagers in protection of forests from fires, thefts and encroachments. To improve the situation there should be frequent and regular interaction between the foresters and the villagers which can be arranged through local meetings and workshops.
- 3 9 In Van Panchayat areas, apart from afforestation schemes planting of grass and shrubs as well as secondary forest produce like medicinal plants and minor raw produce should be popularized. Grasses are very effective for reducing run-off of rain water and preventing soil erosion whereas secondary forest produce can bring not only income to the villagers but can also provide an alternative source of livelihood to them other than agriculture. Cottage industries can also be helpful.
- 3 10 Concerted efforts should be made for hill areas to popularize social forestry as a peoples' programme. This programme will need inter-departmental coordination and support from universities and research institutions. They can provide technology and impart knowledge on the problems of forestry and environmental issues to the village people. Further the State Forest Department should have a cell adequately staffed which would ensure that genetically superior, indigenous and treated seedlings and plants are made available for the social forestry programme.
- 3 11 There is a special need for involving women in the social forestry programme. Therefore, organizing women, mobilizing them and improving their educational facilities should be programmes of priority. Moreover they should be ensured a greater say in the management of these forests.

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COFFEE PLANTATION IN MYSORE A COLONIAL EXPERIENCE

SUMMARY

MEERA SEBASTIAN*

I

- 1 1 This paper is an initial attempt to examine the early coffee planting in Mysore and the colonial policy towards it. On the one hand, the paper concentrates its attention on the illegal encroachment of lands by the British Planters and the resultant conflict with the cultivators. Another important issue is that of Halat or exercise duty on coffee.
- 1 2 Coffee planting in the Princely State of Mysore dates back to the early part of the 19th Century. The British took the State under their hegemony after the defeat and death of Tipu Sultan in 1799. Mysore was a land-locked state without any major sea port. Unlike Travancore and Malabar, which had pepper to sell in the international markets, Mysore did not produce commodities considerably, for distant markets. Hence, while Travancore paid its tribute to the British in pepper, Mysore had to pay it in bullion. All these pointed towards the need to commercialize the agriculture. The beginning of coffee cultivation in Mysore can be traced to this colonial predicament. It was during the direct rule of the British from 1831 to 1881 that the coffee plantation got tremendous boost. It thus became an important source of income to the government. Many British Planters mushroomed in the Malnad region of Mysore, having sprawling coffee estates.

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II

- 2 1 In the year 1837, after the expiration of the contract at the instance of Stokes, the Superintendent of Nagar, the then Commissioner of Mysore, Sir Mark Cubbon introduced what is known as the Halat or excise duty of one rupees per maund of 28 pounds. The British Planters who were more in number protested against this imposition stating that since there was depression in the price of coffee berries it was to be reduced to 8 *annas*. In 1849 it was further brought down to 4 *annas* per *maund* at the instance of the Superintendent of Nagar division of Mysore and the Planters.
- 2 2 The British Planters not satisfied with this, demanded that in company's territories the imposition of tax was to the extent of 1 rupee for 28 or 30 *maunds* and so 4 *annas* was very expensive. By then the Planters association was in vogue. They appealed to the government of India against this system but the government persuaded the Planters to accept the existing system.

III

- 3 1 In order to encourage the British Planters lands were given free during the rules of Krishnaraja Wodeyar III (1811-1831). Thus, during the middle of the nineteenth century English estates mushroomed at Nagar, Manjarabad regions. The lands were unscrupulously held by these planters after creating problems for *ryots* to suit their needs. One such instance was that of James Hunt in the Manjarabad taluks. He applied for nearly 100 acres of land which included a part of ever green forest for coffee plantation and building purposes. In doing so, the British Planter had encroached upon the *ryot's* lands especially the *supari* growers. When the *ryots* objected to this and appealed to the government, the government in turn gave James Hunt a free hand to acquire the lands.
- 3 2 The British Planters in addition to encroaching the *ryots*, lands and jungle lands created lot of problems to *ryots* by diverting water sources to the plantations. There were several complaints from the *ryots* of the Koppa taluk of the Kadur district of the Nagar Division against one British Planter. It was because the lands acquired by Brett encroached upon the *supari* cultivation. As a result of this, several *supari* growers had to relinquish their lands since close proximity of coffee proved injurious to *supari*.
- 3 3 The *ryots* further witnessed hardship as a consequence of coffee planting by the British. All the springs in the Kadur district, which irrigated the lands came into the hands of coffee planters though there was a general circular issued by the Chief Commissioner prohibiting the granting of jungles having springs for coffee cultivation. But when the planters acquired lands having springs, the Deputy Commissioner gave a deaf ear to the protests of the *ryots*.

- 3 4 Thus, from the aforesaid study, it is clear that the early years of forced commercialization of agriculture in Mysore brought miseries to the vast sections of the peasantry. Over the years, the Plantation lobby became a powerful pressure group which could influence the state's taxation policy to a great extent to suit their interests. The fact that the state was slowly being commercialized also directed towards the coming of a direct colonial rule.

GRAIN SCARCITY, CIVIC ORDER AND THE COLONIAL STATE : BOMBAY, 1800-1827

SUMMARY

MARIAM DOSSAL*

I

- 1 1 Acute grain scarcity was a widespread phenomenon in the whole of western India from 1803 to 1806. Its occurrence revealed structural flaws in the procurement and distribution functions of the colonial state. The fear that Bombay, an increasingly important political and economic base for British operations in the Indian Ocean might be starved, was heightened by the anxiety that troops fighting in the nearby Deccan would also face serious food shortages.
- 1 2 To cope with the crises which threatened to overwhelm the British on a number of fronts, state intervention in the form of both short and long term measures was urgently required. The Bombay Government attempted to pool all its technical and managerial resources to deal with the difficult situation. To do this it set up two important Committees called the Grain and Town Committees. Detailed reports and investigations undertaken by these Committees provide valuable information on trade in essential commodities, issues of law and order and the actual extent of colonial control in western India for this period.

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SOCIAL MOVEMENTS IN THE HARIJAN COMMUNITY OF TRIPURA SINCE INDEPENDENCE

SUMMARY

SATYADEO PODDER*

The present paper is a case study of one community of the Scheduled castes of Tripura. To discuss the Social Movements in the Harijan Community since independence is the main object of this research paper. No specific work has been done on this community till now except the author who himself has recently read one paper entitled "Social Changes in the Harijan Community of Tripura since Independence" in the 12th Annual Session of North East India History Association, held in Guwahati, on 30th October, 1991. The Census Reports, some secondary books, Government Reports, Reports of the Voluntary Organisations, Private letters helped a lot in the way of source materials. Case study was observed through formal and informal interview method and human documents have been supplemented by an increasing variety of projective techniques. The findings of this paper is that social movements in Tripura have led to the sanskritization of Harijan Community to a greater extent. They are not now treated as untouchables. They feel a sense of equality, liberty and fraternity with the rest people of the State. It is to be noted that Tripura declared herself as a "*Scavenger free State*" on 30.4.91 and hence, here lies the importance of social movements which played a remarkable role in bringing revolutionary changes in the Harijan Community of Tripura.

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SOCIAL CONSCIOUSNESS OF TRIBALS OF SOUTH GUJARAT : A STUDY OF THEIR FOLK LITERATURE DURING THE COLONIAL PERIOD

SUMMARY

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- 1 1 The subaltern studies have drawn the attention of the scholars. But they are found at the cross-roads on many counts. Some of the theoretical constraints have been raised regarding the elite and subaltern worlds, their mutual relationship. One of the major flaws that has been pointed out is that the scholars have failed to give adequate weightage to the autonomy to subaltern consciousness. There is a relative poverty of the social and-cultural history of these people.
- 1 2 As a result, the efforts have been made in the paper to present the social, cultural and religious traditions of the tribals of South Gujarat-densely populated tribal belt through their folk literature. The tribal society experienced intense sense of self identity in these folk songs. They illumined the depth of social consciousness better than conventional sources of historians craft.
- 1 3 These folksongs though preserved through oral tradition since ages and underwent through various influences of cultural currents did represent their autonomous world. These songs were jotted down by various scholars exactly as they were sung in tribal dialects. Many songs were written by tribal themselves.

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THE CIVIL DISOBEDIENCE PROPAGANDA: BANNED VERSIFIED LITERATURE FROM BIHAR

SUMMARY

HASAN IMAM*

I

- 1 1 In this paper an attempt has been made to point out the role of folk songs in the history of Freedom movement in India. This paper is based on three banned pamphlets entitled "*Swatantrata ki Murti*, (Flue of Freedom)" *Gandhi Sandesh*, (Gandhi's Message) and "*Gandhi Prakash*, (light from Gandhi). All these pamphlets are in Hindi and they are preserved as CID report along with their official translation in Bihar State Archives Patna. In these pamphlets perception of the colonial rule has been described. These pamphlets were published in 1930 soon after the Lahore Congress held in December 1929, in which congress adopted the resolution "*Swaraj*" meant complete independence and it declared for its attainment. This clarion call of the Lahore session the '*Swaraj*' was taken by the nationalist media but the real task was to carry the message of the Congress to a large number of people, especially in small towns and rural areas for which news papers, English or vernacular alone were perhaps not adequate. The writers of these pamphlets sought to contribute their own mite in diffusing the national will which was resolved in the Lahore session of the Congress.

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- 1 2 The pamphlets contains some verses which urges upon the people to abandon British textiles and use instead fabrics made by the *Charkha* "*By Charkha cannon we will shake London and through it will revenge the Punjab This Foreign cloth has ruined us and/made this country which was full of wealth, poor*"
- 1 3 The writers have further quoted the message of Gandhi regarding the use of *Charkha* and *Khaddar* through which they could prevent the exploitation of Indian economy under colonial rule There is a clear indication in the following verses, "*ply Charkha in every home and prepare yarn By plying Charkha and Loom [we] will gain Swaraj the Cannon balls are nothing, are unless By cotton balls the trade of foreigners will be shaken wearing motia Khaddar [we] will become free/Manchester, Launcashire, will of themselves be ruined* An attempt has been made in the verses that the people should adopt *Swadeshi* by which the textile industries of England will affect adversely and Indian would gain *swaraj*
- 1 4 Indeed, it called for communal harmony which was necessary for independence On the contrary the collaborators with British were severally condemned with the harsh remark such as "For those who have been cooperating with foreigners at present It is forbidden for them to take the food in India" The Pamphlet "Flute of Freedom" is full of verses which inspire the Indians to fight vigorously against the British rule by saying that the people are now fully fed up with the British Raj and their blood began to boil against the British rulers One verse says, "Either Freedom will wave or Indian would be a cremation ground
- 1 5 The National leaders like Motilal, Jawahar Lal, Mahatma Gandhi, Abdul Kalam Azad, Madan Mohan Malaviya, Lala Lajpat Rai, Hakim Ajmal Khan and Saifuddin Kitchelw have been praised in the pamphlets But the love for Gandhi is most intensely expressed as "Gandhi is our soul" declare the verses" He is beloved of the universe, if the hand is raised against Gandhi then carefully repeatedly think over/Every heir of this India will be ready to die" Similar great veneration is shown for Lala Lajpat Rai who was "the ruby of the poor whom the Thieves plundered by beating
- 1 6 Thus, almost every aspect of colonial rule and freedom movement are mentioned in these three pamphlets in simple language which could be understood by the ordinary people In these pamphlets an attempt has been made to awaken the Indians on the destructive role of the colonial rule in India No wonder, the British ruler felt danger and declared the pamphlets "Seditious" leading to the proscription under section 99-A Criminal procedure code "

**BEGAAR - ATTEMPTS TO ERADICATE IT :
A CASE STUDY OF THE EASTERN PART
OF THE ERSTWHILE PUNJAB (1919-1949)**

SUMMARY

JUGAL KISHORE GUPTA*

- 1 1 The practice of *begaar* (enforced labour) was prevalent throughout India during the first half of the twentieth century. The money-lenders, land-lords and all the officials of a district often got their work including the domestic one done from the lower strata of the society. Besides, they had to be served with food, milk etc. when they toured their areas. But no one received any remuneration in return. This feudal state of affairs was common in those days.
- 1 2 No independent research has so far been conducted in this field. I have selected eastern part of the erstwhile Punjab as a case study. Biographies of Neki Ram Sharma and Com. Shankar Lal, contemporary newspapers (The Tribune and the Haryana Tilak) and the records in the Haryana state Archives have been used as a source material to analyse the problem. Besides, the interviews with the living social reformers were also held. The study reveals that inspite of their efforts, the practice of *begaar* has not come to an end. This social problem like bonded labour is a grave one and needs to be tackled seriously.

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RAJPUT CLASS DOMINATION AND THE PHILOSOPHY OF RENT LEGISLATION IN AWADH 1858-1886

SUMMARY

CHHANDA CHATTERJEE*

- 11 The paper intends to examine how Rajput Clan domination of the landholding and agrarian Social structure came to influence the pattern of rent legislation in Awadh. Their superior martial abilities had earned the Rajput Clans an overwhelming influence in the local power structure of the region. The reality of this dominance had to be accommodated into the British land settlement of the province through a series of legislations. In 1866 the British had to clip the wings of the *talukdars*, the cornerstone of post-Mutiny British land policy in Awadh, by making them accept the Rajput *Zamindar's* right to a sub settlement. The more indigent of the lineage members failing to qualify for such a settlement were sought to be covered by a tenancy law of 1868. By this law a handful of privileged upper caste cultivators were isolated from the poorer and low caste peasant masses, exposed to the machinations of their social superiors. Even a subsequent tenancy law of 1886 brought little relief to these neglected masses. Awadh thus constituted, a glaring example of how the British had to curtail their programme of promoting agrarian capitalism by creating congenial conditions for the accumulation of capital in the hands of a favoured section of the peasantry and enter into a deal with the dominant but economically worthless ethnic groups of a region.

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- 1 2 Fresh researches in the Board of Revenue records (files in the Oudh General Series and the Oudh District Records) in the U P State Archives, Lucknow have lent a new dimension to the revenue history of the crucial years from 1858 to 1886 which the earlier works of Jagdish Raj and T R Metcalf locked

SALT SATHYAGRAHA AND CIVIL DISOBEDIENCE MOVEMENT IN NELLORE DISTRICT: RESPONSE OF THE RURAL PEOPLE

SUMMARY

A. PANDURANGA RAO*

- 1 1 The part played by the Telugu people in India's freedom struggle is second to none and rightly earned the appreciation of Mahathma Gandhi. Among the districts of Andhra Pradesh 4 districts, namely, Godavari, Krishna, Guntur and Nellore played a prominent role. Nellore district was active in the national movement since the beginning of the twentieth century. Vandematram, and Swadeshi movements attracted the attention of the people of Nellore district. The visit of Bipin Chandra Pal created a new awareness. The district Congress Committee was established in 1908. Nellore district was active during the Home Rule Movement. Branches of the Home Rule League were setup at Nellore and Kavali.
- 1 2 Entry of Gandhi into Indian Politics changed the nature of national movement. It was under his leadership that the Indian National Congress launched several mass movements. A close look at these movements clearly indicate the response of the rural population to the Salt Satyagraha and Civil Disobedience movement was over-whelming.

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- 1 3 During this movement seventeen Village officers left their jobs and Jumped into the national movement. Even the Vettis of Yellayapalem relinquished their duties. Two hundred and fifty three persons were convicted in the district on various charges during the movement. Out of these convicted persons only 58 were from Urban Centres of Nellore, Guduru and Kavali. The rest were from rural areas. Thirteen of them were the residents of Venkatagiri the seat of the Zamindar, who was against the movement. In about seventy villages consumption of liquor was completely abandoned. Rapur Taluk Ryots Association resolved to request the Government to close down the liquor shops in the Taluk. The Woman and youth in several villages welcomed the congress volunteers and extended whole-hearted support to the anti-drink Campaign and helped them in cutting the spaths of Palmyra trees.
- 1 4 The paper examines this aspect of the movement and tries to explain various factors that were responsible for the dominant role played by the rural people of the district in Salt Satyagraha and Civil Disobedience movement during the years 1930-1934.

NOTORIOUS 'GASTIS' AND PUBLIC REACTION IN HYDERABAD STATE

SUMMARY

Y. VAIKUNTHAM*

Hyderabad state was a feudal and autocratic state ruled by the Asaf Jahi dynasty. Not only there was concentration of power in the hands of the Nizam and his bureaucracy but often the freedom and rights of the people were throttled by the imposition of notorious 'Gastis' or 'Circulars' to administer the State in the early 20th century. The civil liberties, freedom of religion and expression were suppressed by the Gasti No 52 of 1921, No 53 of 1929 and its withdrawal and reimposition in different form in 1938 needs a critical study. Those Gastis not only were undemocratic in nature but suppressed the nascent nationalism, socio-political consciousness in the State. They outraged the modicum of administrative reforms introduced in the State in 1893, 1900 and 1919. Neither the political organisations nor educational institutions were permitted to establish freely. There were restrictions on the establishment of libraries and conducting public meetings. The public in general and elite groups and the press in particular reacted against the Gastis and pressure was mounted for their withdrawal. This paper is an attempt to critically examine the nature of Gastis, their provisions and the public reaction in the Hyderabad State.

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**FUNDS RAISING DEVICES
AND THE ROLE OF THE STATE OF
HYDERABAD AND BHOPAL
IN THE ECONOMIC VIABILITY OF THE
DAR-UL ULOOM, DEOBAND, U.P.
(1866-1976)**

SUMMARY

HAMID AFAQ QURESHI*

The paper presents re-interpretation of the already known data from new angles not touched upon earlier by previous authors like B D Metcalfe, Mushirul Haq and Akhlaq Ahmad. Established on 30 May, 1866, the Dar-ul uloom, Deoband, of U.P., soon developed into an International Centre of the higher religious education of the Hanafite Sunni Muslims. For its economic resources it did not view for the grants-in-aid of the British Government as it would have led to their undue interference in its internal affairs but depended solely on the contributions and donations of the individuals of all castes, creeds and colours and the princely states. To meet its progressively increasing annual expenditure which was Rs 649 in 1866 and Rs 23,39,013 in 1976, various devices and techniques were employed. Besides appeals for contributions through widely circulated general pamphlets and those issued on the eve of all important Muslim festivals, annual narratives distributed on the eve of annual functions and appeals and articles in the periodicals, paid

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ambassadors constantly toured in all parts of India for raising funds, for which purpose its Chief Executive officer, called *Mohtamim*, also paid visits to different places in India and abroad to exert his personal influence once in a year. Several voluntary organisations like *Moin-ul-Islam*, Hyderabad, *Samratul Tarbiyat* and *Qasim-ul-Maarif* also helped in raising such funds. Several persons endowed their properties and money for it. All the buildings of the seminary came into existence by raising funds in the same manner. The perennial contributions of the States of Hyderabad and Bhopal which ranged from Rs 1200 in 1887-88 and Rs 1500 + Rs 300 in 1901-02 to Rs 12000 + Rs 3000 in 1948 with increases in between was able to nullify the expenditure of the Seminary ranging between 21-32% and thus played a very crucial role in sustaining the seminary economically for over 6¼ decades. All these aspects have broadly been commented upon in the paper and the interpretation of the economic aspects of the States of Hyderabad and Bhopal have been analysed in a tabulated form with due comments thereon.

COLONISATION OF ASSAM AND PHULAGURI PEASANT UPRISING (1861)

SUMMARY

RAMAKRISHNA CHATTOPADHYAY*

- 1 1 Phulaguri is situated in the Nowgong district of Assam and is inhabited by the Laloong tribes. In September 1861, nearly four thousand peasants in and around Phulaguri came down to the office of the district magistrate at Nowgong and waited upon a deputation to him with the object of presenting a memorandum to protest against government proposal to introduce License Act, Income Tax on betel nut and etc. The district magistrate refused to entertain the deputation, ordered the assembly of the peasants unlawful and imposed fines on the deputationist-peasants.
- 1 2 The peasants returned back to Phulaguri and organised a *Raj mel* (people's assembly). By October 17, 1881, over four thousand peasants assembled at Phulaguri. On receiving the news, the Lieutenant on duty, along with a large contingent of police force, ordered the peasants to disperse. Peasants defied the order which resulted in an encounter causing the death of a few peasants and also of the European lieutenant. Battle continued for four days. Peasants seized the Nowgong town. The district magistrate fled away and took shelter in a safer place. Town was under the control of the peasants for two days. Meanwhile, by October 23, with the reinforcement of fresh military contingent from Tezpur and Guwahati, the situation was brought under control. Peasant leaders were arrested. Some of them were sentenced to life imprisonment.

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- 1 3 This heroic episode of Phulaguri peasants is still living in the memory of the people of the locality Benudhar Kalita, in his *Phulagurir Dhewa* (In Assamese, Deurigaon, Nowgong, 1961), preserved the folk memory of the incident K N Dutt made some passing references to this incident in his authoritative work *Landmarks of the Freedom Struggle in Assam* (Gauhati, 1958) The incident received further treatment by Amalendu Guha in his book *Planter Raj to Swaraj Freedom Struggle and Electoral Politics in Assam 1826 - 1947* (New Delhi, 1977) Nevertheless the causes of the uprising await further explanation
- 1 4 The present paper seeks to explore the real causes of the peasant protest It could be argued from the available records that this episode was not an isolated one but a part of the chain of primary resistance movements launched by tribal peasants of various parts of Assam viz , Jaintia rebellion, Senteng rebellion, Cachari labour strike etc , against the British Government's policy of colonisation of Assam

**THE PUNJAB PRESS AND THE INDIAN
NATIONAL CONGRESS - A CASE STUDY
OF THE TRIBUNE AND THE CIVIL AND
MILITARY GAZETTE (1885-1893)**

SUMMARY

AMRIT KAUR BASRA*

Under the British rule the press has emerged as the most effective means of communication. The nationalists used it as a medium to highlight the oppressive nature of the British rule in order to generate political consciousness among the masses. When the Indian National Congress was established in 1885, the press became its chief spokesman.

In Punjab, both these trends were evident, while most of vernacular newspapers were busy in highlighting socio-religious activities in the province, the political orientation was only shown by the Tribune. Established to "act for public weal" and represent the 'Public opinion of India', the Tribune was the nerve centre of political activities in the province. It provided the institutional basis to popularize the Congress, but its role was opposed by the Civil and Military Gazette which was the mouthpiece of British Government.

In the present paper, these opposite trends of both these newspapers have been highlighted. Their observations also reveal the level of political consciousness among Punjabis and their participation in the Indian National Congress.

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The Tribune not only published in detail the first session of the Indian National Congress but has also sent Babu Murlidhar as a delegate. It offered suggestions for this national body and tried to inform Punjabis about it so that they would participate in larger number but there was no comment from the *Civil and Military Gazette*. When it reported the second session of the Congress then it ridiculed the demand of Punjabis for the legislative Council and concluded that India was not in need of political reforms but social reforms.

The Tribune was aware about the prevailing communal tension in Punjab and knew that participation of Muslims in the Indian National Congress was necessary for unity. The paper strongly refused the charge that the Congress was a Hindu body and encouraged Muslims to participate in it. The paper organised many meetings and invited eminent Muslim speakers like Ali Bhimji to arouse Muslim interest in the national organisation.

In sharp contrast, the *Civil and Military Gazette* was busy highlighting anti-Congress meetings. It asserted that 'Muslims from Delhi to Peshawar were anti-Congress and their support was just imaginary'. It even observed that Sikhs were also not in favour of the Congress. It even argued that in Punjab, the participation in the Congress came from Bengalis who were not Punjabis. Thus, for the *Civil and Military Gazette*, Congress in Punjab was only the most audacious and childish fraud and if Bengalis were removed, then, there would have been no one to take the trouble to hire, bribe or flatter the delegates into going to Allahabad.

The Tribune worked relentlessly to ensure larger participation in the Congress and desired to hold its session in Punjab. For this purpose, meetings were held and numerous articles were written. The success came in 1893, when more than 500 local participants attended the session of the Indian National Congress. However, the non-acceptance of many demands of Punjabis and feeling of being neglected at the annual sessions of the Congress, resulted in resentment. The *Civil and Military Gazette* lost no time in highlighting this aspect. It pointed out that those who were elected had refused to attend the session of the Congress and published many letters to elucidate this point. In context of 1893 session which was being held in Punjab, the paper asserted that there was no interest among the delegates to listen to the bombastic oratory of the Babus from Bengal.

These observations disclosed the harsh reality that the Congress had failed to establish its firm hold in Punjab. While *The Tribune* worked relentlessly to espouse the cause of the Indian National Congress, the *Civil and Military Gazette* was contended in painting the gloomy future for this national body. In the process both newspapers, occasionally clashed with each other. The biased reporting of the Anglo-Indian newspaper was disclosed by *The Tribune*, but the former was equally quick and successful in pin-pointing the fact that latter was not always able to refute its assertions.

INDIAN MIDLAND RAILWAY COMPANY (1885-1900): A SPLINTER COMPANY OF THE GREAT INDIAN PENINSULA RAILWAY COMPANY

SUMMARY

ARUNA AWASTHI*

In 1853, while laying down the policy for the Railway development in India, Lord Dalhousie had preferred the Calcutta-Bombay Rail link up to Agra. The two premier railway companies of that time the Great Indian Peninsula Railway (GIPR) and the East Indian Railway (EIR) had shown interest in this route. On second thought the GIPR chose Jabalpur for linking Bombay with Calcutta. Their arch rival the Bombay-Baroda and Central Indian Railway (BB and CI) surveyed Bombay-Baroda-Agra link in 1856, but due to financial constraints following the uprising of 1857 the project was shelved.

In 1863 both the GIPR and the BB and CI submitted plans for Bombay-Agra link-up but the Anderson Committee (1864) ruled out the involvement of the Guaranteed Railway Companies in the project. It recommended the construction by the native states since the route was mainly through their jurisdiction. As a measure of economy, Lord Lawrence (in 1869) allowed meter gauge construction instead of the standard gauge. As such, the Rajputana and Malwa (State) Railway (RMR) started the Ahmedabad-Agra meter gauge project and completed it in 1880. Thus

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BB and CI and RMR route from Bombay to Agra became 847 miles as against the GIPR route via Jabalpur of 1,121 miles. The GIPR started losing its cotton and piece goods traffic to the BB and CI and RMR.

The GIPR intensified its lobbying for the Bhopal-Jhansi-Gwalior route to Agra and Jhansi, Banda-Manikpur link up with Kanpur and Allahabad. The Secretary of State for India again disapproved the involvement of a Guaranteed Railway Company since it would have to extend the old terms and conditions. The GIPR therefore, set up a new company - Indian Midland Railway Company (IMR) in 1884. The IMR shared its registered office in London, its bankers, solicitors, directors and consulting engineers with the parent company - the GIPR. The IMR was guaranteed 4% return on the capital and 1/4 of profit beyond 4%. Rates and fares were to be the same as those of the GIPR.

The IMR had working arrangement with Scindia State Railway and later on acquired the same in 1889 when the Agra link was through.

Now the GIPR-IMR provided easier and quicker routes between Bombay-Agra, Bombay-Kanpur and Bombay-Allahabad and this combine not only won back the traffic from the BB and CI - RMR group but also captured additional traffic from the EIR and the Oudh and Rohilkhand Railway.

In December 1900 the GIPR was purchased by the State and the IMR was amalgamated with the GIPR under the new management. Thus the IMR had a short life span from 1885 to 1900 as a splinter company of the GIPR but it made a valuable contribution in capturing traffic from Northern India and opened an alternative route between Bombay and Agra.

BRITISH FOREST POLICY IN CHOTANAGPUR : 1914-45

SUMMARY

NIRAJ KUMAR SINGH*

Chotanagpur region lies in south Bihar comprising the modern districts of Singhbhum, Ranchi, Hazaribagh and Palamau and has a thick vegetative cover. The region also has the richest cluster of minerals in the country. Chotanagpur is also famous for recurrence of various tribal movements throughout the 19th and early 20th centuries. British forest policy towards Chotanagpur thus makes a curious and interesting study especially during the World Wars when a particularly heavy demand for timber led to large scale ruthless exploitation of these forests.

Important plant species of the region include Sal, Shisham, Bijasal, Teak, Salai, Semul as well as Bamboo, Sabai grass etc. From the very beginning, these forests supplied large quantity of imperial demand for timber especially hard wood like Sal, Shisham, Bijasal mainly for railway sleepers and carriages and building construction. During the World Wars demand for timber increased enormously for bridge and building construction, packing cases and other ancillary war demands. This was necessitated mainly due to cessation of import of structural steel and timber due to war. Hard woods from Chotanagpur in particular went out in huge quantity during the First World War to meet augmented demand. Plunder of forests went on everywhere and good timber was cut and removed. The Second World War, which was of greater magnitude and which came physically much nearer India,

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resulted in full scale exploitation of forest resources. Their impact of the Second World War on forests was therefore felt more severely. Timber Transport Advisory Committees (early 1940) and a Timber Directorate in the Department of Supply were set up to channel smooth supply of timber. Thus, outturn of timber and fuelwood from Bihar forests increased from 6,613 000 cubic feet in 1941-42 to 9,418,000 cubic feet in 1944-45. During the same period revenue from these forests almost doubled from Rs 10,60,235 (1941-42) to Rs 231,94,503 (1944-45).

Chotanagpur forests were thus denuded of all good timber and several species almost wiped out so that forest authorities strove very hard in post-Second World War years to replenish the damaged species. Side effects of ruthless forest policy in the region included soil erosion, decreasing rainfall and related socio-economic problems with disastrous consequences.

**PORTRAYAL OF WOMEN IN HINDI
LITERATURE IN THE EARLY TWENTIETH
CENTURY NATIONALIST IDEOLOGY
(WITH SPECIAL REFERENCE TO VOICES OF
DEFIANCE IN PREMCHAND'S WRITINGS)**

SUMMARY

CHARU GUPTA*

Literature and gender share in common the fact of being neglected till recently by the bulk of mainstream academic history writing. Also, history, gender and literature are usually treated as three distinct bodies of analysis, quite separate, isolated and unrelated to each other. The links between them are seldom perceived. In such a situation there is an obvious need for more work on the subject at the level of generalization and theory as well as for careful scrutiny by specific case studies.

This paper is an attempt to study the images of women conveyed in Hindi literature of the early twentieth century, which drew upon certain idioms, metaphors and language. Before this, it also makes an attempt to place the subject on a theoretical background, with certain generalisations.

Hindi literature, unlike Bengali writing, lagged far behind. In most of the writings in the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries romanticism was eroticized and made into a chief consumer product. Formulaic fantasies were

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resorted to, stressing the sexual function of women. There was almost a complete isolation from the context of changes taking place in society.

However, with Premchand occurred a sharp break with the earlier dominant Hindi literary tradition. He placed women characters on a solid socio-economic and political plane. He conceived a new image of woman in view of the changes taking place in society. The isolated images gave way to the existence of woman in contemporary historical contexts and having a living relationship with forces around her.

While exploring this break on the one hand, the paper also tries to analyse as to how historians have dealt with women's portrayal by Premchand. Here two opposing stereotypes emerge. On the one hand is unadulterated adoration and on the other downright denunciation. This clearly, in my opinion, would not do.

Though one realizes that literature speaks in Premchand's writings through many voices, in this paper I have only concentrated on women's voices of defiance. These voices provide a sharp contrast to the dominant images of women being built by the nationalist movement and by the bulk of literature. Here the female turns the tables on the male, asserts her own living space and rebels against prevalent structures. May be Premchand is able to internalise the ideological break which the national movement had generated, but which could never be articulated in an organized form. Here he bridges the gap between political practice and cultural representation.

Ultimately, like peasant and other popular movements, the leaders of the anti-imperialist struggle were able to 'hegemonies' the women's movement also. The voices of defiance of these women were to a large extent neutralized by the strident tune of the nationalist struggle. The absence of organized movement leader to further drowning of these voices in the dust of history.

But these individual protests did seek a variety of avenues. Some of Premchand's writings provide a memory and legacy of these voices and may serve as a source of inspiration for the oppressed today.

**SOCIO-ECONOMIC IMPACT OF THE
RAILWAYS: STUDY OF BELGAUM
DISTRICT 1887-1922**

SUMMARY

B.V. RAO*

I

- 1.1 The role of the railways in the growth of colonial economy and society has been subjected to serious scrutiny by various schools of historians. In what way did it affect our economy? While some argue that it generated essentials for economic growth in our country, others point out its deleterious effects. Thus various interpretations either confirm the exploitative role of the British imperium through railways or affirm the regenerative aspects mainly relating to modernisation. Secondly, it is difficult to project any image due to lack of sources — particularly relating to the 19th century.
- 1.2 With limited sources at my disposal for interpreting the role of the railways, I have made an attempt to outline its features in the district of Belgaum (forming a part of the Bombay Presidency) during colonial era. To me it appears railways had minimal impact taking the whole economy into consideration. To be specific, agriculture was commercialised but weaving industry suffered due to foreign competition brought by railways. I wish I had more statistics at my disposal to study the interaction of railways in the district.

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**PROTEST, AMBIVALENCE AND
BRITISH POLICY:
AN ASSESSMENT OF DANDI MARCH, 1930**

SUMMARY

S.R. BAKSHI*

The Dandi March launched by Gandhi on 12 March 1930 from the Sabarmati Ashram, Ahmedabad to Dandi, a small village on the western coast of India, was a symbolic gesture against the salt tax imposed by the Raj on our people. With his 78 *satyagrahis* Gandhi traversed on foot a long route of 241 miles thus attracting the attention of the whole sub-continent. It was a peaceful march, but it had nightmarish effect on the Viceroy, the Governor of Bombay and the Whitehall.

The British policy, during the march, had an element of ambivalence, and so the government did not arrest Gandhi. It watched the events with caution and struck hard in May 1930 when the Civil Disobedience Movement started at all-India level. Gandhi and thousands of *satyagrahis* were put behind the bars.

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IV

COUNTRIES OTHER THAN INDIA

Address of the Sectional President

FORMS OF UNION RUSSIAN EMPIRES AND THE SOVIET UNION

MADHAVAN K. PALAT*

I. INTRODUCTION

The Soviet Union has just expired, and it seems only natural to want to know why. It appears as a failure, and to most it illustrates a theory they have long cherished. The favoured one is that Marxism is flawed. It is forgotten however that multi-national unions are not central to Marxist doctrine any more than they are to what is now ideologically known as the market. It was entirely possible to have a series of communist states alongside the capitalist ones, both species have existed and continue to do so. It is also forgotten that for a long time what were trumpeted by the Soviet Union as its triumphs were adduced as evidence of the invalidity of Marxist theory. In life as in death, in success as in failure, the Soviet Union seems required to reinforce the dogma that Marx, Engels, and the apostolic succession have been in grievous error. Clearly then the infirmities of Marxism do not provide an answer to the burning question of the day. The other theory, almost as ardently held, contended the Union as a Russian empire that was dictatorial, nationalist, and colonial. Like the previous one, this argument belongs to the polemic of the cold war but is derived from the nationalist rivalries of the nineteenth century, for this was the precise charge against the Russian empire overthrown in the civil war of 1917-1921. But it amounts to no more than a facile assertion of historical continuity if not

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eternity The third is that entities like nations, nationalities, and nation-states with their nationalisms are sacred, multinational states are profane, and that morality and justice have at last triumphed This is by far the most out-moded and patently wrong, if such expressions be permitted in the relativist world of today, but it does not for all that temper the fanaticism of the conviction To rehearse the obvious points against it, every nation has been built on the pulverised skeletons of a host of other potential nations, most nation - states, on close examination, turn out to be a coalition of nations or nationalities in a multi-national state, and ever more supra-national entities are coming into being, significantly enough a supra-national state on the very breeding-ground of the nation-state, West-Europe The last theory, nursed furtively by many, I am sure, is that the Soviet Union has not disintegrated and that it must rise from the ashes This might be a useful millennial dream to sustain old faithfuls, but it is not a solution to our problem Even if the Commonwealth of Independent States were to consolidate itself as a single state, it will not be the Soviet Union, and if the Communist Party were to revive as a major political actor, it is unlikely to be in a Soviet Union Whatever is created now will not be the same as what has been dismantled and we must still explain the Soviet experiment at union-making As is evident, every attempted answer is premised on a theory of history especially of Russia, otherwise it is an historical account outright It would therefore be only appropriate to study how the Soviet Union was constituted as a Union, how and why its territorial predecessor, the Russian empire rose and fell, and, as a useful historical perspective, how the earlier Muscovite empire was assembled, held, and transformed into the modernising Russian empire of the nineteenth century It might tell us better what the strengths and weaknesses of the Soviet multi-national polity might have been and therefore the legacy that we might expect Most of all, it might compel us to modify the original from why the collapse to what has collapsed

II. PRE-INDUSTRIAL DYNASTIC EMPIRE

The pre-industrial tsarist empire and its central authority was not specifically Russian by ideology nor did it seek homogeneity in Russianness or anything derived from Russianness The state was by ideology autocratic and Orthodox Christian not Russian nationalist It did not seek ideological or other uniformity save in a common submission to the imperial dynasty, for the rest, like all good pre-industrial empires, it prospered amid a luxuriant growth of particularisms, of religion, ethnicity, locality, class and community, all of which were graded in infinitely complicated hierarchies and were sustained by innumerable imperial privileges The Autocracy of the dynasty ruled directly through its bureaucratic and military instruments, and indirectly by incorporating all particularities, Russian and non-Russian, in the widest senses of the term

A brief summary of these incorporations would show how the Autocracy subsisted before industrialism and nationalism came into their own in the

1880s In chronological order of integration, the most important of these "nationalities" or non-Russians were 1) the Muslim Tatars of the kingdoms of Kazan and Astra-khan in the sixteenth century, 2) eastern or left bank Ukraine in the seven-teenth century, in the eighteenth century 3) the Buddhist and Muslim nomadic peoples of the Eurasian steppe, chiefly Kalmyk and Kazakh, from the Volga to Mongolia, 4) the non-Orthodox, non-Russian but nonetheless Christian principalities of the West, i.e. the Baltic countries of Latvia and Estonia, 5) the Polish-Lithuanian imperial republic or commonwealth which includes right-bank or western Ukraine, and, in the course of the nineteenth century, 6) the non-Russian mixed Christian and Muslim populations of Transcaucasia, 7) the equally non-Russian but wholly Christian Finland, and 8) a series of nationalities in the colonial conquests of the century, those of Turkestan, now called Uzbeks, Kirghiz, Tajiks, and Turkmen, with the remnant of the Kazakhs

2.1. THE VOLGA TATARS

2.1.1 The Tatars were the first major non-Russian people of any political consequence to have been included in the Muscovite empire. As the Golden Horde (the Mongol state established by Batu Khan, Chinggis's grandson, with the conquest of Russia in the thirteenth century) declined in the fifteenth century, many Mongols entered Muscovite service. The vassal Kasimov khanate was set into the core area of great Russia, on the Oka, and lasted until the middle of the seventeenth century. In the sixteenth century, with the definitive triumph of Muscovy under Ivan IV (the Terrible) over the khanates of Kazan and of Astrakhan, numerous aristocratic groups were incorporated. Large numbers converted to Christianity, entered noble service, and were granted estates, especially in the north-west, in Novgorod and Pskov. Their fortunes could vary. Thus, immediately after the conquest of Kazan, Tatars were dispossessed en masse and driven 30 versts beyond the limits of the city of Kazan, Russian colonization was pushed along the Volga, Kama, Svიაза, and Seshma, and the Tatars fled into Siberia and Central Asia. This process continued, in fits and starts, until the reign of Anna in the eighteenth century leading to a general decline of the Tatar aristocracy. It is the same story with Orthodox evangelization. The first wave of bigotry came to a halt as early as the 1560s and was resumed only under Peter in the early eighteenth century, with a paroxysm of zeal during the reign of Elizabeth when 418 out of 536 mosques were destroyed during the years 1738-1755 in the guberniya of Kazan. The persecution of Tatars and of Islam as centres of political and ideological power and challenge was combined with policies of accommodation and specialization of function. The need for loyalty demanded both the one and the other, which sharply sets it off from nationalist assimilationist efforts.

2.1.2 The century from the 1760s to the 1880s were the golden years of the Tatar bourgeoisie, beginning with Catherine II's generous toleration and promotion of the Tatar and Muslim cause from 1764. A flourishing Tatar commercial

bourgeoisie spread out over the steppe and masterminded the empire's trade with Central Asia, Iran, India, and China. The Muslim clergy were encouraged to convert the pagan Kazakh and other nomads to Islam to civilize and sedentarise them to the benefit of an officially Orthodox Christian Russian Empire, a policy that parallels the King empire's lamaization of the Mongol and other nomads in the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries. In addition, the Tatar bourgeoisie were employed as the empire's diplomats in dealings with the Muslim world. Only their faith debarred them from Court at St Petersburg but for the rest they flourished in their territory without political power as a state, but with certain noble privileges, fully secure religious and commercial rights, honoured duties as agents of the Russian state in diplomacy, commerce, and ideology in Asia, such that Kazan could become an important Muslim theological and intellectual centre in its own right.

2.1.3 This long and early history explains in part the remarkable role played by the Kazan and Crimean Tatar intelligentsia in nationalist and revolutionary politics, and their intellectual role both among the Muslims of the Russian empire and later. In emigration, in the intellectual world of the Ottoman Empire and Turkey. More than long association in the Russian empire, they possessed certain other important and unique features which explain much. On the one hand they lacked a traditional, pre-Industrial political leadership. They lost it as part of the process of their subjugation when their aristocracy was reduced, eliminated or dispersed. At the same time they became a minority in their own country, if we treat the present territory of the Tatar Autonomous Republic as such: by the end of the eighteenth century they were 40% against a 52% Russian presence here, with a further decline in the nineteenth century. Yet their cultural standards were high, their ulama enjoyed an unquestioned religious and intellectual authority in the steppe, and their commercial bourgeoisie disposed of an elaborate network in Inner Asia. Hence there was a certain diasporic quality to their existence, politically emasculated, internationally mobile, culturally developed, and territorially nearly deprived. They would therefore be a fertile source of pan movements of the Turkic or Islamic varieties, and even aspire to the revolutionary leadership of colonial nationalism in Inner Asia. Ismail bey Gasprai represented the panturkic thinker and Mirsaid Sultan Galiev the anti-colonial nationalist revolution. But that was in the future, when their distinctive role and special status in the empire was disturbed from the 1860s and the 1880s with the onset of industrialism and nationalism.

2.2. LEFT BANK UKRAINE

2.2.1 A century after the Tatars, it was the turn of the Ukrainians. Their subordinate Cossack state, called the Hetmanate from its leader, the Hetman, successfully rebelled under Bogdan Khmel' nitskii in the middle of the seventeenth century against Polish rule. It then submitted to Muscovy in 1654 with elaborate guarantees of autonomy, including a separate foreign policy. But, in

the ensuing wars and intrigues, the Cossack Host or army organisations splintered and only the Left Bank remained with Muscovy while the other half was returned to Poland-Lithuania. The partitions of the Ukraine was then consecrated by the Treaty of Andrusovo in 1667 between Muscovy and Poland.

2.2.2 During the next century and a half, the political and social structure of this part of the Ukraine was integrated into that of the Muscovite empire. The political autonomy of the Hetman state was whittled down by degrees, and in 1764, the Hetman's office itself was abolished. But the Cossacks and the Ukrainian princes benefited in numerous ways. They were now nobles and serfowners on par with the Muscovites. This change in status was opportune and perhaps determined by two major historical trends. One was the decline of Crimean Tatar raiding with the world-wide decay of nomadism faced with the rise of new military technologies and organisation. With that the freebooting existence of the Zaporozhian Sich of the Hetmanate and of the Cossacks generally lost their vigour and validity. The other was the general East European intensification of serfdom, in which the Cossacks could now participate as serfowners of the Russian empire. Urban life contracted as landed magnates absorbed all labour on land and towns were flooded by Jewry. Finally, they were now united with an Orthodox power and thereby saved the persecutions of the Roman Catholic Poles.

2.2.3 This was a union of people closest to the Russians in language, religion, and culture, but sharply different in social structure. The social hierarchy was therefore integrated with the Russian as the means to ensure loyalty. Yet this culture, so close to the Russian, was one of the first to suffer what later came to be seen as typical of all nationalisms, that is, linguistic coercion. Peter decreed in 1720 that the Ukrainian language, or dialect as they called it, was not to appear in print, and the Ukrainian nobility and clergy obliged by russifying themselves. They did so "thoughtlessly" was the melancholy judgement of the foremost nationalist historian of the Ukraine, Hrushevskii. But even he noted that there was a certain spontaneity about it. For the reigns of the hetmans Samoilovich and Ivan Mazepa had been culturally prodigious, and Ukrainian schools and academies inspired by the Jesuit model had poured forth graduates into Russian political and intellectual life for half a century. But from the middle of the eighteenth century this education petrified into scholasticism, Russian absorption of European advances proceeded faster, and the Ukraine receded into provincialism. The Ukrainian nobility's russification at such a moment might therefore make sense. The autocratic government forbade the Ukrainian vernacular as a vulgarity, and the educated Ukrainian and the ruling class seemed to concur with that opinion. Thus this linguistic constrain does not seem to correspond to the nineteenth century attempts at cultural homogeneity, yet it is ironic and later typical that the culture closest to the Russian should have suffered first, and then the most, in the Russian empire.

2 3 NOMADS

- 2 3 1 The nomads might appear to have been altogether unique especially as the law categorised them to the bitter end, not as citizens, but as *inorodtsy*. However, as pastoral nomads, they were merely one constituent of the social division of labour, alongside manufacture, agriculture, and hunting and fishing. For the rest, they were only as unique as any other entity in the empire, and in that sense they were typical members of the pre-industrial empire.

There is a peculiar difficulty about determining the date of their entry into the empire. That process lasted well over a century as Russian military superiority gradually hardened into political sovereignty and then merged into the colonial conquest of the middle of the nineteenth century. The Kalmyk and Kazakh cases are perhaps the most significant. From the late seventeenth century until the Speranskii legislation of the 1820s, Russia was a superior power, from the 1820s until half a century later, a Russian administration was installed, but with minimal changes, and only from the 1860s-1880s was a properly colonial policy of settlement, colonial relations, and any sort of russification attempted.

- 2 3 2 It is important to comment briefly on the first period also since Russian and Soviet history conventionally include it in the internal history of the empire. The procedure of entry was as follows. Various khans and sultans would swear oaths of allegiance to the Autocrat. They would promise military support when called upon for it, agree not to enter into hostile alliances and to "civilise" themselves, that is, sedentarise within limits. They would also promise not to attack Russian caravans and settlements in the steppe. In return, they would be invested with titles and honours, especially the coveted one of khan, and granted danegeld or protection money. The rulers so legitimised would be ensured the support of the Russian state in his disputes with his own subordinates and neighbours. These were in fact subordinate international alliances typical of the Eurasian nomadic world, but they have been treated as surrenders of sovereignty as in European jurisprudence. It is very doubtful whether they were anything of the kind.

- 2 3 3 Most importantly, every one of these agreements were instantly violated or absurdly negated by a similar treaty with a rival power. Further, no Russian administration, law, or even garrisons were established until the 1820s. Dzungaria, the western extension of Mongolia, became a part of the Qing empire of China in 1758 and has not been claimed as part of the Russian empire. Ever since 1607 and 1758 there were frequent negotiations over submission, in 1629, the Oirat prince Khara-kula actually swore the oath. This was of course revoked soon enough. The Kalmyk *taishas* are remarkable for the frequency of their oaths of allegiance, 1655, 1656, 1657, 1661, 1664, 1671, 1673, 1677, 1683 and 1684. It might be assumed that, out of sheer inertia, in 1771 they carried out the last great nomadic migration.

in -history when about three-fourths of them or 170,000, departed for Dzungaria, their original homeland. The Kazakhs were the most notorious. Abulkhair Khan of the Little Horde submitted in 1731, 1732, 1736, 1738, 1740, and 1742, until Catherine II tartly repulsed yet another attempt at submission in 1775. Dual submissions were equally frequent. In 1731, Cheren-Donduk of the Kalmyks was proclaimed khan by the Russians even as he submitted to the King. Abulmambet of the Middle Horde submitted to Russia in 1740 and then to Galdan Tseren of Dzungaria also. The legendary Ablai Khan of the Middle Horde submitted likewise to Russia in 1740 and to the King in 1757 and even refused the khan's title from Russia in 1771. His son Vali was invested by Russia but he submitted to the King instead, Abulkhair similarly maneuvered between Russia and the Dzungarian khans. Later, Kazakh sultans swore allegiance and switched it frequently between Russia and the Turkestan states of Khiva, Bukhara, and Kokand. Turkmen tribes similarly oscillated between Iran and Khiva, and the Kirghiz between Kokand and Russia. In the European theatre the only ones to practise such diplomacy were the Ukrainian Cossacks of the Hetmanate. In 1650 Bogdan Khmel'nitskii acknowledged the sovereignty of the Sultan who accordingly invested him with the kaftan, he submitted to the protection of the king of Sweden, he recognised the king of Poland as overlord, he invited the Prince of Transylvania to become the king of the Ukraine, and he requested Muscovy to accept a protectorate over "all Rus", that is, the Ukraine. But all this was brief and exceptional. The other practitioners of this art were the Caucasian princes maneuvering between the Ottoman, Persian, and Russian empires. The only conclusion we may draw is that Russia was generally superior among all the claimants to the allegiance of these nomadic Hordes. It was at best the most distant suzerainty.

234 It became proper sovereignty only from the 1820s. The Kazakh Hordes acquired new administrative structures when the khanships were abolished and the sultans provided with mixed Russian and Kazakh councils. New taxes were levied and administrative boundaries now cut across lineages. These were new systems, but they bore no resemblance to anything Russian, they were all independent means to control the nomads. Indeed, the principal Russian cultural influence that penetrated the Kazakh steppe was that of the Muslim Tatar mullah! These structures of Kazakh and nomadic autonomy were then undermined when colonisation and proper sedentarisation was vigorously but inconclusively pursued in the last quarter century of tsarist rule. That was the time also of russification, culturally through the Il'minskii system, and in religion through conversion.

235 In the pre-industrial empire the position of nomads may be summed up as follows. The sultans and khans owed personal allegiance to the emperor but did not become members of the Court as a nobility. They were culturally too distant. Politically, the nomads were subject to the Russian bureaucracy, ideologically, they were required to abandon their pagan religions and, at the behest of Orthodox Christian Russia, were subordinated to Islam and Tatar

mullahs, commercially, they passed wholly under the sway of Tatar merchants, and their social structure was retained, or rather, ossified. The Autocracy was merely an overload.

2.4. THE BALTIC

2.4.1 The eighteenth century was witness to a major series of the most diverse incorporations. The earliest was that of the Baltic countries of Estonia, Livonia, and Kurland (Estonia and Latvia today). The dynastic principle of just integrating local aristocracies and oligarchies was followed almost completely here without any trace of nationalist or religious homogenization. Thus the Baltic, or more correctly Estonia and Livonia, as they were known then, (the Baltic being nineteenth century usage) were attached to the Russian autocracy in 1710 after the definitive overthrow of Swedish supremacy on the field of Poltava in 1709. These two countries were in themselves extraordinarily variegated already. The Estonian language belonged to the Ugro-Finnic group with the closest possible affinities to the neighbouring Finish, but the Latvians of Livonia and Kurland spoke a language of the Indo-European satem group. They could boast of no aristocracy since the German conquest in the early thirteenth century. By the end of the thirteenth century, Livonia (as the Baltic was then known) had a German aristocracy and bourgeoisie, with Estonian and Lettish peasants and lower orders, all integrated by their faith into the Roman Catholic Church and by their political structure into the Holy Roman Empire of the German Nation. There was no question yet of Russian influence, at best of the Lithuanian from the south. The Estonian and Latvian languages were not used in writing until the Reformation of the sixteenth century, and they acquired their respective translations of the New Testament only at the end of the seventeenth century. Such a medieval, feudal society, class divided along ethnic lines, became the bone of contention between the Danes, Swedes, Poles, and Russians from the Reformation until the Russian victory in the eighteenth century. The Swedes won the initial round against the Danes and Poles in Estland in 1561 and Livonia in 1621, in partial celebration of which Gustavus Adolphus announced the founding of a university at Dorpat, the oldest, as it was to be, in the Russian empire. The German aristocracy was now complemented by a vast influx of Swedish interlopers. Eventually, when the territory passed to Russia in 1710, it was with the feudal privileges of the German lords intact, as yet another exceptional constituent of an already complex political and social system of the Russian empire.

2.4.2 The Baltic aristocracy, after loyal service to the Swedish Crown for more than a century, now turned equally loyally to the Russian Autocracy. In return Peter guaranteed all their privileges. They had already been worked out in 1561 as a special dispensation from the Polish Crown, and consequently were known as the *Privilegium Sigismundi Augusti*. They were now reconfirmed as the *Kapitulation* of 1710. This guaranteed their faith according

to the Augsburg Confession and the Lutheran Church, their rule by estates and privilege locally, the retention of the German language for all purposes save peasant justice which required the local languages and imperial communication which naturally was in Russian. The Baltic nobility thus occupied all the positions of justice, police, and parish administration as their special preserve. These privileges were reconfirmed with the codification of 1845, and when serfdom was abolished in 1816-1819, it was to benefit of landlords by depriving the peasants of their land while granting them their freedom. They then entered imperial service, especially in the army, where they distinguished themselves by their high standards and loyalty to the Autocracy. During the Napoleonic Wars, they proved true to Russia, even after Tilsit, when Prussia was isolated owing to the Russo-French alliance. Thus a medieval legal, class, and administrative structure that perpetuated a German ruling class and Russian bureaucracy in the most peculiar regional circumstances was provided a cosy niche in the Russian autocratic edifice. There was no question of Russian, German, Estonian, Latvian, or any other nationalism. None of them thought for a moment that rulers and ruled should belong to the same culture, the fundamental premise of nationalism. That dogma first made its appearance only with the defining of the Russian nation in various circles from the 1830s, and it was launched as a specific Baltic issue with Uvarov's reports of the 1830s, the first pebbles that were to cause a ripple to the tranquil surface, known to one type of Baltic history as the *Livlandische Stilleben*.

2.5. THE *Rzeczpospolita*

2.5.1 During the latter half of the eighteenth century, the republic of Poland-Lithuania was partitioned among Russia, Austria, and Prussia, and this brought into the Russian empire now the other half or western Ukraine, Belorussia, Lithuania, and parts of Poland. They differed among each other and from Russia in culture and social structure, and each case of incorporation had its special features. They had in common the attachment of the local aristocracy to the Autocracy and the manipulation of factions based on economic interest, religion, or culture, according to their suitability. But their career in the dynastic empire was brief since nationalist processes germinated as early as the eighteen forties at least.

2.5.2 Lithuania however merits special mention. It has a reputation as a profoundly Catholic nation in the manner of Poland or Spain, yet it was converted to Christianity only as late as the end of the fourteenth century after a political deal. In 1387 Jogailo, Great Prince of Lithuania, married the saintly Jadwiga, queen of Poland, and embraced Christianity. The Act of Krewa then created a political entity out of the personal union of these two crowns without constituting a single kingdom or administration. Strangely, this entity lasted until 1569 despite the original union having been childless. Sigismund of Poland then negotiated the Union of Lublin which created the *Rzeczpospolita* or Republic. After sundry changes, especially in 1588, it

remained a personal union of the crowns, but it provided for the cultural absorption of Lithuania and Belorussia (which was part of Lithuania) by Poland. This was the *Rzeczpospolita* that was broken up by the partitions of 1772, 1793 and 1795.

2.5.3 This union is a typical example of dynastic empires that proliferated in pre-industrial times. The *Rzeczpospolita* was a great empire in East Europe stretching from the Baltic to the Black Sea and a focus of the Polish romantic imagination, last and anachronistically represented by Josef Pilsudski. It permitted that peculiarly pluralist self-definition of its upper class as *Gente Lituanus Nationae Polonus* to mean Lithuanian by descent, Polish by nationality. Famous representatives of this dual consciousness (dual only to us, in nationalist terms) are the Polish national heroes Tadeusz Kosciuszko and Adam Mickiewicz. Indeed Polish school-children today are puzzled by Mickiewicz's invocation in their greatest national poem, the *Pan Tadeusz* "Lithuania, my homeland, thou art like health." Belorussia was part of this Lithuania. Russian cultural rule was relatively mild. There was no attempt to russify a highly polonized nobility in Lithuania and Belorussia or to disband the Jesuit colleges. School education was even left in the hands of Prince Adam Czartoryski, one of the greatest magnates of Poland. Only the Church suffered by having its estates sequestrated and the Russian government creating dioceses in Belorussia without consulting the Pope. The independent existence of Belorussia was not even noticed until the middle of the nineteenth century.

2.6. GEORGIA

2.6.1 The Caucasus was incorporated in the early nineteenth century in a manner that is by now familiar. Erekle II of united Kartli-Kakheti made Georgia a Russian protectorate to escape the clutches of the Turkish and Iranian empires. In 1800 Paul truculently and unilaterally announced the annexation of Georgia and the thousand year old Bagratid dynasty was summarily deposed. The political, social, economic, and religious structures of Georgia were integrated into the power structure of the empire without however any sort of cultural uniformity with Russia being attempted. The changes within the nobility were numerous. They were themselves divided into the magnate dynasties of the Orbeliani, Amilakhari, Tsitsishvili and others and the vassal gentry or *aznaurni* who depended on the king, other nobles, or clergy, and were poor, like the French nobleman who stayed in bed while his breeches were being mended. This distinction was abolished, and in 1811 the vassal gentry was freed. In 1837 and 1840 the vassal gentry of East and West Georgia were likewise freed. In 1832 serfdom was declared a noble monopoly as in Russia thus depriving the clergy, merchants, and even peasants of that advantage, but attracting the nobility for that very reason. The most important was their incorporation in 1827 as an estate, equivalent to the Russian in privilege and status, and organized through noble assemblies. With privilege, monopolies, status, and incorporation, the Georgian nobility

became the equal of the Russian, and, after a series of rebellions, became loyal servitors of Autocracy, acquitting themselves honourably through guerilla action along with peasants in Akhaltsikhe and Guria during the Crimean war. Merchants were granted privileges of empire and Armenians took the opportunity to move in. The Church retained its monopoly on education, the Catholics were granted a seat in the Holy Synod, and the autocephaly lasted well into the century before subordination to the Russian Orthodox Church.

262 Enough has been said to demonstrate the variegated nature of the pre-industrial imperial system, and it is not necessary to multiply examples. Neither Russians nor the Orthodox faith enjoyed primacy in nationalist terms. Each aristocracy occupied its particular domain defined by unique privileges granted by the Autocracy, and neither the Russian *dvorianstvo* nor the Orthodox Church could trespass on those preserves. Certain aristocracies like the Baltic Germans or the Catholic Polish dynasts enjoyed a proximity to the throne that seems incomprehensible only by nationalist logic and lost only in nationalist times. Merchant communities like the Tatar and Armenian effortlessly dominated large parts of the empire, the steppe and the Caucasus respectively, and even that perennially despised and persecuted community the Jews, spread out all along the western provinces as artisans, petty traders and usurers before the anti-semitic campaigns of the late nineteenth century began. Most curiously of all, the Orthodox Church had to reconcile itself to tight constraints on its activity in the Lutheran Baltic, the Catholic and United worlds of the *Rzeczpospolita*, the whole of the Muslim Steppe and Turkestan, and even to the autocephaly of the Apostolic Church of Armenia. Indeed, the most remarkable is the Autocracy proselytizing the Islamic rather than the Orthodox religion among the nomadic Kazakh, and the proud and famous symbol of the Crescent fixed to the Cross to proclaim Christian triumph could now be interpreted as much to mean partnership. Each group was defined by rights, duties, and privilege, not by nationality, and it would have made as a continuation of the dynastic Muscovite empire would be rash and inaccurate, it would be a naive endorsement of Russian or anti-Russian nationalist mythmaking about the lineage of the Russian nation. The claims and the legitimising principles of the late Russian empire provide us with the fruit of its researches into its Muscovite past and insights into the processes of the nationalising empire, but they cannot substitute for our comprehension of their world. We are fated to recast it ourselves.

III. INDUSTRIALISING EMPIRE: DYNASTIC, NATIONALIST, AND COLONIAL

Industrialism entailed nationalism, and as the empire began its industrial development on capitalist lines in the first third of the nineteenth century, the first nationalist projects were drafted. Modern industrial society of whatever ideological colour is premised on collectivities of individuals, anonymous in their attributes, replaceable in their skills, and equal in their membership of

society. The analogy with the rationality and efficiency of a machine with its fully inter-related and replaceable parts is not fortuitous. These propositions were elaborated in a series of revolutionary doctrines and have been actualised in the cataclysmic revolutions and counter-revolutions of the past two centuries. The Revolution of 1917 is just one of them. In the domain of knowledge a rational empiricism declared that all men had equal access to knowledge and required that all facts so established constitute a single logical universe. It denied privileged access to knowledge and exceptional forms of ordering it as claimed by all pre-modern epistemological systems. In the domain of political economy, the labour theory of value posited one man's labour as equal to another's as embodied in the value of commodity. And in the domain of law and power, the equality of all under the law as citizens became another postulate. These doctrines entailed homogenised human societies, and nationalism provided them through uniform and standardised culture. Modernisation therefore made for such cultural homogenisation through the universalisation of one culture at the expense of a number of others within a single political territory. Innumerable languages and cultures were wiped out as this series of modern nations were created, and they are deemed the success stories. These are the early cases of industrialisation in western Europe, especially France and England. There are many which have floundered after having attempted such a cultural homogenisation, and the Russian empire is one of them. There are some which have been ambitious enough to attempt both homogeneity in several nations as a first tier and their subsequent fusion at a second tier so as to constitute a supra-nation, the Soviet Union is one of them. Let us turn to the Russian empire, as it made the transition from a pre-industrial agglomeration of exceptionalisms to an attempted uniformity in a Russian nation-state.

3.1. NATIONALIST PROJECTS

3.1.1 The decades of black reaction under Nicholas I (1825-1855), the gendarme of Europe, saw the launching of both the industrialisation of Russia and of the idea of a modern Russian nation. The Slavophiles defined it as a community of the Russian people in the Orthodox faith in communion with the personal Autocracy of the tsar. The Westernisers, led by Vissarion Belinskii, saw it, on the contrary, as universal western *ergo* modern values in Russian territorial, linguistic, and cultural forms. To paraphrase the Stalinist catechism, it was "Russian in form, European in content" or, to cite Uvarov's banality, it was "a Russian system with a European education." Romantic nationalists like Shevyrev presented it as a historically young nation unlike the decaying western ones and was therefore chosen to save mankind. In the eyes of dynastic nationalist like Grech and Bulgarian Russianness meant loyalty and service to the state of the Autocracy. There were numerous variations on these basic themes, and the lines crossed in many cases. But these were decades of intense debate and discussion, to the point of obsession, on the identity of the Russian, and hack journalists, senior officials, and scintillating members of the radical intelligentsia all made their peculiar contributions. They

differed on the stage of its coming into being, on the degree of internal consolidation, and on the principle of unity. Each variant then stipulated the tasks that would realise the idea. To the Westerniser it was the erasure of Autocracy, to the Slavophile, that of the bureaucracy (which was nearly the same thing), to the romantic, the nurturing of uniqueness free of Western contamination, and to the dynastic patriots, the further unification of the empire under a Russian national state. The heady wine of this intellectual ferment was the idea of a Russian nation and that it radiated progress.

312 The Russian achievement of self-definition was emulated by most and preceded by some in the empire. The Baltic Germans had a German identity, ready made, as it were, from Germany. But it did not become a nationalism until after the First World War when they found themselves bereft of the Russian empire and a home territory. Their role within the empire was not nationalistic, only the Russian and local assaults on them were the Poles; on the other hand both possessed a clear national identity and spawned any number of nationalist movements in Poland and in the land of the *Rzeczpospolita*, that is, Lithuania, Belorussia, and the Ukraine. The first essays in Estonian and Latvian identity were carried out by Baltic German scholarship in the romantic era in the 1820s and 1830s. After the identity came the movements with their newspapers in the fifties, this time by the Estonians and Latvians themselves. In 1864, Johann Waldemar Jansen's weekly newspaper *Eesti Postimes* finally made the important transition from "peasants" (*talurahwas*) to the "Estonian people" (*Eestirahwas*) for that nationality. What the Russians did for themselves by the debates of the forties, the Estonians and Latvians achieved for themselves in the sixties. In Lithuania, the idea of a nation could be forged only by separating it from Poland and bifurcating the dual identity of the *Rzeczpospolita* as conveyed by the motto *Gente Lituanus, Nationae Polonus*. This was emasculated by the Third Partition of Poland in 1795, and, after the trauma of 1863, the idea of a Lithuanian nationality in its purity took shape.

For Belorussia, foreign scholars like Samuel Linde and Johann Christolph von Adelung claimed an independent language as early 1807 and 1809, followed by Russian scholars investigated its folklore imagining it to be a variant of the Polish until they stumbled upon the difference. From the second quarter of the nineteenth century Jan Barszczewski launched a modern Belorussian literature, and a separate political identity was firmly established in the twentieth century, especially during the *Adradzhenie* or "Revival" between the two revolutions with its own historical myth-making and stereotypes. In the Ukraine, this point was reached with the literary career of Taras Shevchenko in the forties itself when modern Ukrainian was established, it was almost immediately followed up by the idea of a political destiny at least by the fifties. Georgians defined a nation in the forties, considerably aided by Russian romantics. Thus, between the forties and the sixties, distinct ideas had been elaborated about the existence of a series of nations, defined by a millennial history, mature language, unique customs, a specific territory, and a separate destiny. To these were then added the Turkestan explorations.

- 3 1 3 It began with the Tatars Shihabeddin Marzhanı created a new Tatar historical memory during the fifties by appropriating the Volga Bulgar state of the tenth century as the true ancestor of the Kazan Tatars of the post-Mongol era. He did so through the tenuous Islamic link and side-stepping the Volga Bulgarian language whose closest relation is Chuvash. The Chuvash, embarrassingly enough, were not Muslim unlike the Volga Bulgars and the Kazan Tatars, but their language belonged at least to the Turkic family even if to a group different from the Tatar. He thus provided a satisfying ancestry of nearly a millennium, on par with the Russians, Ukrainians, and Belorussians, all of whom had to surmount the barrier of the Mongol invasion also. He provided in addition a national territory and the transnational Islamic and Turkic links. This was then supplemented by Abdul Kayyum Nasyrı (1825-1902), an encyclopedic mind that fashioned the new Tatar literary language and provided the foundation for the literary "revival" of the seventies. These intercalated themselves as a nationalism into the supranationalism of the pan-Turkism elaborated with the great devotion and success by another Tatar Ismail bey Gaspraly (Gasprinskiı in Russian) (1851-1914) of the Crimea, from 1883 through his immensely influential newspaper, the *Terjuman*. He attempted to produce a single Turkish language based on the Ottoman Turkish and intelligible to "the boatman of the Bosphorus and the camel driver of Kashgar". He put these into practice through a major pedagogical reform that shifted the core of school curricula away from theology towards science. The method was known as *Al-usul al-jadid* as against the traditionalist *Al-usul al-kadım*. The modern intelligentsia that emerged from the process and provided the leadership to all national and socialist movements of Inner Asia and Azerbaijan were called, appropriately enough, *jadidists*. A series of specifically national programmes were then outlined independently of the Tatars and subja-cent to pan-Turkism. From the 1860s Ibrahim Altynsarın (1841-1889) fashioned the purely Kazakh literary language and its prose form, distinguished from the Tatar. The publicist and scholarly work of Chokan Chingiz Valikhanov (1835-1865) had already firmly argued for the release of Kazakh culture from the stranglehold of the Tatar. These laid the foundations then for the political nationalism that emerged in the early twentieth century. In Azerbaijan the tussle was between the traditional Persian literary and cultural orientation, a modern Ottomanisation, and an equally modern but parochially nationalist Azerbaijani one. The Persian one was evicted in the 1870s when the Azerbaijani vernacular was first used as a literary language by Akhundzadeh and Hasan bey Zardabi. The early twentieth century then saw the inconclusive linguistic debate between Ottomanism and Azerbaijanism which remained two trends in Azerbaijani nationalism. The Soviets built on the latter.
- 3 1 4 Tsarist policy planners drew on these ideas and realities to devise a programme suitable to the modernising empire. The first and most influential was Sergei Uvarov, minister of education from 1833 to 1849 and the author of the mot "Autocracy, Orthodoxy, Nationality". His task was three-fold, first to ensure that Russians became properly Russian, second to russify the

non-Russian, non-colonial subjects, and third to integrate the colonial peoples into the empire through Orientalism the autocratic state, as it headed toward modernity and its doom, faithfully attempted to carry out this idea within the limits set by its institutional interests and it failed in all three Dynasticism and privilege compromised the creation of the Russian nation itself In the non-Russian, non-colonial chiefly European countries, russification was merely a device to manoeuvre among nationalities which the state did not hope, in any seriousness, to make Russian And in the colonial world, orientalist scholarship and colonial rule could do no more than securely establish the supremacy of Russia as a culture and as a polity, thereby alienating rather than integrating the colonies

3 2 THE RUSSIAN NATION

3 2 1 The Russian empire failed in the primary task of creating the Russian nation itself Until a dangerously late date, the autocracy of the emperor was preserved as an ancient regime This commanded the loyalty of the Russian, not to the abstraction that was the state and the nation but to the person of the tsar and his dynasty The transition from the tsar to the Nation had begun at least in the 1860s, but it had not been completed, even in 1917, despite the great leap forward of the semi-parliamentary regime of 1906-1917 The Russian was only incompletely a citizen, a bearer of rights, and member of a class He was still too much of a subject, claimant of privileges, and ensconced or trapped in a social estate The autocratic state exercised its power through the mediation of the social estates which it refused to abolish To the end the nobility were preserved as an estate defined by important privileges, and the peasantry existed under exclusive legislation and special communal and antique institutions It told painfully on the army in which the peasant recruit served, not as a patriotic citizen, but as a peasant discharging what he considered to be his ancient servile obligation He adored the tsar, not as the embodiment of the Russian Nation, but as the good sovereign who, according to a legend of three centuries, protected him from vicious serfowners and mendacious officials

3 2 2 A distinguished line of tsarist statesmen were enamoured of the idea of nationalising the Russian public through the usual homogenising processes of mass education, media, standardised practices of law and administration, military service, political processes, and of course the rule of the market But these collectively demanded a degree of mass mobilisation with a dangerously democratic legitimation which ran counter to the traditional instruments of autocracy, especially a privileged nobility and obsequious Church If these processes were to be carried out without a revolution, the Autocracy had to choose between receding into a constitutional monarchy or at least a semi-constitutional one of the German type, or reincarnating itself as a Bonapartist dictatorship of the kind eventually established by Franco in Spain The tensions between a Witte and Stolypin on the one hand and the Court and nobility on the other

reflected just such attempts and fears of a Bonapartist usurpation of the state through some form of mass legitimacy in a semi-parliamentary regime. In the event, as we know, the revolutionary option was exercised to create the Russian nation.

3.3 NON-RUSSIAN EUROPEAN EMPIRE

3.3.1 Uvarov's second item on the agenda was to create Russians out of non-colonial non-Russians. There were four specific targets now, all diametrically opposed to earlier dynastic practice. The first was to gain control of the elementary education system and where appropriate, expand it under the patronage of the state. The perversion of an existing system would thus combine with the "enlightenment" of expanding, indeed universalising, education, a typically modern phenomenon. The second was to ensure the supremacy of the Russian language and culture at all levels instead of their being confined to imperial communication and administration only. The third was to russify the administration in all respects especially in appointments and by eliminating national privileges, and the fourth was to achieve confessional homogeneity through conversion to Orthodoxy.

3.3.2 The educational system was the source of ideological conviction, and Uvarov and his colleagues were not the first to discover it. But now the accent shifted from loyalty to uniformity. Thus, one of the finest educational institutions in the empire, the University of Vilna and the school system of the Vilna educational district, were summarily closed in 1831, after the Polish rising of 1830-1831. The District had been set up in 1803 and was nursed by Prince Adam Czartoryski, too much of a Polish magnate, Catholic, and a patriot to suit the incipient Russian nationalism. The western provinces were now divided into the three educational districts of Kiev, Odessa, and Belorussia, with a new university at Kiev in 1833 to make up for the failure of Vilna, that is, "to transfer to them the general spirit of the Russian people." This was followed up by the school system being subjected to official inspection in these three districts and a series of "model" schools being set up to lead the way and away from nuns and priests, in the territory of Poland proper, the University of Warsaw was abolished, like that of Vilna, and Polish students were required to be educated in Russia to imbibe at first hand "the general spirit." But to Russians, Poles were a problem beyond redemption, and conspiracies and nationalism bubbled interminably in their midst.

3.3.3 In Poland, Russian rule had a problem to solve, but in the Baltic, Russian nationalism created a problem, as it were, to solve. The Baltic German nobility were beyond reproach as loyal subjects, disciplined soldiers, efficient civil servants, and accomplished scholars, and they kept their peasants firmly in check. But Uvarov felt a lack of Russian control, an insight that was meaningful only on nationalist, not dynastic premises. The danger was seen to lie in German culture which both existed independently of the

Russian and dominated over the Estonian and Latvian, a role that should rightfully have belonged to the Russian. In October 1838 Uvarov reported to the emperor "The time has come for an overhaul of the culture of the Baltic provinces. But it is not possible to trap the Germans in flight; we have, as it were, to besiege them." This had begun in part by transferring the supervision of schools from the Council of the University of Dorpat to a superintendant General G B Crafftstrom, and following it up in 1837 with a Russian director for German schools.

- 3 3 4 Uvarov had planned in 1836 that within three years all the elementary and middle schools should teach in Russian, that nobody was to be admitted to University without knowing Russian, and that Russian should be the language of instruction. None of these had much effect, however, because there were not enough teachers or professors who knew enough Russian to teach in schools or at University, and few students mastered the language enough to qualify for matriculation. The University conducted its business in German, and, at Crafftstrom's imperious demand, simply translated papers for his benefit.
- 3 3 5 Uvarov's orders were ineffective, and soon tended to trivia. He wanted to discipline German students to Russian rationality, which makes strange reading today to us fed on the inverse stereotypes. He felt Germans were given to boisterous merry-making, writing graffiti, hard drinking, gambling, harassing women, and, of all things, smoking in the botanical gardens. The emperor imposed German virtues on them by confining 42 students one winter vacation to a diet of bread and water as an example to others. Frivolous as it might appear, such actions derived from nationalist passions and naturally stimulated them in a vicious circle. These were then accompanied by the first efforts at evangelization. In 1836, the Riga Orthodox diocese was established, all children of mixed marriages were ordered to be brought up as Orthodox, and by 1847 some 74,000 peasants had converted. But, by the end of the decade most of them had returned to their old faith as they had derived no benefits from the conversion.
- 3 3 6 During the reforming years of Alexander II (1855-1881) the focus of attention was on the German barons' privileged position in the *Landtags* and municipal government. Peasants repeatedly petitioned for widening the franchise, but they were rejected several times in Estland, in 1870, 1872, 1876, and 1881, and at least fourteen times in Livonia between 1864 and 1880. The Germans faced a triple menace, the class one of introducing peasants and plebeians into the administration, and the two nationalist one of the Russian language and of Estonians and Latvians. For that very reason the Russian government, egged on by nationalists like Katkov and Samarin at various times, encouraged such demands. The Germans admitted that their existence as an estate was anachronistic, but it was their only mode, however, with the advance of modernity, they also fantasised about assimilating non-Germans in the manner that the Russians themselves did.

- 3 3 7 Discussions and drafts on the constitutional reform continued indecisively into the eighties with tensions building up in four poles: the Germans, anxious and fearing the worst, defending an existence founded on the antiquated privileges as a social estate, the Estonians and Letts seeking to enter the political arena of their own countries through franchise demands, the imperial government in its nationalist aspect sponsoring Estonian and Lettish demands, and the same government in its class aspect sustaining the German position against Estonian and Lettish pretensions. The internal tensions of the tsarist government, of nationalism versus class and tradition, showed up in the politics of municipal reform.
- 3 3 8 In 1877, the Russian municipal regulations of 1870 were extended to the Baltic provinces. It introduced the crucial shift to a property qualification, and the election of 1877-1878 were fought with new non-German groups in the campaigns. This proceeded a step further in 1892 when the new Russian municipal law finally superseded the three-class system even while increasing the powers of the government over the town. But the class logic worked peculiarly in favour of the Germans. The property and professional qualification was so high that Germans secured majorities in most of the principal towns down to the war, e.g. in Riga, Dorpat, Pernau, Mitau, and others. The Letts managed a majority or to alter the national composition significantly in a number of lesser towns like Wolmar (1897), Turkum (1898), or Wenden (1906), and the Estonians in Westenbourg (1902), and even Revel in 1906. The Germans were assaulted as a nationality but could be secure as a class. But that was only the thin end of the wedge with the democratisation of education, expansion of enterprise, and popular mobilisation of municipal reform.
- 3 3 9 From the eighties, nationalist policy acquired a special edge with Alexander III on the throne and Pobedonostsev as the Over-Procurator (in effect director-general) of the Holy Synod. German officials were summarily suspended and reprimanded, another round of evangelization was attempted but failed, so 101 pastors of Livonia out of a total of 120 were accused of aiding and abetting some 35,000 peasant reconversions to Lutheranism and these cases dragged on until the accession of Nicholas II in 1894.
- 3 3 10 Prince E.V. Shakhovskoi, the governor of Estland, the most rabid pupil of Samarin and Aksakov and friend of the colonial war hero Skobelev, then rammed his favoured Russian language policy through. In 1885 the Russian language was made obligatory in the administration of the state at all levels, including the points at which it touched the estates. It was experienced as one of the most vicious attacks on rights, especially as it now exposed the russificatory objective by describing Estonian and Latvian as dialects and not languages. In 1889, the municipal administration was likewise russified.
- 3 3 11 The judicial reform of 1888-1889 finally overturned the ancient Baltic *Privilegium Sigismundi Augusti*. In 1888 the Russian policy system and in

1889 the Russian judicial structure and procedure were extended to the Baltic and the rural and urban magistrates superseded. It was a major measure of modernisation for ending elite privileges, but its formal homogenisation through the Russian language, procedures, and judges aroused local tensions since Russian judges did not know the local language or laws and business had to be transacted through incompetent interpreters.

3.3.12 In 1885-86, local schools were subordinated to the Russian ministry of education and in 1887, were removed from Church supervision. They were then ordered to switch to Russian as the medium of instruction. In 1889, the University of Dorpat lost its autonomy. With the exception of the theological faculty, Russian was decreed as the language for lectures. The name of the town and university were changed to Iur'ev.

3.3.13 While the Russians were busy assaulting the Germans in the Baltic, the Estonians and Latvians began to 'awaken'. The first newspapers in these languages appeared in the fifties, and the eighties gave birth to a number of nationalist unions. Many of these movements linked up with Russian nationalists against the Germans, both with the dream of developing their own intelligentsia as well as to provide upward class mobility. But this three-concerned struggle was riven with the deepest ambiguities which proved fatal to the Russian nationalist cause eventually. In mid-century, under Nicholas I, the privileges of the Baltic nobility was both an obstacle to a modernising state and a bulwark of the traditional stability of the Autocracy.

3.3.14 Creating the modern state meant overturning German Baltic privileges, but this attacked the system of exceptions and privileges on which autocratic authority had been founded throughout the empire. Iuri Samarin, the Slavophile, called for just such modernisation, but it boded ill for the autocracy. Nicholas reprimanded him severely for provoking conflict between Russians and Germans. As the exchange demonstrated, the Autocracy could afford neither tradition nor modernity, that is nationalism.

3.3.15 By the turn of the century, the predicament also had modernised. The security of the Russian state (no longer a traditional Autocracy) rested on the class structure which demanded support to the Germans (no longer a mere estate). But its success would depend on nationalism, which meant russifying the Germans and tying up with Estonian and Latvian nationalism. As such it required sustaining these national identities against each other, the German, Russian, and the local, whether Estonian or Latvian, in a vicious spiral of national conflict. Supporting the Estonian or Latvian cause ineluctably meant the peasant and the worker. In the last two decades before the revolution therefore and certainly after the Revolution of 1905, the Russian state came down on the side of the class, *ergo* Germans, against the nation, revolution, and Estonians and Latvians, despite half a century of flirtation with them. The struggle against tsarism could be variously bourgeois, socialist, and nationalist, and with them, the seed of national autonomy in a multi-national empire had been finally planted.

- 3 3 16 The Lithuanian situation was comparable, if with another set of players, Russians, Poles, and Lithuanians. Unlike in the Baltic, the aristocracy consisted of Poles or polonised Lithuanians, this time all Roman Catholic. Thus there was a Lithuanian aristocracy and peasantry, united ethnically but divided culturally. The Poles dominated culturally, ecclesiastically through the Church hierarchy which was almost wholly Polish, and socially through an aristocracy. The Russian strategy was the obvious one of promoting Lithuanian culture and institutions at the expense of the Polish, or in Catherine II's apocryphal words, "depolonise, decatholicise, demoralise". After Uvarov's initial moves in the thirties after the Polish rising of 1831, the major moves were made in the sixties, after the next rising on 1863.
- 3 3 17 Curiously enough, this occurred within the womb of the Roman Catholic Church. The tsarist government permitted Lithuanian peasants to flood the seminaries which used to be deliberately maintained by the nobility as a Polish preserve. A source for the Lithuanian intelligentsia bubbled at once and Lithuanian culture blossomed. As priests they stood forth in the defence of their confession, but as Lithuanians uncontaminated by polonism, they became Lithuanian cultural leaders. The combination was a nationalism stamped by Roman Catholicism.
- 3 3 18 The entry of Lithuanians into the ecclesiastical hierarchy stimulated a typically career rivalry defined in nationalist terms between Polish and Lithuanian priests. The new priests began preaching in Lithuanian to the dismay of their Polish brethren, there were "bloody battles" after Sunday sermons, and the two countries, united since the fourteenth century by the same crown and religion, were now divided by another crown but the same religion. Such anti-Polish Lithuanian nationalism had already been presaged in the rebel priest of 1863, the Reverend Antanas Mackevicius, who said the clergy hated everything Polish, or, in the loyalist Bishop Valancius, who felt a national existence outside Russia was impossible. The Polish influence was finally eradicated and a Lithuanian identity securely established after the appointment of the Samogitian Bishop Pranciskus Karevicius in 1914. Finally, the tsarist nationalist prohibition on Lithuanians entering imperial service led to a substantial recruitment of talent into the Church as the only avenue open to an intelligentsia. The Lithuanian Roman Catholic church thus became an important base for an intelligentsia and a force for nationalism, a combination that held down to the most recent dissidence in Soviet times.
- 3 3 19 However, the experience of the nationalist development of these western provinces only exposed the fatal weakness of tsarism. Its nationalities policies could never be pursued beyond manipulating a series of other nationalisms to neutralise them. It had only two principles of unity to offer. One was the Autocracy and its institutions, but they were so outmoded that the modern social forces of class and nation could not attach themselves to them. The other was Russian nationalism, which, by definition, excluded rather than

included, not merely the new nationalist and social forces, but even the traditional pillars of Autocracy like the Baltic German aristocracy. The tsarist regime could do little more than manoeuvre. It played with Estonian and Latvian nationalism but had to abandon them for their socialist radicalism and thus stimulated autonomist movements. It supported Lithuanian nationalism and certain tendencies in the Roman Catholic Church to undermine the Poles, but its success merely created another secessionist nationalism in Lithuania. Tsarism, it seemed, was doomed to a terminal flirtation like an aging coquette.

3.3.20 In Belorussia, tsarist policy could afford to be less manipulative and more transformative with leadership qualities. The nobility were divided between Polish and Russian cultural influences, here one task as ever was to eliminate the former through a consistent russification in education and the media which began in the thirties. The population was divided into Roman Catholic, Uniate, and Orthodox. The Uniate was regarded as something of a national church, but it was politically obviously more oriented to the Polish Church by virtue of its subordination to Rome. The other two were seen as Polish and Russian respectively. Polish Roman Catholic missionary zeal was vigorous and expansionary on account of the virtual expulsion of the Polish orientation from the Lithuanian Church from the sixties. It took the Russian nationalists until the sixties and seventies to discover that Belorussia might have an identity different from the Lithuanian. Until then the classification used to be by religion alone, and Belorussians were treated as Lithuanian because of their Catholic and Uniate confessions. By that logic also, the Belorussians suffered in the aftermath of the Polish rising of 1831 and 1863, neither of which the Belorussians had in fact supported. But their relative passivity during the second rising stimulated Russian nationalist like Katkov and Aksakov, and in the ensuing outpouring of ethnographic, philological, and historical research, it was finally established that Belorussians were indeed not Lithuanians, even if Kastur Kalinouski, later canonised as a nationalist martyr of 1863, had described himself a Lithuanian.

3.3.21 As a matter of practical policy, all the non-Belorussian interests vigorously promoted the single most important foundation of Belorussian nationalist. Kalinouski enthusiastically pamphleteered in the Belorussian vernacular in order to mobilise. Roman Catholic missionaries likewise wielded the vernacular for catechisms, primers on morals, and other religious literature. The tsarist government counterattacked with such pamphlets as *Rasskazy na belorusskom narechie* urging the people to call themselves Russian, not Polish. The same sort of mobilisation repeated itself during the revolution of 1905-1907, and each time this despised and proscribed language was recognised, popularised, raised to literary levels, and made the vehicle of political consciousness. Thereafter, until the Revolution of 1917, Russian nationalists, along with the Belorussian species, were happy to establish the independent identity of Belorussia while the imperial government russified in schools, media, and religion to thwart Polish influences. But Belorussian nationalism, organised as the Belorussian Socialist Hramada, did not become

a major political force, boycotted the Duma for fear of defeat, and otherwise went unrepresented in the Duma for ten years while all the other nationalists spoke up regularly. These policies and movements were the closest to a success for the Russian side with Belorussian nationalism remaining cultural, not political, and Polish influences being steadily expunged. But it was merely a case of Belorussian retardation, not Russian or tsarist success. The latter essentially could do no more than juggle with the consequences of its modernisation, manoeuvre against the Poles rather than mobilise the Belorussians.

3 3 22 In the Ukraine, the tsarist regime was denied even a manipulative role as it degenerated into the purest russification and repression. The manipulative game was played this time by the Hapsburg monarchy in Galicia and Carpatho-Ukraine to fight off Polish influences; tsarism had to beware of only an Ukrainian nationalism growing from the forties, not of Polish hegemony. Thus Russian repression and russification went through three major waves. The first was in 1847 when the Society of Saints Cyril and Methodius was suppressed for both social and national radicalism. The next was in the sixties, again related to the Polish rising of 1863, because Value discerned Polish subversion in Ukrainian cultural activity. The third was in the seventies and eighties, this time without a Polish alibi and directed entirely at Ukrainian nationalism. For this sin, the rich scientific and cultural activity of the Imperial Russian Geographic Society's branch at Kiev was suppressed and its reincarnation in the eighties, the *Kievskaja Starina*, was severely circumscribed. Books were so menacing to the censors that Ukrainian cultural nationalism took to expressing itself principally through theatre.

3 3 23 During each of these waves of repression Ukrainian nationalists betook themselves to Galicia. Here they were patronized by the Hapsburg government anxious to stimulate Ukrainian nationalism to break the stranglehold of the Polish aristocracy. It had begun in the 1770s and 1780s under Maria Theresa and Joseph II, but was abandoned owing to the aristocratic class nexus between the Hapsburgs and the Poles. After 1848 it was revived by Count Stadion, the Viceroy, and he was so successful with Ukrainian philological conferences, political societies like the Holovna Rada, newspapers like the *Zoria Halitska*, and even a Ukrainian guard to beat off Polish revolutionary groups, that the Poles accused him bitterly of having invented Ukrainians in Galicia. In the sixties exiles from Russia once again fostered Ukrainian nationalism in Galicia, both the conservative russophil variant that declared Russians and Ruthenians (the Central European name for Ukrainians) to be the same people and the more radical species that promoted the romantic Cossack legend. In the nineties again, they closely collaborated with Count Badeni, the Governor-general of Galicia, to keep alive Ukrainian culture. Thereafter, during the revolutionary interregnum Ukrainian nationalism was a political fact, and tsarism was possessed of no strategy to handle it. Essentially both went to the Revolution without being able to meet.

3.4 COLONIAL EMPIRE

3 4 1 The Integrationist strategy of modernity then was to nationalise Russia and to russify the non-Russian, non-colonial peoples, but for the colonial subject, that honour was granted to Orientalism. It is not fortuitous that Uvarov treated Russian Orientalism as central to his scheme of creating the modern "Russian system" it was not a mere, supposedly pragmatic response to peoples they

happened to conquer, nor was it a theoretically inferior component of the grand strategy. Uvarov planned an "Asian Academy" as early as 1810, he was a leading Russian light of the Oriental Renaissance then enthusing Europe, he had ambitious plans for dictionaries, grammars, translations, and researches in all things oriental, and, as soon as he became President of the Academy of Sciences in 1818, he set about making it into a major orientalist centre. Its achievements were considerable as he attracted an important number of fine scholars in all fields, like Christian Fraehn in Arabic, Francois Charmoiss in Persian and Arabic, Robert Lenz and Friedrich Adelung in Sanskrit, Jacob Schmidt and Nikita Bichurn in Tibetan, Chinese, and Mongolian etc. Thus, all three elements of nationalism, russification, and orientalism held together as one piece, faithfully reflecting the tripartite composition of the Russian empire.

3 4 2 Orientalism and russification were different, and the difference is important. Orientalism was the appropriation of another's consciousness by claiming a superior capacity to comprehend the latter, the colonial subject's own knowledge of itself was equated to ignorance and intellectual paralysis. Orientalism therefore was to bring to life that which was dead, that is to say, the mind of the East. On this basis vast and impressive tomes were assembled, and, by the range and weight of their erudition, they appeared to prove their point conclusively. In policy, it consisted of setting up a parallel system of Russian education, it ignored the traditional systems without directly persecuting them. It was expected that which was dead would crumble and turn to dust, and that which was live would grow and attract.

3 4 3 Russification on the other hand did not deny the intellectual vigour and theoretical validity of the pursuit of knowledge of European Russia. The non-Russian Europeans were accused of being dangerous, not paralytics. Their menace lay in their accepting only the supremacy of the dynasty and of Autocracy but not of the Russian Nation, russification was designed therefore to carry out the switch of loyalty to the Russian Nation, and this was to be done through a linguistic imposition and appointments policy. For the rest, the theoretical foundations of knowledge were identical, and the attainments of the Germans and Poles were acknowledged to be superior to the Russian. Hence the peculiar paradox that, in a direct sense of imposition, Russian cultural policies were oppressive in all of the non-Russian European empire, -but "enlightened" in the colonial empire. To the former, it "imposed" Russian culture, to the latter, it introduced modernity.

3 4 4 The introduction of modernity was, however, as with so many historical processes, profoundly flawed. On the one hand it was founded on the valid assumption that the benefits of modernity were obvious enough to win adherents, and the careers of Valikhanov and Altynsarın among the Kazakhs, Akhundzadeh in Azerbaijan, and of Jadidism generally thereafter, apparently proved the point. On the other hand, such colonialism demanded the impossible price, the denial of a foundation for modernity in local tradition and the consequent claim that only European, in this case Russian, culture could provide an adequate basis for it. Hence such Orientalism expected the modernised colonial subject to regard his own past and memory as the Orientalist scholar himself might, or, at worst, as a western tourist might, as an object of study or of picturesque curiosity only. The purpose of such claims of course was to russianise the oriental from birth, as it were, without permitting him the alternative possibility of a non-Russian modernity which plagued the European parts of the empire. Islamic modernism, disseminating the ideas of a Jamaledin, al-Afghani, and the pan-Turkism fashioned by Gaspraly, were answers to just such claims. At the deepest level it was the orientalist claim that the oriental mind was a *tabula rasa* it contained only dead matter not living alternative traditions since there were no alternatives, by definition, to modernity, *ergo* Europeaness, hence Russian policy could merely inscribe the future Russian citizen on this slate without the clutter that came in the way in the Ukraine or Poland. The new Russian education system, sustained by the formidable achievements of orientalist scholarship, and backed by the invincible power of the colonial state, would create the new man, who could only be Russian.

3 4 5 The first target was the Tatars. Their strength lay in commerce, religion, and education. The Russian conquest of Inner Asia led to Russian economic competition with them in the Steppe and Turkestan. Accordingly in 1886, Tatars were prohibited real estate and joint stock corporations in Central Asia (Turkestan). The coming of Transcaspian railway in 1899 further damaged their monopoly. In 1870, the Tatar Muslim Spiritual Assembly was denied access to the Steppe and Turkestan for religious and educational purposes. It culminated in the rules of 1906 by which teachers had to be of the same nationality as pupils or be Russians. This in effect eliminated the Tatars. The tsarist government thus fundamentally undid the catherinian policy of permitting Tatar and Muslim hegemony in the Steppe and Muslim world. This was followed up by an aggressive evangelisation. In the 1860s, under Il'minskii's leadership, the Kazan Ecclesiastical Academy set up a school for converts to train Christian Tatar teachers for the future. The archdiocese of Kazan organised the "Brotherhood of St. Gurya" in 1867 and the "Association of the Archangel Michael" at Orenburg to convert. They were immensely successful, in terms of numbers, with as many as 200,00 conversions by 1905, and an almost wholesale success among the Mordvinians, Chuvash, and the Mari. However, this tide ebbed thereafter, and, under the impact of a Muslim riposte, they reconverted, such that by the 1920s they were all indifferently Tatar. Russification through conversion erected higher walls than before.

between the cultures and created the deepest hostility to the Russian empire. Tatar Islam did not weaken, it remained to pristine purity after the Wahabi fashion, and, at the same time, its modernist intellectual authority for the Muslim world of the Russian empire only grew through jadidism.

3 4 6 After the Tatars, it was the turn of the Kazakhs. As the Russian government saw it, the Tatars were to the Kazakhs what the Poles were to the Lithuanians, hence the same game of promoting a Kazakh identity to detach it from Tatar hegemony. The moving spirit was N I Il'minskii. A specialist in Turkic languages, and for long a teacher at the Kazan Theological Academy, had served on the Orenburg Border Commission from 1858-1861 under V V Grigor'ev, another orientalist. Il'minskii was shocked by the extent of Tatar influence among the nomadic Kazakhs, which is not surprising since they had been the commercial, ideological, religious, and diplomatic arm of the Russian empire in Inner Asia until then. He felt the Kazakhs could be rescued because a) they possessed their own language, and b) they were only weakly islamised, hence ripe for conversion to Orthodoxy. He mastered the Kazakh language, and, at Grigor'ev's urging, composed a Russian language primer in Kazakh in the Arabic script. Il'minskii was appalled by the number of tatarisms in official translations into Kazakh and assiduously purified the Kazakh language for the benefit of the nomad. Grigor'ev then invited to Orenburg the bard or *akyn* Marabai, who dictated to Il'minskii the heroic epic *IrTargyn*, which was then published in 1862 as the first piece of pure Kazakh literature in print. Modern literacy Kazakh was thus born and liberated from the Tatar. It inspired the career of a young interpreter on Grigor'ev's staff Ibrahim Altynsarin, who then translated Russian classics and administered the school system in the *oblast'* of Turgai.

3 4 7 Il'minskii then set about creating a new educational system. He did not touch the traditional schools at all. He set up a new network on the following principles: 1) western course contents, 2) the local language, in this case Kazakh, for instruction, 3) where possible the Cyrillic script, 4) local teachers, who despite his efforts, turned out to be Tatars mastering written Kazakh faster than the Kazakhs themselves could, 5) the Orthodox faith, and 6) the Russian language. This was known as the Il'minskii system, that combination of western education in the local languages and Orthodox evangelisation. Education was a success, but conversion was a failure. For, from the 1880s, jadidism supported the former and challenged the latter, and even altynsarin, Il'minskii's collaborator, the creator of chaste and modern Kazakh prose, rejected conversion and upheld an Islamic modernism. The result was that by 1926, the Kazakhs were the most literate people of Inner Asia and had become distinctly more committed to Islam. It mitigated Tatar influence, defined a distinct Kazakh identity, and permitted the latter to aspire to parity with the Tatars. But it did not attach them for that reason more to Russia, instead, a good education allowed them greater access to Islam which separated them all the more from Russians and Europeans. As in the Baltic and Lithuania, it led to national autonomism which was articulated through the Alash Orda (founded in 1912) in the revolutionary process. Once again tsarism

was doomed to manoeuvre among nationalisms, although this time its instruments were orientalism, nationalism and evangelisation

3 4 8 In Turkestan on the other hand, tsarism confined itself to orientalism, without conversions or nationalism as in the Steppe and among Tatars. The first governor-general, Kaufman, kept both the Tatar mullah and the Orthodox missionary at arm's length and concentrated on Russian education alone. He rejected the Il'minskii system for its excessive focus on translation, but the colonial administration had to wait until the nineties for a new set of text books by S N Gramenetskii. From 1876 Russian schools were set up in Tashkent, but it was orientalist with a vengeance, refusing to teach either religion or the local language. Only from 1884 did bilingual elementary schools begin functioning to attract more Turkestani to them. Russian cultural policies were extremely tardy of action in Turkestan and began to take effect only in the twentieth century. As such it was a weak colonialism whose strength lay in political supremacy and the economic relationship, its intellectual authority was potentially great, as part of European orientalism, but not in fact institutionalised through an educational system. Only the most superficial beginnings had been made before the Revolution supervened. On the other hand, jadidism and pan-Turkism had already erected a major challenge on the basis of an earlier experience of Russian rule among earlier Muslim subjects, the Tatars. Turkestani reformers thus were equipped with an instrument of modernisation in jadidism before the Russian administration itself could set about it properly. The Russian nationalist imperial project remained very nearly only a project in this respect in Turkestan, that is, outside of political & economic relationships.

3 4 9 The Russian empire took the first step to modernisation but could go no farther. Like a learner of a new language, it could begin a sentence but not complete it. It stopped to mass legitimacy but vacillated about creating a Russian nation for fear of weakening what was assumed to be its principal asset, the dictatorship of the Autocracy and the peculiar class interests that sustained it. Among the ethnically mixed populations of European Russia, it sponsored rival nationalisms with all the cleverness but shallowness of the juggler throwing balls in the air. In the ethnically more homogeneous countries like the Ukraine, it was suffocating and obtuse in its russification, perhaps for lack of another and competing nationalism. It began the process of politicising masses through nationalism, but lacked an ideology, an institutional process, a final purpose, or an overwhelming advantage to which it could attract all this diversity. Consequently it bred a series of autonomist nationalist movements whose purpose increasingly was to secede from the empire, not to exploit its advantages. In the colonial world of Turkestan, it could do no other than prepare for an orientalist transformation like all colonial powers. Its potential was considerable but very finite. It could not have been the basis for anything more than colonial rule, certainly not of a single empire becoming a nation. But even here it was outflanked, virtually at the outset, by jadidism. It was left to the successor regime to modernise consistently by creating homogeneous cultural units, de-orientalising the East, and providing the binding crust that was so sorely lacking atop the empire.

IV. INDUSTRIALISING AND INDUSTRIAL SOCIALIST UNION: THE USSR

The Revolution of 1917 put paid to the project of a union based on Russian nationalism, and it committed itself to a multinational polity and society united in the single ideology of socialism. According to its understanding of human history, industrial society simultaneously bred classes and the tendencies to transcend that division, it likewise generated nations and the trends to dissolve them. In both cases the consummation would occur through socialism. This was doctrinally expressed in the theories of the two stages of revolution, but it pointed to processes in industrial society that were in apparent contradiction, of division into one set of categories, be they of class or of nation, and of their mutation into a universal human type. This Leninist position had to be sustained against two famous challenges. One represented by the Austro-Marxists, Karl Renner and Otto Bauer, argued for nations without sovereignties. This was expressed in the formula of national-cultural autonomy by which any nationality could exist as a cultural entity but could not lay claim to national sovereignty in a state. This was pilloried for both denying national liberations and for perpetuating the division of mankind into nationalities. The other challenge came from the Polish Marxist Rosa Luxemburg. She argued that the nation rose with capitalism and must go with it. This was dismissed, like the Austro-Marxist scheme, for its failure to permit the emancipation of the oppressed nationalities, which was of capital importance to the revolutionary process. The Leninist position, echoed by Stalin before the Revolution, thus hoped to harness the revolutionary energy of national liberation without falling victim to a nationalist splintering of the revolutionary movement.

The socialist project of the Soviet Union eventually implied three distinct processes. The first was the creation and the "flowering" of nations, called the *rastsvet*. The second was their coordination through a socialist ideology and its institutions, known as the "drawing together" or *sblizhenie*. The third was the emergence of a new identity and a new entity, the Soviet nation itself, through the process of "merger" or *slivanie*. These three processes were neither sequential nor wholly simultaneous, they occurred or were promoted in different combinations.

However, in summary form, we could note the following chronological ordering. The twenties approximately marked the heyday of the "flowering" of nations, when even exiled nationalist happily returned to honourable positions in their respective native republics. The thirties to the sixties were the decades of coordination or of "drawing together", when the nation was only the form, the skin of the slaughtered beast into which was stuffed the socialist content. This faith was sustained by the daily chant, "national in form, socialist in content". This was also the most purely Stalinist nationalities policy. The seventies and the eighties were the days of the new supnation, of the "new historical community", that of "the Soviet people", as proclaimed by Brezhnev.

in 1972 during the celebrations of the fiftieth anniversary of the Soviet Union. But these temporal phases mark only emphases, not total shifts. These periods may be said to correspond to first, the consolidation of the Revolution when the nationalities had to be wooed, second, to the industrialisation and post war restoration, when the nationalities had to be mobilised to an overpowering imperative, and third, to the attainment of mature industrial society and of strategic parity, when common experiences could justifiably be assumed to have created a new community & possibly something like a new nation.

If a historical sequence could be discerned, so also could the coincidence of these tendencies. The nations, whether sponsored or encouraged in the twenties, never ceased to exist, and they provided ample means of satisfying the means of a national existence, even if it be in the extreme form of dissidence. The national movements to sovereignty were in part possible due to that. Further, the harmonising ideology of socialism and of its institutions, chiefly the communist party, exercised a monopoly of power even in the twenties. For the purposes of our argument, the Stalinist exercise of that monopoly was merely more extreme, followed by the fluctuations of his successors. Finally, the purpose of the differentiated unity of mankind in the socialist haven was repeatedly proclaimed by Lenin well before the war, it remained an avowed objective throughout the twenties and beyond, and the "new Soviet man" and Soviet patriotism were most actively promoted from the thirties at least.

4.1 *Rastsvet* OR FLOWERING

Let us begin then with the first of these processes, that of the "flowering" of nations. This required that a territory be identified as that of a nation, a single language be declared or created out of a merger of dialects and variations, and that a culture, a modern and high one, be promoted on that foundation.

- 4.1.1 **Belorussia:** A Belorussian Soviet Socialist Republic (BSSR) was formed out of the eastern half of modern Belarus by the Treaty of Riga on 18 March 1921 when the western portion went to Poland. This consisted chiefly of just the province of Minsk with a population of a mere 1.2 millions. It had already signed a treaty with the RSFSR on 16 January 1920 and joined the USSR on its foundation on 30 December 1922. A Belorussian state thus came into existence for the first time in history as an internationally recognised sovereign entity. Its territory was expanded and its nationalism bolstered by the Russian cession of the provinces of Vitebsk and Mogilev followed by Gomel and Recica in 1926, thus bringing the total population to 5.5m. Thereafter, on 28 September 1939, by the fourth Partition of Poland or a Soviet-German agreement, the western territories were transferred from Poland to Belorussia. The line ran roughly along the Curzon Line of 1920, and essentially the 1795 border of the Russian empire was restored, this time as the Belorussian western frontier. A plebiscite was held in the region, an overwhelming majority of 2,409,522 voted for the "national ticket" against 247,245 as we are told, and

on 28 October 1939, a national assembly convened in Bialystok to vote for incorporation into the USSR. This was duly carried out on 4 November. To Belorussian culture, went to Lithuania, where it has remained ever since. In addition, the region Ostrow-Lomza-grajewo and Bialystok went to Poland in 1945. But these were relatively minor irritants in an otherwise satisfactory territorial consolidation on national lines.

This was then accompanied by the Belorussification of language and culture. The language was declared official, dialects were standardised, people speaking the "mixed idiom" involving Russian were deplored as "Muscovites", and Russian was banned from schools, courts, offices, and even homes. Ironically enough, Belorussification and Communism were denounced as twins by "counter revolutionaries". There were reports of the peasants of Vitebsk beating up teachers for not employing Russian, and guerillas called the "greens" fighting both these nationalists and the Bolsheviks used Russian in their communications with each other! This "counter-revolutionary" and anti-nationalist resistance was then liquidated by March 1926. The census of 1926 showed 80.62% of the population as speaking Belorussian. In 1924, all the four local languages: Belorussian, Russian, Yiddish, and Polish, were given equal rights, but Belorussian enjoyed precedence for internal and Russian for all-Union communication.

As might be expected, a properly national culture "flowered" on this territorial and linguistic soil. The full apparatus of education from primary to post-secondary levels was established with astonishing speed. By 1925 there were 350,000 children in 4000 elementary and 261 secondary schools teaching in Belorussian, and by 1928 there were 4 institutions of higher learning with 4632 students. For the promotion of research, the Minsk Institute of Belorussian Culture had been established as early as 1921, it then became the Belorussian Academy of Sciences in 1928. This was accompanied by the National Theater, the Agricultural Academy, the School of Medicine, the Veterinary Institute, the Teachers' College, various museums, centres of adult education, and a state publishing house, all jointly responsible for a vast output of research and teaching. As many as 19 newspapers and periodicals issued from this process. As must happen with such speeded up efforts, the quality was not always high, but it provided an unusual momentum and registered important successes in education in a country always derided as the least literate part of European Russia.

Nationalists in exile were deeply impressed. This was far in excess of what could have been hoped for under Russian, Polish, and German dispensations. Accordingly, on 10 October 1925, the Belorussian National Republic government in exile dissolved itself in favour of the BSSR as "the only lawful government of Belorussia". Lastouski and his colleagues returned to high positions in government, and prisoners in Poland were offered asylum in Soviet Belorussia. Most national leaders save the Christian Democrats returned to Minsk from Europe. These included former deputies to the Sejm and nationalist scholars like Dovnar-Zapolski. Nor did they surrender their

convictions, for they remained firmly anti-communist. The only limitation was at the pinnacle of political power, the leadership of the armed forces were wholly non-Belorussian while the legislature, executive, and industry had about half. None-the-less it was most appealing and appeared to be "socialist in form, nationalist in content". Most of all, it contrasted most convincingly with Poland, which had permitted a comparable Belorussification until 1924, but then launched on a wave of persecution and outright terrorism leading to widespread protest and insurgency. This was too generous however to last forever, and the 1930s saw the sweeping changes that were to set the tone, with variations, for the subsequent half century. This consisted of preserving the national institutions, supporting the language and its culture, ensuring Belorussification as usual in appointments, but, casting the ideology of the culture so sponsored into a firmly socialist mould. Thus, all the nationalist intelligentsia nurtured during the nineteen twenties, in particular those welcomed back from exile, were wiped out as "Polish spies", a "national democratic menace" etc. Even the communists were purged, as elsewhere. Of the literary establishment, only two, no doubt outstanding writers, Janka Kupala and Jakub Kolas, survived. In 1934, all creative culture was organised into a series of unions, those for literature, Theater, music fine arts etc, and creative expression henceforth would be possible only through membership of such unions. The new orthodoxy of socialist realism was handed out to them in the manner of a brief. This done, the range and volume of cultural activity registered an unprecedented expansion.

In the supremely important domain of language, Belorussian turned east to Russian. Archaisms and localisms were eliminated in a further drive to standardisation and to control romantic excesses. Polonisms and borrowings from the western languages were then ruthlessly tracked down and eliminated by Russian phagocytes. In 1938 at long last, and, astonishingly so late, the Russian language was made compulsory. Again, it was accompanied by a quantum leap in the number of newspapers to 149 in Belorussian with only 48 in Russian. Thus the language was preserved and promoted, but given a non-Polish, non-Western, standardised, and, where appropriate, a Russian orientation, all codified in new dictionaries and grammars.

Thus national life, national institutions, and a national leadership continued to prosper, but not an independent and anti-Russian nationalism. In 1975, 81% of the population was Belorussian. As against this, in 1970-1971, 68% of the intelligentsia were Belorussian and in 1975 they were 70% of the Communist Party of Belorussia. Both these figures were significantly greater than they had been previously and points to Belorussians moving into higher positions of professional and political leadership. Monuments of academic scholarship poured out of the presses in the sixties, for example, the 12-volume Belorussian Soviet Encyclopedia, the 5-7-volume Monuments of Belorussian History, and numerous monographs. These massive works of research firmly ascribed the cultural creations of one thousand years of Belorussian history to the Belorussian national genius and thus provided ethnic identity with a

respectability that none could challenge. There were rumblings in party circles about the dangers of nationalism, but then ethnographers like Bromlei pointed to the nexus between progress in the humanities and nationalism, and there the matter rested. The important difference from the twenties was that racism or anti-Russian nationalism was not accepted, for example U Ihnatouski's racist theories about the purity of the Belorussians as against the mixed Great Russians, Poles, and Ukrainians, or that Russia was responsible for the decline of Belorussian culture in the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries. In these many ways the demands for national self-expression could be satisfied even while they were directed according to the needs of the Soviet state.

4.1.2 The Ukraine: The Ukraine came into existence as a single political territory thanks to the Revolution of 1917, and all Ukrainians were finally united under one roof thanks to Stalin's pact with the Devil in 1939. The Ukraine or that part which remained had disappeared as a political and administrative entity in 1764 when Catherine II abolished the Hetmanate in East Ukraine and dissolved it into a series of provinces after the Russian pattern. In November 1917, the nationalist and anti-Bolshevik Ukrainian Central Rada defined the country as consisting of Volhynia, Podolia, Kiev, Chernigov, Poltava, Kharkov, Ekaterinoslav, Kherson, and the Taurida without the Crimea. In December the Bolsheviks faithfully adopted the nationalist territorial definition to establish their revolutionary Ukraine. In 1939, after the Nazi-Soviet pact, the former Czech, Hungarian, and Polish districts of Galicia and Carpatho-Ukraine were transferred to the Ukrainian SSR. For the first time in history all ethnic Ukrainian lands were united in a single political authority. It was a matter of obvious satisfaction to any nationalist, deplore Stalin, famines, and collectivisation as he may, to enrich or embarrass the Ukraine, the province of the Crimea, wholly non-Ukrainian and mostly Russian, was added in 1954. In territorial terms, the Ukrainians never had it so good in its thousand-year old history.

Exactly as in Belorussia, there followed the Ukrainisation of culture and of appointments. Ukrainian was declared the language of the state and it was enthusiastically promoted by the Communist party of the Ukraine. The Ukrainian intelligentsia and national communists were well entrenched within the party. Their base was the Narkomos, which functioned both as a ministry of education and as responsible for culture and Ukrainisation. In 1925 only 20% of state administration was conducted in Ukrainian, by 1927, 70% of it was. Resistance came from the official trade union organisation which hindered both linguistic Ukrainisation and workers' identification with the territory. But this obstacle was surmounted by 1925 when Ukrainian became the official language of trade unions under pressure of both the workers themselves, especially of the railways, and of the Narkomos. In 1924 itself the Trades Union Congress had permitted the rank and file to bypass officials and approach the intelligentsia directly in order to organise their programmes. With such encouragement, a wide range of cultural events like concerts, choirs, literary evenings and the like were systematically pushed forward.

On the entirely valid premise that the programme of Ukrainisation could not be realised without mass literacy in Ukrainian, appropriate campaigns were conducted throughout the decade. The effort was at first inhibited but the Ukrainian party's own endorsement of the dogma of two cultures, that of the superiority of the Russian and of the inferiority of the Ukrainian. But this was definitively abandoned in 1923. The drive for literacy was then conducted through a network of literacy schools or *litpunkty*, and by 1925 as many as 81% of them were Ukrainian. This was mathematically just, as 805 of the Ukraine was Ukrainian in 1926. The results were excellent and ideal to nationalist mobilisation. Literacy soared from 24% in 1920 to 64% in 1926. This was substantially due to the missionary zeal of school teachers, those cells of nationalism the world over. As might be expected, the Bolsheviks were suspicious of them, but the reconciliation was effected in typical fashion by reclassifying them from "petliurites" to "toiling intelligentsia".

An Ukrainian intelligentsia was the logical culmination of mass literacy, and this meant at least higher education. This involved three simultaneous tasks. The first was democratic, in keeping with the revolutionary zeitgeist, that of educating peasants and workers beyond the secondary stage. Since these masses were wholly Ukrainian such an impeccably democratic undertaking was an important nationalist enterprise also. In 1922, less than 20% of students of post-secondary or higher educational institutions were Ukrainian, by 1928 they were in the region of 60%. The second related to contents of courses, by 1927, knowledge of Ukrainian was compulsory for admission, and courses in Ukrainian history, literature, and geography, were entered into the syllabi. Equally, the trend was toward making Ukrainian the language of instruction. By 1928, 25% taught only in Ukrainian, while 68% taught in both Russian and Ukrainian with the latter dominant. The third job was to ensure a full network of such institutions in the Ukraine itself, without dependence on Moscow or Russia. It was an impressive and successful effort to create an intelligentsia, the conscious vehicles of nationalism always.

As might be expected, this intelligentsia now established itself in the media and publication generally. A large output of books occurred at once of course. But the story of newspapers is more significant. Before the revolution, there were none, the revolution spawned as many as 84, the Bolsheviks suppressed 83, leaving only one, the *Visti*, in 1922, while the struggle between two cultures proceeded, but by 1925 there were already 31 Ukrainian papers out of a total of 116 and with 20% of the circulation. But now *skrypnyk* was heading Narkomos and the Ukrainisation of newspapers became a campaign. In 1929 there were 54 Ukrainian papers with 65% of all circulation. When the radio was introduced, it was instantly and most successfully targeted.

In keeping with the general policy of *korenizatsiia* or nativisation, both the bureaucracy and party were Ukrainised. By 1926, about half the bureaucracy and liberal professions were Ukrainian. The party was an alien force at the time of the Revolution and even in 1922 only 23% of the membership was Ukrainian. But by 1927 it had become 52% Ukrainian with as many as 70%

returning Ukrainian as their mother tongue. Thus a foreign communist party was domesticated and nostrified in the twenties as it acquired distinctly nationalist and particularist attributes, especially under a leader like Skrypnyk. It had a large and important territory, a secure base in an intelligentsia and institutions, and legitimacy in Moscow. It was a satisfied national communism.

The Stalinist assault now dismantled all that tended to independent evolution but not independent identity as such. The plenary session of the Central Committee of the CPU in 1933 was the object of execration, thereafter that honour fell to Ukrainian nationalism. The latter was indicted on the following counts: 1) exaggerating the importance of the national question at the expense of the Union, 2) belittling the significance of Lenin and Stalin as theorists of the national question and elevating Ukrainian political thought instead, 3) the theory of "national Bolshevism" or that each country could follow its own path to socialism, 4) treating Ukrainian culture as permeating all aspects of national life, 5) forced ukrainisation, and 6) the artificial separation of Ukrainian from Russian culture. These charges amounted to accusing the Ukrainians of being nationalists in the manner that nationalism is usually understood in the West. This meant, in brief, an assertion of Ukrainian uniqueness in all respects. It did not provide for that unique identity to meet a larger one at any point. That larger one was of course the Soviet Union and Marxism-Leninism, not mankind and the Good, the true, and the Beautiful. The question of the relation to Russia was only a final complaint and not in principle the most important one. The Stalinist purpose was to ensure that coordination which the uninhibited pursuit of Ukrainian culture had failed to ensure.

The focus of attack was Ukrainian exclusivity. It is not certain that the target was specifically Ukrainian culture itself. Thus, the Russian language increased in importance at all levels. Children of Russian origin now went to Russian language school while the Ukrainian language school was devoted to Ukrainians only. From 1938 Russian was made compulsory over all the Soviet Union, and the output in Russian in all media increased proportionately and significantly. Thus, in book publishing the total output in Ukrainian in 1928 was 54% of the total. In 1930 it was 79%. By 1940 it was 42% or back to 1924 levels. In the case of newspapers, 89% were in Ukrainian in 1939, in 1940 it was down to 69%, which on reflection does not seem too low a figure. In 1930, 85% of all journals were in Ukrainian. In 1940 and 45% were. These are unfortunately bald figures. They are not a qualitative statement about the publishing world and whether there was a division of qualified intellectual labour between Ukrainian and Russian. It is not clear from all this whether Ukrainian was getting more provincial and whether, the expansion of the nineteen twenties meant, beyond a certain point, a decline in provincialism. However, it clearly shows the decline of Ukrainian from the position it held in the early thirties in purely numerical terms, but the degree of contraction of Ukrainian cultural possibilities is not so clear.

A more qualitatively nuanced analysis of the linguistic and therewith cultural position is available from the census of 1970. Here, the provincial or purely

Ukrainian type, as suggested by command of only Ukrainian, stood at 56% of Ukrainians in the Republic. This group could not participate fully even in Ukrainian life without mastery of Russian. The next category, those who were bi-lingual in Ukrainian and Russian and were the most nationalist with that additional capacity, were 36% of the Ukrainian population. The next group, the acculturated, who declared Russian as their mother tongue but knew a bit of Ukrainian, were no less nationalist in identification but used Russian as a means of upward mobility. This was especially the case with what were called qualified mental workers, essentially white collar. Finally, there were the russified Ukrainians. They were unilingual Russian speakers but Ukrainian by identification. These results suggested the remarkable stability of the Ukrainian ethnos, the near total identification of Ukrainians with the Ukraine, and the well over 90% active employment of the Ukrainian language.

This should now be read with the evidence of the dissolution of local identities, of Boykos, Lemkos, Hutsuls, etc into a single Ukrainian language identity. Likewise, the occupational distribution of Ukrainians showed a tendency for proportions of Ukrainians in each category to rise. Thus, from 1959 to 1970, Ukrainians as a percentage of the working class rose from 69.5 to 73.6 and of white collar from 58.7 to 59.9, but of collective farmers to decline from 95.5 to 93.3. The following corrections should be noted in the latter two categories. The 1959 figures for both white collar and collective farmers include dependents, the 1970 figures do not. Therefore, the 1970 figures should be higher or the 1959 figures lower, which would show an important rise in the white collar representation at least. All these collectively suggest that by the Brezhnev years the Ukrainian nation had consolidated itself as never before in history, both through the gorging of a clearer identity and through increasing control of the production process as far as personnel goes.

Such success and the ensuing self-confidence was fertile ground for tensions. The Ukrainian professional and intelligentsia could now legitimately lay claim to more control over the Ukrainian and better prospects outside as never before, yet they were in part frustrated. As the rate of secondary education, especially among workers improved, the prospects in post-secondary education did not keep pace. Between 1959 and 1970, the Ukraine was near the top of the Union for the percentage of 16-19 year-olds who had completed secondary education, but it was the fourteenth out of fifteen republics for those in the next age group of 20-29 years, who had gone on to higher education. This combined with an increasing inflow of Russians similarly extruded from their higher educational system.

The consequences were noted as early as the seventies by several able sociologists, demographers, and psychologists. First, frustration occurred at just the moment when people were taking their life's most important decisions, in their twenties. Sociologists discovered that their attitudes to nationality switched from positive to negative at this turning point. Second, higher levels of education allowed for higher levels of abstraction, greater awareness of culture and history, and thereby increasing national awareness as distinct from

a more traditional, village, and parochial consciousness. Again research showed how the intelligentsia were more nationalist than workers and how this applied as much to Tatars, as to the Baltic, the Ukraine, or Georgia. Third, the Russian influx and the consequent competition led to a search for a linguistic solution. This was to demand the primacy to the Ukrainian language at all levels which would automatically put Russian in their place. Such a developing situation, the growing but frustrated capacity of an Ukrainian intelligentsia and professional, provided the backdrop to the revival of linguistic nationalism in the sixties and the seventies. Petr Shelest, the First Secretary, attempted to mobilise that sentiment in 1965, during the uncertainty at the pinnacle of power. But Moscow struck back, and he and his ilk paid with their careers in 1972. It did not put an end to such nationalism however.

4.1.3 Georgia. The caucasian story is famously tangled, but for the purposes of our demonstration it suffices to deal with just one nationality now. The Georgian is perhaps the ideal one because it is the most fiercely nationalist and assertive against all other, both local and Russian.

The revolutionary dust settled only in 1924 after the suppression of a final peasant rising in Guria and the ruthless repression of all the opposed political parties. Unlike in the Ukrainian or Belorussia, there was no territorial consolidation to be carried out since it had already been completed in imperial times, as already noted. The major task now was to create firm and modern Georgian political and cultural institutions.

Georgia is unique for the nationalist terrain having been occupied by socialists, but Mensheviks. It is explained by the ethnic attributes of the leadership strata. The bourgeoisie was Armenian, the bureaucracy Russian, and the nobility Georgian. The first two could represent modernity but not Georgia in the Nationalist sense and the nobility was impeccable Georgian but hopelessly archaic. Any mass movement would have to be directed against these three and as such be socialist, and it would be nationalist by virtue of the Armenian bourgeoisie and Russian bureaucracy. At certain moments it would be joined by members of the nobility who were lucid enough to see the end of their historic career and passionate enough to hate the Russian and Armenians for it. Nationalism thus fell to the socialist. Among the socialists it fell to the Mensheviks who opposed the centralised power structure of the Bolsheviks. Thus the Bolshevik revolution in Georgia had to beat off a socialist and Menshevik nationalism, not a bourgeois one, and replace it with a national mobilisation in tune with Bolshevik needs. As is evident by now, the Soviet state was routinely engaged in repressing, containing, and harmonising the nationalism of even the Bolsheviks, especially in Tatarstan and the Ukraine, assaulting Menshevik nationalists therefore did not hurt their conscience. Only after that had been achieved did the simultaneous sponsoring of a Georgian nationalism and the repression of the dream of its Bolshevik version have to be tackled. How it fought off both the Marxist socialists, that is the Mensheviks who had created an independent state under Zhordania, and the nationalistically inclined communists like Felipe Mkharadze and Budu Mdivani

is the dramatic politic story of the early twenties. It is rendered especially famous and poignant for Lenin lying paralysed and watching, literally in speechless horror, as Stalin and Ordzhonikidze trampled Georgian communists and nationalists underfoot.

Thereafter, even the Georgian story falls into the standard pattern of korenizatsiia in appointments and nationalisation of culture. By mid-twenties, nearly all important posts were in Georgian hands, at the same time only 62.5% of the party was Georgian in 1925, rising to 66% in 1929. This told hard on the non-Georgians, especially the ancient enemies, the Russians and Armenians. The Russians migrated north and the Armenians to their own country and Erevan. They lost Tbilisi which they had grown accustomed to as an Armenian cultural centre. Thus the two important instruments of oppression were removed as Georgia modernised in Soviet times. All the usual educational measures were carried out with the energy that was characteristic of the Soviet regime. Mass literacy campaigns made half a million literate in that decade, no mean feat in a country of a mere two and a half millions. Primary education was made universal in all the principal languages, Georgian, Armenian, Azeri, Abkhazian, Osetin, and Russian. Higher education was expanded likewise. The new University had been founded already in 1918, and by 1923 there were 4000 students in it. To satisfy Georgian national sentiment, the treasures seized by the tsarist government were restored to the National Museum. Georgia was thus Georgianised, to the benefit of the Georgians and at the expense of the non-Georgians, including the Russians.

The trauma of the Stalinist years signalled the greatest transformation in Georgian history, its industrialisation and nationalist consolidation. Between 1926 and 1959, the population rose from 2.68 to 4 millions, Tbilisi rose from a petty town of 294,000 to 703,000 and in 1975 it at last acquired a Georgian majority. Georgians as a percentage of the Republic's population rose from 64.3% in 1959 and 68.85 in 1979, thus reversing a late imperial and pre-industrialisation trend. It is also the only Republic where Russians declined in absolute numbers and from which there is no diaspora. In 1970, 97% of Georgians lived in Georgia itself which is remarkable for the Soviet Union with its mixing of nationalities. Finally, in 1969, as many as 93.5% of the marriages were endogamous in Georgia. By the time of Khrushchev, a greater proportion of Georgia spoke, read, and was educated in Georgian than ever before in history. Georgian culture was well institutionalised in a series of state-sponsored drama companies, opera, cinema, literature & education. The minorities, especially the Muslims, suffered culturally as Georgian chauvinism took wing. This was then rounded off by a species of political decentralisation. While Stalin ruled directly, his successors preferred indirect rule through reliable satraps. Thus Vasili P. Mzhavanadze reigned as First Secretary for an astonishing nineteen years from 1953 to 1972, surviving the upheaval of the sixties. While he freely discriminated against the minorities, his successor Shevardnadze tempered both Georgian chauvinism and minority nationalism while coming down with

a heavy hand on corruption. In short then, the policy of *rastsvet* permitted Georgians to integrate & gain control of Georgia as never before in history and specifically through the Soviet connection.

4.1.4 Inner Asia The Soviet task of fashioning territorial nations out of the ethnic patchwork in Turkestan was more than ordinally complex, and the modern institutions and stable entities that issued from that process should be regarded a remarkable feat of statesmanship. The region was blessed or cursed with multiple forms of both unity and diversity that militated against the logic of the modern nation state and its internal Soviet version.

To treat of the unities first. The most obvious was that of Islam, but pan-Islamism was never a major political force even if it was important intellectual and political current. Its range was so ecumenical that it transcended Soviet boundaries altogether, on the other hand, for that reason, it did not obstruct nation-making any more than Christianity did in Europe, or, for that matter, communism itself in the Soviet Union. Archaism, whether in Islam or Christianity, hindered nation-building, but their modernity could stimulate or contribute to it. Islam therefore represented an ideological challenge to Bolshevism, not a strictly anti-nationalist or nationalist threat. The next, and politically more serious, was the ideal of pan-Turkic unity of the Turkic peoples of the Russian empire as represented by the *Jadid intelligentsia*. As a pan-movement, it was a supra-nationalism of its own, spreading over a series of putative nationalisms. It was therefore inappropriate to social mobilisation through homogenous national entities on which Bolshevik security would rest. As an ideal, unity, and ideology that transcended nations, it was a rival to Bolshevism itself which made just such appeals, otherwise it was ally, as the *Jadid intelligentsia* hoped it would be. In either case it seriously compromised Bolshevik claims to be the only unifying ideology that superseded nationalisms. Yet its role was ambiguous as it represented modernity against a traditionalist *kadymist* clergy, archaic aristocracies, and tsarist colonial rule. As such it was an ally to the Bolsheviks, especially in Bukhara and Khiva in the struggle against the well-trenched clergies and reigning khans. The Soviet task therefore lay in harnessing pan-Turkic *jadidism* and distributing it among a new series of nationally homogenous entities.

The third and highly ambiguous supranational unity was an anti-colonial nationalism of pan-Turkism, and the dimension of political power in both. Its sweeping Central Asia range was determined, not by any logic of national identity, but by a common colonial subjugation. There was no other unity, save pan-Turkism, which was itself born of that colonial experience. It was valid and vibrant as long as colonialism and its backwardness held, but it tended to dissipate thereafter. They shared with Bolsheviks the common programme of an anti-colonial liberation, to that extent they were important allies to the Bolsheviks during the revolutionary process. Thereafter they weakened as the two pillars of their strength crumbled. The first was colonial underdevelopment. As the Soviet state invested in growth and

transformed the old colonial relationships with Russia into a regional specialisation of an integrated economy, the anti-colonial passions of Turkestan nationalism subsided. And the second was social backwardness. The Soviet state promoted modern social structures, which of course the Turkestan *jadid* intelligentsia wanted but the Soviet state did so on the basis of a series of culturally homogenous nations as the only vehicle capable of mobilising for such modernity. The Turkestani on the other hand were too thin on the surface to descend to such mobilisation. That meant the dissipation of the supra-national pan-Turkic ideal. It is supreme irony, typical industry, that triumph of the Turkestan ideal of modernity invalidated their own existence.

The variety was likewise manifold. The most striking and traditional was the broad division into the sedentary culture of the Uzbeks and Tajiks, and the nomadic culture of the Kirgiz, Kazakhs, and Turkmen. The Turkmen and Karakalpak also combined nomadic stockbreeding & settled agriculture to a greater extent than the more purely nomadic Kirgiz & Kazakhs did. Equally traditional perhaps was the splintering into innumerable clan & tribal loyalties.

But a major complication of this kind was the nature of political boundaries and ethnic dispersion. There were four broad political entities inherited from tsarist times but with new names viz the Kazakh ASSR and the Turkestan, Bukharan, and Khorezmian Republics. These corresponded to the old Government General of the Steppe and of Turkestan, and the principalities of Bukhara and of Khiva respectively. All these nationalities were distributed among these states in the most chaotic manner, if we were to employ nationalist logic. In 1925-6 they were scattered thus between the Turkestan, Bukharan and khorezmian Republics, as percentages

	Turkestan	Bukhara	Khorezm
Uzbeks	5	22.2	11.3
Turkmen	43.2	27.0	29.8
Tajiks	47.7	52.3	—
Kirgiz	98.6	1.4	—
Kazakh	95.9	2.1	2.0
Karakalpak	68.1	2.0	29.9

Further, the Republics were similarly mixed, as follows

	Uzbek	Kazakh	Kirgiz	Tajik	Turkman
Turkestan	41.4%	19.4%	10.7%	7.7%	4.7%
Bukhara	50.7%	1.6%	0.5%	31.6%	10.3%
Khorezm	79.0%	4.3%	0	0	14.6%

As might be expected, these were not evenly distributed either there were areas of dense concentration and scattered small pockets. Important centres like Samarkand and Bukhara were regarded by both the Tajiks and Uzbeks as

their own, just as Vilnius was regarded by Belorussians, Lithuanians, and Poles as special to each of them, or Tbilisi was to the Armenians and Georgians. The pan movements did not have any strategy that could integrate these diversities into modern homogeneous units of territory, political power, and culture, beyond the most superficial pan - turkic culture. The soviet state instead had developed both a strategy of superficial unity through Soviet institutions and ideologies, and subjacent consolidation through social mobilisation i linguistic nations.

The Soviet nationalities policy therefore had a vast agenda. First, it had to carry out a campaign against the Islamic religion, Both as an ideological or universalist struggle, as against Christianity, but also as a nationalist one so that a religious unity over such a diversity could not be attempted. Second, it had to break up the Turkestan nationalist of Jadidism, founded on pan-Turkism, into a series of more specifically linguistic and territorial nationalisms. Thus, i order to carry out the latter it had to redraw the frontiers to create territories that were as nationally homogeneous as possible, that is, with a clear majority in each new republic. Finally, it had to carry out the usual strategies of social mobilisation through industrialisation, urbanisation, and mass standardised education to create identities around these new political entities to replace those of clan and tribe, of Islam and pan-Turkism, and of anti-colonial nationalism. It was a formidable undertaking, and, to judge by the results, even with the break-up of the Soviet Union, and especially the units of the break-up, brilliantly successful.

After the Bolshevik victory, the territorial task itself most pressing. This was the job of the National Delimitation Commission, carried out with the assistance of numerous national sub-committees. After prolonged debate, the modern territorial units were created by resolutions of the Central executive Committee of the Turkestan Republic in September and October 1924. It created the union republic of Uzbekistan and Turkmenistan, an autonomous republic for the Tajiks, and autonomous oblasts or territories for the Kirgiz & Karakalpak. The Kazakhs already had their autonomous republic. In 1929 the Tajiks & in 1936 the Kazakhs & Turkmen were elevated to Union Republic status while the Karakalpaks had to content themselves with autonomy alone.

As a consequence of this reorganisation, the new republics were more manageable homogeneous. The Uzbek SSR was now 74.7% Uzbek with 82.6% of the Uzbek population of Central Asia. The corresponding figures for the Turkmen SSR were 94.2% & 70.2%, for the Tajik ASSR 75.2% & 74.7%, for the Kirghiz autonomy 86.7% & 66.4% and within the Kazakh ASSR, the Kazakh strength rose from 44.6% to 57%. In the circumstances it was a manageable degree of ethnic homogeneity. The socio-economic logic served to separate the nomad stockbreeder from the sedentary agriculturist. The stockbreeders were Kazakh & Kirghiz, the agriculturists were Uzbek & Tajik, and Karakalpak and Turkmen were a combination of the two. It thus allowed for more uniform policies of development. Most of all it allowed for more coherent politics in each republic based on homogeneity of culture,

linguistically and socially. There were no longer dominant minorities as the Uzbeks had been, but there remained a series of other minorities, like Dzungars, Uighurs, Jews etc for whom special provision sometimes had to be made.

Controversy has long attended this major event. The Bolsheviks were charged with deliberately breaking up the unity of Turkestan nationalism and of Islam and therewith of divide and rule. The Bolsheviks argued then and later that the existing boundaries were the strategic, military and administrative legacies of colonial rule, that they perpetuated and facilitated the practice of provoking inter-tribal and inter-clan conflict and warfare, that they violated all political and cultural logic, and that homogeneities were essential to economic and social development.

This policy must be judged with two factors in mind. The first is that Bolsheviks were uncompromising and consistent modernisers, and second, they had to retain power to carry out that programme of modernisation. They could have, theoretically speaking, retained power by divide and rule in the manner of all colonial administrations, among them the tsarist. This would have enabled the petrification of the pre-modern identities of clan, dynastic loyalties, and of religion, and it would have required pitting one against the other in a ceaseless round of petty conflicts such that each would degenerate into a proper client of the state. This suited the tsarist regime, which promoted modernisation and change in particular sectors like cotton cultivation or transport for specifically colonial economic purposes. But these partial, hot-house modernisations made no meaning to the Bolsheviks, for they were committed to a total transformation. This meant a mature industrial society, not lustrous industrial pockets, it demanded homogenisation, and they had to seek the appropriate instruments for it. The uniformities provided by territory, language, mentality etc provided the foundation on which to build. The territorial reorganisation of 1924 was an attempt to find just such units by merging the parochialisms of tribe and locality and dividing the ecumenical pursuits of the pan movements.

4.1.5 Tajikistan: Tajikistan perhaps represents the best example of the "flowering" of a nation in soviet times. It was a creative exercise on a base more slender, historically, linguistically and territorially, than even Belorussia.

The territory having been carved out, language was one of the most important areas of action. Soviet scholars now had to do for Tajik what so many philologists had done for especially the East European languages in the nineteenth century, for example, Belorussian. Tajik started out a trifle later. Philologists like Bartold had argued that Tajik was a Persian dialect, but that reduced its capacity for nationhood by nationalist logic and Soviet policy. Soviet scholarship accordingly set out to demonstrate its independent status and written career from as early as the 5th century B.C., its consolidation before the Arab conquest in the 7th century, its flowering under the Samanids, and its profound influence on Iran, Afghanistan, and all of India. On the other hand Bartold's had argued that before the Persian and Arab conquests the

language spoken in Tajikistan was Sogdian, this then disappeared in the 9th and 10th centuries with Persian immigration giving rise to Tajik as a variant of Persian, and Sogdian survived only in the Yagnob valley

This was followed up in the domain of history with corresponding arguments. The previous interpretation had rested on the Tajiks as peripheral to Iranian culture. B. Gafurov, the powerful first secretary of the post-war years and chief Soviet historian, recast it to make Tajikistan a centre of Iranian culture. He argued that eastern and western Iranian culture developed separately, Tajikistan, as the centre of the eastern variety, disseminated its creation through the Greek world after Alexander's conquest of Bactria and Sogdiana, to the Arab world thereafter, through Buddhism to China, and into medieval Persia of Samanid times. Thus Tajikistan was endowed with a history, a language, and a culture that could meet on an equal footing the embarrassingly ancient, developed, classical civilisations all around it, Iranian, Indian, and Chinese. But by far the most important point made thereby was that it was entirely distinct from the locally dominant Uzbeks, the very culture which was common to Uzbeks and nomads.

Thus both linguistic and historical researches, as usual, were major exercises in the creation of a distinct identity. It followed a pattern set well in the world by then. The difference now lay in Soviet communists of the twentieth century, not romantic bourgeois & "reactionary" monarchists of the nineteenth century, creating this national consciousness. They shared in common the experience of attending on the launch of an industrial society, however divergent their ideological convictions, & industrialism demanded nationalism. The processes thereafter fall into the familiar pattern. A nation was consolidated around the three foci of identity, of territory, language, and of history. The literary Tajik of the urban elite was made the official language, and the non-Tajik Iranian speakers of the Pamirs were educated in the new and modernised Tajik language and culture. It was done through the usual literary campaigns, propaganda drives, education at all levels, and cultural institutions. The first Tajik newspaper came out in 1925, the first Russian one in Tajikistan in 1929, and by 1955 there were 67 dailies and 10 journals serving a population of about 1 million. Books & the radio followed suit.

The delayed start in nation-making had its impact on *korenizatsiia*. The Soviet administration was plagued by an insufficiency of qualified personnel to carry out the task of modernisation, accordingly. Russians and Uzbeks played a large role than outsiders in other republics. Until the war, Russians clearly predominated at republican and oblast levels like for example the European or Caucasian republics where nativisation had proceeded far in the twenties itself. But, from 1944-1945, Tajiks moved into senior and representative positions with the Russian as a second-in-command such that the decision-making centre always involved a Tajik and a Russian, a combination that was standard to all of Central Asia. At the lower or raion level, the Tajiks, or more correctly, the Asians, predominated, but with Russians in key positions more often than not. Detailed examinations of the Central Committee Secretariat,

the Council of Ministers, and of the obkoms and gorkoms, reveal a division of labour by which Russians occupied the sensitive posts dealing with internal affairs, security, and cadres, and the skilled positions concerning technical and economic development. Tajiks occupied top positions like first secretary, chairman of the council of ministers and of the obkom and raikom, and then all posts requiring direct contact with the public, e.g. culture, agitation, propaganda, religion etc. It perhaps recalls the colonial pattern, but it seems as much due to the difficulties of sudden modernisation. Administrations routinely complained bitterly of the low quality of party officials. They had been recruited hastily, mostly after the war, trained inadequately, and had to be transferred frequently. Until the mid-fifties, the turnover rate of obkom and gorkom officials was especially high, 25-37% with, as might be expected, a high incidence of clientelism.

4.1.6 The Baltic: The Baltic should not be ignored as it represented an altogether special challenge to the making of the Union. The region was unique in multiple ways. It was more developed than Russia, it had been victorious against the Revolution in 1917, it had an independent existence for fully twenty years in the European manner, that is, sharing capitalism and fascism, and finally it entered the Soviet Union, effectively after the war. Universal literacy, educational and research institutions of high quality, especially in Latvia and Estonia, highly-qualified professionals, the modern family, well-developed infrastructure, and bourgeois political processes were all well in place before their entry into the Soviet Union. Soviet planners therefore could build on an excellent foundation, they did not have to create one as in Belorussia, Central Asia and parts of the Caucasus. It would be of interest to observe what was done here since Russian cultural nationalism before the Revolution had shown its ugly face more in these developed countries than in colonial Central Asia or the Caucasus. In one respect they shared the fate of parts of the old Russian empire by finding themselves in the Soviet Union, yet, in another respect, they are more akin to East Europe where the Revolution had been defeated and to which communism came in the baggage of the Soviet armies. The Baltic was an uneasy bridge, in this sense, between East Europe and the Soviet Union.

Estonia should perhaps suffice as an example. Unlike in all the other national territories of the Soviet Union, an Estonian country did not have to be carved out. It had already existed for a full twenty years: there were only some frontier changes when parts of the north-east went to the Russian Federation. Nor did a national identity or a national homogeneity have to be compounded. Only socialist identity or content to national institutions had to be provided. This was ensured by a brusque and brutal collectivisation of agriculture and the purging of "bourgeois tendencies" among communists in 1950-1952.

The *rastsvet* or "flowering" was provided through economic development and culture. The rapidity of post-war recovery was probably due to a conscious decision of Soviet planners. They did not succumb to the temptation to bleed a more developed region for the benefit of the rest, as might have been

expected with an earlier background of Russian nationalism, assumptions of internal colonialism, and the vengeance of a victorious Soviet Union. The reasons might have been several, but good economic reasoning must have played its own role, that is, a small investment in such highly developed lands brought relatively higher returns.

As for the Communist Party and ruling bodies, the Estonians took until the 1960s to gain control. Until 1956 they refused to touch the party and treated entry as a species of treachery. Co-operation followed thereafter, and they became a majority in the party in the sixties. Even so, in 1970, they had only 52.3% of its membership as against 68.2% of the population in Estonia. But they were gaining ground in the organs. Whereas in 1960 only 70% of the Central Committee were Estonians, in 1971 they were 80%, which is disproportionately high for the population. The Supreme Soviet was 80% Estonian in 1966-67, and all the lesser Soviets of town and country had 88-89% Estonians. However, not all this represents "power" which resided in the Secretariat and bureau of the Central committee, but even in a 5-member Secretariat, 3 Estonian and 2 were Russian. Generally, the party elite were Estonian and Moscow preferred it that way. Johannes Kabin, the first Secretary, enjoyed such a long tenure that he was regarded a fief-holder. Again, this was in keeping with Soviet practice which generally permitted stability and long tenures as long plan targets were fulfilled and political coordination could be ensured. To Estonians, the Party appeared eminently satisfactory mediators in Moscow, and Moscow tolerated Estonian national oddities as long as it did not disturb the political equilibrium.

However, unlike the less developed countries, Estonians "lost" a part of their country to immigrants. This is an emotive subject since, both in Latvia and Estonia, and parts of certain other territories like the Ukraine, this is interpreted as typical colonial technique. The Estonian population has a proportion of its total declined from 74.6% in 1959 to 61.5% in 1989, chiefly through Russian immigration. However, population movements were dictated by the demands of industrialisation. Already, before the war, Estonia imported labour from Poland and Lithuania. The war led to huge losses of the Estonian population. It is estimated that by natural increase alone, the Estonian would have recovered only by 1962, instead it did so by 1952, thanks to immigration. The Baltic suffers from low natural rate of increase of population as is typical of industrially developed countries. It has been argued, not by Soviet scholars, that the level of development could not have been maintained without such immigration. But then, the question is also asked, why not Finno-Ugric speaking Mordvians and Karelians? The answer is not simple, but then it is not easy for planners to find the right skill groups in sufficient numbers from two linguistic communities alone. It would have also required a deliberately chauvinistic linguistic resettlement policy. Latvia, being the other comparably developed society, faced similar problems. These two countries were clearly facing the difficulties of the industrially advanced societies of the West, of immigration owing to high standards of development, and the consequent ethnic tensions. But in the West, immigrants are from the less developed, politically more

vulnerable states, in the Baltic they were from the less developed but immensely more powerful Russia. Russian motives might be mixed, but it should be remembered that this was a special problem of these two Baltic states in particular. It related to their advanced levels which required more labour than they themselves could generate naturally and attracted Russians seeking mobility. The problems in the Ukrainian donbass area or West Kazakhstan, or Kirghizia are the legacies of pre-revolutionary history of settlement, and do not belong to this category. As a result we have, during the "flowering" of nations, a distinct "de-flowering" in the Baltic, not it seems, as overt measures of control. It is worth noting also that the 1989 census has revealed: a) a decline in the rate of Russian immigration into the Baltic, and more interestingly, b) a net outflow of Russians from the other Republics. This is especially strong from the Transcaucasian Republics. From Azerbaijan and Georgian the trend has been established in the intercensal decade of 1970-79. In Kazakhstan the net increase has dropped to 4% in 1979-89, and in Kirghizia it is almost stationary at 0.5%.

For the rest, the "flowering" proceeded without hindrance. Estonian cultural development and cultural contacts made it one of the most western of Soviet nations, and it was not treated with extra suspicion or hostility for that reason. Their contacts with the Estonian emigration in Sweden, the centre of it, was firm and unhindered. Their special relationship with Finland, owing to the linguistic and cultural affinity, was maintained throughout. They were permitted to watch Finnish television and hear the radio while Finnish party publications, a great improvement on the Soviet or Estonian, were freely available. The mammoth song festivals (with 250,000 taking part) for which the Baltic is famous, was regularly held, the choice of songs were distinctly Estonian nationalist, and they were seen by all as expressions of nationalism. It is sufficient here to cite the testimony of a respected and well-established emigre Estonian scholar:

"We would be hard pressed to find among the 'enlightened', Western powers, especially the former colonial ones, examples where written languages for nations were encouraged, where native identities were developed through massive schooling in the native languages, or where a scientific life came to flourish in native languages among national minorities or among colonial subjects. In the Estonian case, the institutional base for perpetuating an Estonian case, the institutional base for perpetuating an Estonian ethnic culture, science, and academic life is powerful. While most of the apparatus is inherited from the pre-Soviet period, it has been appreciably expanded during the Soviet period."

The important point is that it was not a colonial power, and Soviet strategists were working to a different logic.

4.2 Sblizhenie OR DRAWING TOGETHER

A Herculean effort was being made to mobilize masses to create a series of national identities this made meaning only as a joint enterprise divided into national branches, and the enterprise in question was the making of a modern industrial society As such it differed little from a developed capitalist society, and many have pointed out the Americanism of the Soviet communist vision But it became a specifically Soviet undertaking by virtue of the socialist means chosen to that end To put it summarily then, the industrial society was to be a communism, the means to it was socialism, the ideology for it was Marxism-Leninism, the instrument was to be the Party, and the territory in which it would first occur was to be the Soviet Union It was just such a joint venture that united and made meaning of all the nationalisms spawned by the Revolution It distinguished these nationalisms from other conventional meanings of the term These would not be careening widely in the egotistical frenzy condemned as bourgeois they would be socialist nationalisms contributing to a socialist culture of communal creation This gives us a clue to the second of the Soviet nationalities Trinity, the "coming together" of nations, or their *sblizhenie*

4.2.1 Goals and Ideology: While the goal of communism has remained as permanent and unchanging as the pole star, the socialist means or transition has been subject to periodic revision Yet it was clearly distinguishable from processes called capitalist and served to separate the Soviet from the Western World Briefly summed up, it meant no more than growth as anywhere else in the world, but this socialist form of growth meant specifically through the public ownership of the means of production and centralised planning, that is, the state acting as mobiliser and entrepreneur in a direct and coordinated fashion as against the more autonomous if structured growth strategies of the West The periodic major ideological pronouncements of the Soviet leadership then served to point out where the Soviet Union stood in this arduous trek to that land of Utopia As such, the nature of the joint venture shifted emphasis while retaining its distinct purpose and style, and these statements focussed attention on where the effort should be directed at any particular moment

The Leninist pronouncements held valid until the early thirties This amounted to the following propositions the October Revolution had launched the transition from capitalism to socialism, the consolidation of the socialist sector gradually pulverised and dispersed the detritus of the pre-revolutionary and capitalist past, but the socialist transition from capitalism to socialism, not even a preparation for communism This was the phase of national liberation and of the flowering of nations, and of the furtherance of industrialisation It was the time when the consolidation of revolutionary unity was the common goal, the enemy were the Whites, and so national liberation meant common security in the Soviet state for both nationalists and communists

In 1936 Stalin announced that a socialist society had been constructed This had been achieved by consolidating socialist ownership, the result of collectivisation and of the five-year plans of industrialisation It meant an

industrial society in effect, and the gargantuan effort to mobilise for that purpose gave all the national leadership the clearest possible direction. However, the logical next step, the building of communism, was not announced instead it was declared to be the period of laying the conditions for the transition to communism. This meant in fact no more than continued growth as an industrial society without the quantum leap that the two first plans had implied. As usual, in specific detail, this amounted to an expansion of the capital goods sector and maintaining a high rate of savings and investment. The net theoretical contribution was that socialism itself consisted of a series of distinct stages before the transition to communism could begin. The reign of Stalin thus both announced the attainment of socialism and its division into a series of phases before the eventual transition also marked the forced coordination of nationalities, the declaration of the Russian people as the "leading nation", and the wholesale deportation of nationalities deemed disloyal. But those extremes were due more to the war than a considered nationalities policy. If socialism was to be built, then nationalism must also become socialist: it was the time most appropriate for *sblizhenie*.

Khrushchev then announced what Stalin had deemed unwise: the coming of Communism. At the 21st Party Congress of 1959, he declared that the Soviet Union was now engaged in the "full-scale construction of communist society". He followed this up with the rash forecast, in the new, the third, Party Programme of 1961, that by 1980 communism would "in the main" be built. He even announced details, for example, the elimination of classes and the construction of an abundant material base. Logically enough, national distinctions must also disappear. The flourishing would lead to *sblizhenie* and eventually to *slivanie* or "fusion", a word used at the 22nd Party Congress in 1961 but not in the Programme itself. Once again there was a major exhortation to the nations to come together for the common task of creating the material and spiritual abundance implied in communism: and this time it was combined with the ominous term *slivanie* and the Programme's assertion that republican boundaries were becoming irrelevant.

Brezhnev's utterances were a series of retreats from Khrushchev. Communism in the foreseeable future was abandoned and the Soviet Union was declared to be a state of "developed socialism", a new category or phase of socialism that came into use in the sixties and was solemnly proclaimed at the 24th Party Congress in 1971. Most of all, "developed socialism" itself was a long historical period. Khrushchev's construction of communism would have to wait its turn. Once again this meant exhorting for further economic growth, and Khrushchev's aberration was suitably amended. However, on the subject of nationalities, this phase revealed a certain ambiguity. On the one hand, as a logical corollary of the abandonment of the transition to communism, the rash talk of *slivanie* was replaced by the more sober notion of harmonising a series of equal national entities, or *sblizhenie*. On the other hand, during the festivities attendant on the fiftieth anniversary of the Soviet Union in December 1972, Brezhnev proudly announced that a "new historical community", that of the whole "Soviet people" had come into being on the basis of common

historical experience This looked suspiciously like the Khrushchevite *sblizhenie*, for it meant in fact a new nation, the Soviet one, with characteristics of territory, language, economy, and mentality in common These were the Stalinist criteria for identifying the constituent Soviet nations, applying the same to the Soviet Union itself suggested that all of them had fused Thus the Brezhnevite "developed socialism" suggested an uncertain combination of both federated states and a single nation

Gorbachev then presented the nation with a new programme at the 27th Party Congress in 1986 It was a step further back from Brezhnev The programme made only a single reference to "developed socialism", none of the optimistic assertions, speculations, or programmes of earlier pronouncement now appeared, and the new General Secretary satisfied himself with calling for the "acceleration of the country's social and economic development" through especially technological innovation Thus, the joint enterprise once again was more and better growth, now so tempered by a sober assessment of the realities that he did not presume to announce yet another phase of socialism It was with this perspective that the Soviet Union headed for its unheroic end in 1991

All these important and authoritative statements by a series of general secretaries about the tasks ahead for the Soviet Union essentially amount to a call for further economic growth and the material prosperity and spiritual fulfilment associated with it, all contained within a system of the public ownership of the means of production and centralised planning Emphases differed at different moments but nations were exhorted to come together in this joint enterprise and were promised the profits in common This was the single most important reason for any union of nations to act in concert they were engaged in the unique task of creating socialism or of choosing the socialist path to industrial society When that common endeavour was called into question, the Union certainly faltered, and some think it has crumbled

In this united socialist undertaking, they were bound together by a common way of looking at the world, by an ideology in common, which further ensured their *sblizhenie* This ideology went by the name of Marxism-Leninism Alfred Meyer has distilled its principal features from the ideological pronouncements of the Soviet leadership They consist of 1) a philosophy called Dialectical Materials 2) historical materialism or an historical understanding of mankind, 3) political economy or the explanation of the workings of capitalism and socialism, 4) scientific communism, or political philosophy of modern times and 5) a history of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union The first four might be fitted into the Procrustean bed of the bourgeois academic disciplines of philosophy, history, economics, and modern political science If it bears a structural resemblance to standard university courses in the social sciences in the bourgeois world, it should not be surprising they were preparation for the rulers of their respective states Ideology created the language of politics, of debate, and of legitimacy Speaking that common language brought them together those who did not speak that language were outside the power game

defined by it. They could not comprehend it, they dismissed it or were bemused by it as the esoteric language of a religious sect.

4.2.2 History However, to the purposes of a Union, the ideology of Marxism-Leninism condensed as the academic activity of historical research and sedimented in the faculties of history. Historical research alone had established the distinct identities of all these nations by conjuring up that memory of each collective existence and discerning the peculiar attributes of each of them. To history it was now given to explain what common fate had brought these different peoples together in the Soviet Union.

The first task lay in showing what they had in common, such that distinctions could never lead to uniqueness. Here Marxism provided an ideal instrument in the mode of production. The history of mankind consisted of a sequence of modes of production and every nation submitted to that sovereign master. Each mode of production was endowed with its own laws of genesis, development and eventual supersession by the subsequent mode, and each nation merely fitted into the scheme somewhere. Prodigious labour was expended therefore in characterising a mode of production so that all the "unique" features turned up by research could fit in, and the most learned disputations revolved around the perennial questions, what was feudalism and when was capitalism. The stickiest problems arose, as always, with Inner Asia and in particular, with the nomads. But they were eventually described as "patriarchal-tribal" and "patriarchal-feudal" so that a number of nations like the Kirghiz, Kazakhs, and the Turkmen, were trapped in a common category. As for the Ukrainians and Belorussians, they presented few problems, for they effortlessly fitted into categories very close to or congruent with the Russian themselves. The free flight of the independent nationalist identity was first curbed most importantly in this manner.

However, this approach was too universal and applied equally to bourgeois societies. It was not confined specifically to the common features or destiny of the Soviet family of nations. The next step therefore was to explain that common destiny. This consisted in selecting and interpreting those famous "turning points" of history which, according to the text books, determine the fate of peoples. The "turning points" in this case were the events that brought them together and out of their respective shells. The shells were particularist in pre-industrial times. Such a confluence of nations or peoples meant, more often than not, their attachment to Russia.

The drama of history thus divided into three acts. The first consisted of the historical antecedents of that momentous event, the second and the climax was the actual conjunction, and in the third were then played out the consequences. The points of interpretation, and therefore of ideology, were 1) the annexation, was it voluntary or not, 2) the resistance movements, were they progress or not, 3) the prior relationship, was it close or not and since when and, generally tying them all up together, 5) the degree of cultural proximity. The Union would be immeasurably strengthened if positive answers

could be provided to each of these questions. Of these, the first act, or the research questions of the previous relationship and the nearness of cultures, were of secondary consequence. But the second and third acts, the issues of the manner of incorporation, who resisted, and what followed, made and destroyed the cares of all historians and the lives of some of them.

Once again then, the answers went through three distinct phases. During the first period, lasting until the early thirties, Russian expansion was freely denounced as an "absolute evil" by M N Pokrovskii. The next period was one of confusion, turbulence, and extraordinary contradictions and changes, it lasted from 1936 to 1956 and the "absolute evil" became a "lesser evil" that diminished with each text book each year. The third period, inaugurated in 1956 and stable until perestroika, saw the "friendship of peoples" in full bloom such that Russian annexations and conquests appeared little more than fits of national absentmindedness.

The first epoch of Soviet history saw also the most radical historical interpretations. This was the decade when Pokrovskii pronounced, *ex cathedra*, anathemas on Great Russian, and even Muscovite, chauvinism, barbarism, and sundry oppressions from the earliest times down to the great liberation of the Bolshevik Revolution. Imperial Russia had earned from Lenin the well-earned sobriquet of the "prison house of peoples." But Pokrovskii described even the Muscovite entry into Mordvinian lands in the 1370s as rapine and plunder. He rebuked nationalist historians like F. Makharadze of Georgia for suggesting that the Russian annexation might have anything to do with the defence of Georgia from the clutches of Turkey and Iran and flatly declared that not a single annexation had been "voluntary." Stalin is famous for having invented "friendship" in the thirties but in the twenties he was quite as damning on Great Russian chauvinism and national hatreds between Russians and others. Indeed, he had gone so far as to reproach Russian communists themselves of nationalist excesses against non-Russians. Stalin was not being particularly original or virtuous, for all these negative judgements on Russians and communists were common currency among the leadership at least and were amply shared by Lenin himself. They, but in particular Pokrovskii, were unclouded in their certainty that conquest had brought no progress, that it was an "absolute evil." And nobody had concerned themselves with the proximity of cultures or the antiquity of friendship.

It might well be wondered how these inflammatory utterances were to contribute to the new Union to which these scholars were wedded. The answer might be straight forward. Communists and nationalists were united in the struggle against tsarism. Tsarism represented Russia to the nationalists it meant Autocracy and capitalism to the communists. But that did not prejudice the alliance between the two as long as the Revolution faced the threat of tsarism and then of any possibility of its restoration. All the excesses of the Russians against the non-Russians, of the Georgians against the Ossetians, and of the Uzbeks against the Kirghiz could be freely and profitably execrated by communists like Pokrovskii. They enjoyed the legitimacy of a revolutionary

teleology. It likewise permitted ample play to nationalist indulgence to the glories of a culture destroyed, in the torments its bearers endured, and in the promise that was blighted. It was a creative time for both types of scholars and while the Marxist Pokrovskii was seated on his throne in Moscow, the nationalist Hrushevskii securely occupied his own in Kiev.

To Pokrovskii and his school, and to Stalin and his comrades, the class analysis however prevailed over any national one: the oppressions belonged to the mode of production and were carried out by its agents, the class, be it a Russian military-feudal aristocracy, an Armenian bourgeoisie, Cossack colonists, or Kazakh *biys*, but never something called the Russian, Armenian, or Kazakh people. The nationalist subsumed classes by ascribing to the nation a unique spirit and destiny that always presaged political independence without attaining it most often. The Marxist analysis incorporated a national culture in a class struggle for emancipation from various forms of capitalist exploitation. From the early twenties the Marxists joined issue with the nationalists on this score, and a fine example is Matveilavorskii's widely-used text books that critiqued Hrushevskii for neglecting class. But they both belonged to the culture of the twenties, for which they were consigned to the superstructure in the thirties.

While the Revolution was being consolidated, exposures of tsarist injustices were positive in their results, but the circumstances reversed with socialist construction. Theoretically, there should have been no problem at all. Tsarist exploitation after all belonged to a pre-revolutionary, *ergo* virtually pre-historic past which should have been forgotten in the socialist present of economic well-being and cultural fulfillment. However, such utopian abundance did not descend, and that communist ideal was being postponed to an indefinite future. Until then, inequalities of attainment must persist. In that case only a co-ordination of national identities, that is, memories, was possible. It was now that historical interpretation became an ideological support to the activity of union making in the most direct sense. Denunciations of members of the Soviet family of nations, especially of the Russians, could be only centrifugal in effect, not the revolutionary conflation they were in the twenties. Therewith began the friendship theme: it took about twenty years to be elaborated with the Party casting around for a proper interpretation and the historical profession taking its own time to oblige.

It now became axiomatic that no nation could have pursued an entirely independent career as idealised by all bourgeois nationalists: they were destined to associate with Russia. Denunciation came in increasing numbers from the late twenties or the early thirties. The First Conference of Marxist Historians was the occasion for an attack on Hrushevskii, but by 1930 Iavorskii himself was held guilty of suggesting that the Ukraine might have been struggling to establish its own state. In 1934 Sovnarkom and the Central committee ordered a general synthesis of Soviet history. In 1937, after another such resolution, Zhdanov's commission and a competition, the deathless *Short Course* emerged. Stalin now corrected Pokrovskii's excess.

however painful the process and results of annexation to Russia it was only the "lesser evil" He illustrated the point from Georgian history In the late eighteenth century Georgia was faced with the choice of either assign under Turkey or Iran or under Russia Russia, in the circumstances, he declared, was the "lesser evil"

This dictum now demanded a major reinterpretation of all histories The manner in which it was to be done was laid down by the judges of the entries for the *Short Course* They listed twelve "common errors" found in the unsuccessful entires, and eleven of them dealt with the interpretation of the major events of the histories of the peoples concerned The central point was that in future all these events were to be adjudged progressive or reactionary By that reasoning, the Orthodox Church and Bogdan Khmel'nitskii could be progressive while the revolt of the *strel'tsy* could be reactionary It was a major revision, since, by strict class analysis, the reverse should have been and had been until now the case But now the doctrine of the "lesser evil" cleared up all doubts The War intervened with a temporary glorification of national heroes, especially of course the Russian, but also certain others like Imam Shamil Queen Tamar and David the Builder of Georgia, Daniel of Galicia, and Sultan Kenesary of the Middle Horde

After the War, there followed yet another round of re-interpretations, text books, monographs, and destroyed careers, as the "lesser evil" was replaced by the dogma of the progressive nature of the annexation and its consequences, whether in the Ukraine after 1654, the Caucasus in the early nineteenth century, or all of colonial Central Asia in the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries The principal and controversial events for analysis were the Treaty of Pereiaslav of 1654 by which Bogdan Khmel'nitskii carried the Ukraine into the Muscovite empire, the annexation of Georgia in 1801 Sultan Kenesary's war in 1836-1847 Imam Shamil's heroic resistance to Russia for twenty-five years ending in 1859, and the conquest of all of Turkestan or Central Asia In each case of annexation, successive interpretations culminated in 1956-57 deciding for their progressive nature and for widespread local support for it In each case of resistance, especially the ones led by Shamil and Kenesary, their heroic, progressive, anti-colonial nature steadily converted into a reactionary, aristocratic, and religious movement Shamil became especially reactionary for his fanatical murdism, power hunger, and class background Kenesary became reactionary for his class background, wanting to create a great state, and for being lustful after Kirghiz territory Kenesary was the occasion for an important monograph by E B Bekmakhanov in 1947 becoming an "unbook" almost instantly He had then argued that the movement was progressive and anti-colonial He later excluded his own book from bibliographies In 1951, *Voprosy Istorii*, the journal of the historical profession, carried an article classifying eleven Kazakh revolts during the nineteenth century Only two were progressive, the rest mainly "feudal-monarchical" Srym Batyr of the 1790s and Isatai Taimanov of the 1830s were progressive because they had apparently fought mainly other khans and sultans and only in passing the Russians

The most troublesome of all was the major revolt of 1916 in Central Asia. Until the forties it was the kind of event that had gladdened the heart of a Pokrovskii, for it seemed the prime example of the Russian colonial evil being roundly chastised. But by the fifties it was a conspiracy fomented by foreigners and local reactionaries in alliance, the leaders became reactionary for being clerical, feudal, and fanatically Islamic by proclaiming the *gazavat* the final objective of independence was now translated into pan-Turkism, pan-Islamism, pan-Islamism, pan-Islamism, and pan-Afghanistanism, and the worst of all, what was earlier a violent struggle against Russian settlers, who were typical of the breed the world over, were now found to be shot through with co-operation between Turkestan and Russian workers.

These and related problems were thrashed out at a series of major academic conferences, some of whose conclusions were published in the political press *before* the conference assembled. Of particular note were the ones at Tashkent in March 1951 on national movements in Inner Asia, in 1953 at Frunze on the movements of Kirgizia, again that year at Ashkhabad specifically on the revolt of 1916, and in 1954 a grand summing up again at Tashkent on the whole region. The lot together, especially the extraordinary gathering at Tashkent in 1954, successfully established the new orthodoxy. Its final conclusions were published *Pravda Vostoka* two weeks *before* the conference, and its proceedings emerged in a fat volume of 600 pages. Thereafter a series of survey histories poured out of the presses. There was a hiccup in 1956 after the 20th Party Congress when *Voprosy Istorii* allowed heretical views to appear, this time on the Ukraine. The journal got a dressing down in 1957 and thereafter relations between the Party and academics became more stable. The main problems had been dealt with. There only remained the need to demonstrate the ancient lineage of friendly relations between members of the Soviet family. The family, it seems, was implicit in the 5th century B.C., and, through a Hegelian process of explication, culminated in the Soviet family in the twentieth century.

It is easy to caricature what appears as ideological scholarship. But historical research has never been less than ideological, and Soviet scholarship is no exception. Everything that has been said, the subterfuges and distortions, could well be said about so many nationalist or other histories of pre-revolutionary times. The difference lies in the diffuse ideological pressures then and the centralised dictation later. But the issues were remarkably similar, were national cultures unique, were the annexations and consequences progressive, and how were the revolts to be assessed. These are also the subject of endless debate in the histories of colonialisms the world over. There is no escape from history playing its ideological role, for it is one of the elements by which we construct our future. The important residue of these debates was its contribution to reducing nationalist tensions, for the rest, such voluminous scholarship has bequeathed to us mines of information which may be exploited, whatever the line of the author.

4 2 3 Language Planning: Divergent cultures were provided a meeting ground in final goals, a common ideology, and a harmonised construction of their respective memories a conscious language policy then sought to co-ordinate them in daily life, career projections, and in the nature of access to knowledge. There are well over one hundred languages in the USSR as listed in the censuses, they are layered over by fifteen main ones, Russian predominates among these, and a means had to be found to permit a satisfactory cultural expression through the use of a mother tongue, and an equally satisfactory means of communication between them. As might be expected, both *rastsvet* and *sblizhenie* were simultaneously pursued, with varying emphases, but neither abandoned.

Even during the first phase of "flowering", it was deemed desirable to have Russian as the leading language. Lenin agreed, but with the caveat that it was more important to have it accepted voluntarily than to have it at all. In this mission of *rastvet*, about 40 speech systems with no writing at all were provided standardised scripts using the Latin alphabet first and then moving on to the Cyrillic in 1938. In itself it was an extraordinary scholarly undertaking, not a mere mechanical fixing of a symbol to a sound. Cyrillic has just 33 symbols for Russian but employs 201 symbols for all the other languages. This was followed by altering the alphabet for about 45 languages. About half of these went through two changes, first from the Arabic to the Latin script, and then to the Cyrillic in 1938-1940. In 1929-1930 there were even serious discussions about abandoning the Cyrillic itself in favour of the Latin, but the idea was dropped. The next stage was to fashion vocabularies for the other 14 Soviet languages of the titular nationalities to the level of the Russian so as to make them the medium of communication at the highest professional and administration levels. The *sblizhenie* was then pursued through the dissemination of Russian and to an eventual bi-lingualism.

The first objective had been largely attained by the fifteen languages of the titular nationalities having become the languages of higher education by and large. Already by the sixties, the trend was towards increased use of these languages at higher levels with variations in their use in different disciplines. For example, as might be expected, Uzbek was more widespread in the social sciences than in the natural sciences, but what might not have been so expected was that half the non-Azerbaijani students at Baku University were studying in Azerbaijani by then. The campaign for Russian then followed from the thirties. The scripts were cyrillicised from 1938, with certain exceptions like the Baltic languages, Armenian, Georgian, and Yiddish. The results of numerous detailed investigations into the choice and use of language showed the following. Where the choice was between one of the titular languages and Russian, the former prevailed easily, whether in the Baltic with its earlier high standards of education or Azerbaijan, with its relatively over standards. On the other hand, where the choice was between one of the lesser languages, e.g. Burat & any other, Russian was effortlessly supreme. Linguistic performance oscillates around these three points. Even the smallest languages have been preserved and stimulated, and the Kalmyks and Ajaris are no more likely to

disappear than are the Welsh and Basques. But their number are too small and their political importance too limited for them to hope for more than ensuring their own healthy existence. Further, the languages of the Republics have been consciously developed to the fullest range of their possibilities and are in full use. But none of them aspire to international status or to become the language of all-Union communication. Therefore the topmost position is held by Russian and probably will continue to do so. It was a stable asymmetrical bi-lingualism by which Russians could communicate satisfactorily and non-Russians were assured of local primacy and vitality for their languages. The USSR had become quindecalingual state, and a reduction in either of these would have threatened either separatism or russification, both too dangerous to contemplate.

4.2.4 The Party: Throughout the discussion so far the single most obvious instrument of co-ordination has not been mentioned, the Party itself. That is so because it is both the most obvious and frequently studied. But two points should perhaps be made about it. The first is its structuration of power. Power was to flow from the centre downward and outward within the Party, whatever the otherwise federal structure of the Soviet system. This was re-iterated several times, but especially by Stalin at the Twelfth Party Congress in 1923 when the Georgian issue was high on the agenda. The Party was to be single and to represent a single historical force: it would have territorial divisions but they would not represent nations or nationalities. Attempts to claim such national representation by the Jewish Bund in 1903 were firmly rejected by Lenin. Subsequently Latvian and Georgian social democracy were to be disappointed. Most famously, Sultan Galiev's hopes of representing the Tatars and Muslims were also firmly quashed by Stalin. The ancient Austro-Marxist heresy was not allowed to reassert itself. National cultures would be permitted and encouraged but they would not have an existence as such inside the Party. The Party was thus the prime instrument of *sblizhenie*.

But, unlike the army or the KGB it was more than a mere instrument, it was meant to represent historical consciousness, and as such, became itself a ruling caste. This derived from the central tenet of Leninism, the theory of consciousness and of the vanguard Party. Only one part of humanity had acquired the consciousness of history, and this would be organised into the vanguard Party to lead the rest of mankind. Consciousness did not germinate from class or culture, it was independently arrived at through reflection. It was thus universal in reach and open to all, like the Roman Catholic Church in particular and in the best modernist tradition of the *carrière ouverte aux talents*. But once constituted, it sealed itself. Internally, it had only a single ideology and purpose without national representation, externally it was a single structure. The original Utopian dream was that it should expand outward into the rest of mankind that would acquire consciousness. But that was not to be. It became a self-perpetuating corporation and thus a ruling class, on which there is a voluminous and polemically charged literature. But, for our purposes, it was the space in which *slivanie* really occurred.

4.3. *Slivanie* OR FUSION

The fusion of nations into a single socialist culture and society was an early expectation that rapidly became a reverie, then a fantasy, and finally propaganda. We need not dwell on it too long. But certain common processes should be briefly noted in this regard. The most important of these is planning which conceived of the union as single as it planned for the development of the whole. It combined maximising existing advantages with reducing disparities, and it thought in economic regions not in regional cultures. The effective integration of Turkestan and the obsolescence of pan-Turkism as a political programme after 1928 is certainly due to the developmental effort thereafter through pricing policies, investment decisions, fiscal transfers, and the supply of skilled manpower. Beyond this, Soviet sociologists have constantly dreamt of certain social processes leading to the melting pot. These are urbanisation, mixed marriages, and internal immigration. It was their hope that all these would lead to populations so mixed that ethnicity would not count and that a new Soviet "ethnicity" would emerge. This was politically expressed by Brezhnev's doctrine of 1972 that a "new historical community" of the "Soviet nation" had come into existence. But none of these have worked the way intended or hoped for, as their own research publications in *Sovetskaya Etnografiya* have demonstrated. Urbanisation and mixed settlements might have led to more intense contacts and less parochialism, but they heightened awareness of differences about which they had been more sanguine or innocent previously. When these combined with higher education in an urban environment, they tended to greater rather than less nationalism. The town and migration did not necessarily lead to the melting pot, save in limited cases. Mixed marriages also proved disappointing. Much statistical material has been gathered on the phenomenon and on especially how they tended to increase with greater mobility. But there is a broad dividing line between the European and Asian cultures relating also to Christianity and Islam. Kazakhstan is one of the principal sites of this romance. Most of the mixing was on the one side between Russians, Ukrainians, and others like Jews, on the other side it was between Kazakhs, Tatars, Uzbeks etc. This line was not easily crossed. This does not mean that a pan-Turkic consolidation is confronting a pan-European or pan-Slavic one. To the extent that mixing occurs, it does not have a Soviet spread so much as a more culturally specific and local one. To re-iterate, the only point, and an very important one, where all differences are dissolved necessarily, is within the ruling caste, the Party, and in particular, its *nomenklatura*. For the rest, industrial society breeds a common culture, it also creates national divisions, and the Party mediates them all.

V. CONCLUSION

- 5.1 The Muscovite and Russian empires and the Soviet Union were very distinct but related in unexpected ways. The two empires were related by lineages, institution ideologies, dominant communities, and their firm emplacement in agrarian civilisation. But they were divided by the transition to modernization.

and industrialization in the nineteenth century and the social mobilization entailed by them. The late Russian empire and the Soviet Union were related by a common commitment to modernisation, the issue that divided the Muscovite from the late empire and the Soviet Union on the same platform. Their practices were however sharply distinguished. The late empire provoked nationalism, the Soviet Union developed it. The empire, by virtue of its inheritance was uncertain and inadequate in its pursuit of modernization while being attracted to its possibilities. It therefore played opportunistically with nationalism while being unable either to ignore it or to promote it with conviction. On the other hand the Soviet Union was aided by its uncompromising commitments to modernity and industrial society. It therefore, tapped nationalism to release energy for modernization and fashioned the instruments and ideologies to integrate them.

- 5.2 The Union was a lofty edifice that rose on the three levels of *rastsvet*, *sblizhenie*, and *slivanie*. Its rate of success may be said to correspond to that order also. The creation of nations has been its enduring triumph. Its founding revolution overthrew dynasticism, it overcame colonialism, and it repudiated Russian nationalism. It while compromising on occasion, especially during the War, or flirting with it during the Brezhnev years. It thus decisively surmounted the three pre-revolutionary obstacles to the making of nations. It then mobilised a series of specific national identities. Constitutionally it provided political territories to these nations in a complex hierarchy of federal structures. It ensured the embodiment of national cultures in the appropriate institutions. It disseminated those cultures to the limit of the ethnos through mass standardised education and it guaranteed and almost totally national personnel policy through *korenizatsiia*. These national cultures thus disposed of a wide range of possibilities to express themselves, which is arresting given the oppressive nature of the regime. This is the secure foundation on which these nations have asserted their independence in order to restructure the Soviet Union as a Commonwealth of Independent States. The Union has not disintegrated as a result of secessionist movements, it was dissolved chiefly by the leader of the team, the "elders brother" famously toasted by Stalin, by Russia herself insisting on its dissolution even as a large number of the others were preparing to form another Union through the Novvo-Ogarevo process. The analogy with the collapse of the tsarist empire through the secessionist assault of a number of national movements does not hold. Their reluctance to withdraw from the Union reflects their self-confidence as nations. Most of all they have chosen to do so as the nations established by the Soviet Union, not as the identities dissolved by Soviet nationalities policies, especially pan-Turkism and pan-Islamism. It is a measure of the finality of the Soviet creation of nations that they have chosen both to assert themselves as such and to refuse to secede, preferring instead a major restructuring of the Union. Only the Baltic and Gamsakhurdia's Georgia were adamant about an irrevocable exit.
- 5.3 As a Union, it then coordinated the national existence of so many nations, which should be deemed its next success. This is a notoriously difficult

undertaking if the nationalist bloodshed in the European wars of the twentieth century is any indication. The extent that each nationalism defined itself through confrontation with another within the Soviet Union, it was compelled to harmonise with the other. This was a more than ordinarily vexed matter in the Caucasus and in parts of Turkestan, but the *pax Sovietica* is a measure of that success. Indeed it is easier to stimulate nationalities than to reconcile them, as the present civil war in the Caucasus or Yugoslavia demonstrate. It is a tribute to the success of *sblizhenie* that *perestroika* should have been relatively free of violence. This is indeed wholly unnatural to nationalism.

- 5.4 However, the Soviet Union has come closest to a failure in its ideal of creating a new nation through *sliianie*, although we should not be too hasty about that judgement. The failure, such as it is, lies, not in the dissolution of the Soviet Union but in the *fuzziness* of the concept of a Soviet nation. It is as hazy as the idea of an European nation, but the sentiment of being Soviet is quite as real also, especially when in another part of the world. Both are distinctive in their attributes and their members may be recognised a mile off, but for all that, they may not attach themselves to an European or Soviet nation. Thus even if the Commonwealth of Independent States were to grow a central stem, the prospects of "fusion" is quite as remote as in the new "European Home". Europe, like the Soviet Union, has achieved *rastsvel*. Europe, like the Soviet Union before it, is now proceeding with *sblizhenie*, and both must yearn for a *sliianie* almost as an Utopia. Over and above these, what seems to have been defeated is the monopoly power of the Party, whether that is congruent with the project of a union of nations as such is open to doubt. A monopolist Party may be demoted to competition and its rule reversed into opposition, but its nationalist progeny can and will endure. The only question is whether they will do so as independent units or as another union or association. They will most probably and in majority be as the latter. But in either case they will do so on an unshakably Soviet foundation. We started with the question why the Soviet Union failed to hold together, and I had suggested that it might be more useful to ask what has failed. Some aspects of my answer might be evident by now.

RELATIONS OF THE AHOM KINGS OF ASSAM WITH THOSE OF MONG MAO (IN YUNNAN, CHINA) AND OF MONG KWANG (MOGAUNG IN MYANMAR)

J.N. PHUKAN*

I

- 1 1 The Ahom chronicles, or *buranjis* as these are called locally, bear records to show that throughout the long six centuries of Ahom rule in Assam there had been political relations between the Ahom rulers on the hand and those of Mong Mao, a Tai state in Yunnan in southern china, and of Mong Kwang (Mogaung in Burmese), another Tai of Shan state in Upper Myanmar on the other. Since the founding of the Ahom kingdom in the early thirteenth century political missions or embassies were deputed and received by the rulers at their respective courts at intervals. Despite occasional stresses and strains resulting in temporary suspension of communications, the relations on the whole had been continued till the end of the Ahom rule in 1826. One might be surprised to learn about the political relations maintained by the Ahom rulers of Assam with those in southern China and Upper Myanmar for several centuries. This was, however, a fact and there had been several reasons for this. In the following pages an attempt is made to present a brief history.

II

AHOM-MONG MAO RELATIONS:

- 2 1 Siu-Ka-Pha, the founder of the Ahom kingdom in the Brahmaputra valley in the

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early thirteenth century, was a prince from Mong Mao and was the cousin of its ruler. His father Chao Chang Nyeu, a prince of Mong Ri Mong Ram, another Tai state in southern China on the Mekong, married the younger sister of Pa-Meo-Pung, the ruler of Mong Mao¹. From his father's side, Siu-Ka-Pha thus belonged to the Mong Ri Mong Ram royal family, and from his mother's to the Mong Mao royal family. But he was brought up at King-Sen Mao-Lung, the capital of Mong Mao, by his maternal grandparents with the hope that he would inherit the Mong Mao throne since Pa-Meo-Pung, his maternal uncle, had no male issue². But after 18 long years a son was born to Pa-Meo-Pung's wife and he was named Siu-Khran-Pha. Soon Pa-Meo-Pung died and prince Siu-Khran-Pha was raised to the throne of Mong Mao. It was under these circumstances that Siu-Ka-Pha decided to leave Mong Mao with full consultation with the officials and nobility, and moved towards Mong Pa-Kam, or the Bramaputra valley to found a new state³. At that time the political influence of Mong Mao state extended as far west as the Patkai hills. In this venture the ruler of Mong Mao supported him with necessary men and materials, and advised him not to forget to pay allegiance to the former and send tribute regularly. His advice was, "Go you Brother. Establish yourself. But forget not to send tribute of allegiance annually"⁴. Thus Siu-Ka-Pha and his followers came from Mong Mao and were Tai people who carried with them the language, religion, customs and traditions, and also inherited the political systems of the Tai of southern China.

- 2.2 Although some difference of opinion as regards the location of capital of Mong Mao at different times have been expressed by old time western scholars like Ney Elias and George Scott, it has been universally accepted that the original state which attained considerable territorial extent and political power was situated on the valley of the Nam Mao (or Mao river), known to the Burmese as the Shweli. At present it is known in Chinese map as Ruili. In spite of the Chinese attempt to change the local name to conform to Han form, the old name of Mong Mao still persists, and the ruins of the old capitals are to be seen at several places. The Mong Mao area is still predominantly Tai, who are called Dai (in Pin Yin), and they, together with the Singhpho, or Jingpho, form a dominant group, hence the whole zone is named as Dehong Dai-Jingpho Autonomous Prefecture in Yunnan⁵. Siu-Ka-Pha and his followers left Mong Mao in the Tai year *Kat Rao* (A.D. 1215), and after a long march in several stages, which are recorded in some detail in the Ahom chronicles, he arrived at the Patkai and crossed it by a pass now called Pang Su or Pang Sao, but commonly known as the Patkai Pass. He made a halt on the bank of a lake called Nong Jang, and after subjugating the Nagas (*Kha*) in the surrounding hills, he organized area in to an administrative unit under the charge of an official (*Thao Mong*). It was called Kham Jang. This was the first territorial unit of Siu-Ka-Pha's new state, the Ahom state in embryo. In order to maintain communications with his home state, the control of the Patkai pass was a must for him. Kham Jang, therefore, remained an integral part of the Ahom kingdom till the end of the 18th century. Thereafter Siu-Ka-Pha followed the river courses of the Namruk (Assamese variant Namrup), Buri Dihing, Brahmaputra

and Dikhow, establishing an outpost at every important and strategic location, and finally came to Che-Rai-Doi (Charaideo) After firmly settling himself on the bank of the Dikhow, he sent embassy to Mong Mao to inform Siu-Khran-Pha thus "We are now at this place" ⁶ Valuable presents of gold and silver water jars, several varieties of cloth were sent as presents It appears that earlier he also sent intimation to Mong Mao from different camps In this way Siu-Ka-Pha complied with the advice tendered by the Mong Mao ruler at the time of his departure

"Go you Brother

Forget me not, and

Send offerings of allegiance annually"

The lord of Mong Mao expressed his satisfaction on receiving the embassy and sent his own envoys to Siu-Ka-Pha to deliver letters and presents The kind of articles sent by the former were generally befitting a tributary ruler These included a dress consisting of a golden cap, an embroidered coat, a pair of footwear, a horse with saddle and a crossbow ⁷ In fact the establishment of a new kingdom in the Brahmaputra valley by Siu-Ka-Pha was a virtual extension of suzerainty of Mong Mao

- 2 3 Following Siu-Ka-Pha's death in 1268, his son Siu-Teu-Pha, soon after his accession to the throne, deputed envoys tendering his allegiance with letter and presents to Mong Mao ruler,⁸ who in return sent his own envoys carrying letters and presents of dress, golden cap, footwear, cross bow, horse with saddle and other articles ⁹ Thus there had been regular communication with Mong Mao When the fourth Ahom king Siu-Khang-Pha who came to the throne in 1293 neglected, perhaps intentionally, to seek recognition of the Mong Mao ruler, who, at Gait says, was the ruler Mong Kwang, by tendering his allegiance, the latter sent envoys demanding tribute ¹⁰ Though nothing is recorded about the outcome, appears that the Ahom king complied with the demand Thereafter, the chronicles are silent about Ahom-Mong Mao relations, but from Mong Mao history we learn that the Yuan Imperial army compelled Mong Mao ruler Si-Ke-Fa (a variant of Siu-Ka-Pha) to submit to the Han Emperor in 1355 The Ming Imperial Court had undertaken "Three Expeditions" between 1441 and 1448 and had further broken the Mong Mao power, but its final extinction came in 1604 ¹¹

III

AHOM-MONG KWANG RELATIONS.

- 3 1 Originally founded in 1215 by a prince of the Mong Mao royal family as tributary state, Mong Kwang, a Tai state in the Upper Irrawady valley in Myanmar became the centre of Tai political power in the region following the decline of Mong Mao ¹² The ruler of Mong Kwang now claimed his suzerainty

over the Ahom rulers. An opportunity appeared when some officials of the Ahom court who opposed the accession of Siu-Dang-Pha commonly known as Bamuni Konwar (1397-1407) due to the latter's birth and upbringing in a Brahmin family, fled away to Mong Kwang and reported to its ruler thus

"There is no king of your family in Down Country (Assam)
Go and take possession of your kingdom" ¹³

A Mong Kwang army sent under General Ta-chin-Pao entered the Ahom kingdom and advanced to Tipam. In the battle that ensued with Ahom army the invading force was defeated and pushed back as far as Kham Jang territory. In the meantime, the Mong Kwang having learnt the true origin of Siu-Dang-Pha instructed his general to sue for peace. This was followed by a treaty conclude on the shore of the Nong Jang lake. In accordance with the Tai custom, the generals of the two armies dipped their hands in the water of the lake, and after solemnly affirming the Patkai hills as the boundary between the two kingdoms, they drank rice-wine after sacrificing fowls. The agreement was inscribed on a rock nearby and was last seen in 1828 ¹⁴. From this ceremony of cutting fowl and taking oath (*pat kai seng kan*) meaning *pat*=to cut, *kai*=fowl, *seng kan*= to take oath i.e. to take oath by sacrificing fowl, the hill range came to be known as the Pat-kai, its former name, also a Tai word, was Doi kao Rang. Following this agreement, there had been regular visits of envoys between the two states. The Mong Kwang ruler made no further attempt to extract allegiance from the Ahom kings.

- 3.2 Towards the middle of the sixteenth century, Ahom king Siu-Klen-Mong (1539-52) intervened in favour of Mong Kwang against a border dispute with the Burmese. In recognition of this service, the Mong Kwang ruler, who was probably Chao Siu-Kwei, offered his daughter Nang Sao Seng with valuable presents to the Ahom king. It is said that the Ahom capital Gargaon was built at the suggestion of this Mong Kwang Queen ¹⁵. In 1575 the Mong Kwang ruler, who was probably Chao-Ka-Pha II, took shelter in the Ahom territory of Kham Jang when his state was invaded and devastated by the Burmese. As a fugitive ruler, he submitted to Siu-Kham-Pha by offering his younger sister ¹⁶. Although this marked the acceptance of Ahom overlordship by the Mong Kwang ruler, it did not last for long. After returning to his state, the Mong Kwang ruler refused to oblige the Ahom king. The Ahom army sent against him were repulsed in the border. The Ahom king now tried to raise a Tai prince on the Mong Kwang throne but without success ¹⁷. Thereafter, the Ahom chronicles are silent. It appears that there was a thaw in the Ahom-Mong Kwang relations. It is recorded in the *Ahom-Buranji* that in 1652 two envoys from Sam Kingdom arrived at the Ahom capital bringing letters and presents from its king ¹⁸. Nothing is given in detail beyond that the purpose was to seek friendship and it came from an eastern state by the Patkai pass. The English translator of the *Buranji* thinks that it was from Siam, now Thailand. It might be an embassy from Mong Kwang which wanted to renew the old bond of friendly relations.

- 3 3 For the next one hundred years, the chronicles are silent about Ahom-Mong Kwang relations. It was in the reign of Siu-Rem-Pha *alias* Rajeswarsingha (1751-69) that we have a short account of an embassy from "Nora" country,¹⁹ which may be identified with Mong Kwang. It is by this name that Mong Kwang was known in the Assamese language chronicles. The envoys were duly received by the ministers and the king separately. Although the purpose of the visit is not recorded, it was most likely an attempt on the part of the Mong Kwang ruler to renew the old relations in view of the policy of conquest followed by Alaungpaya, the first Burmese monarch of the Konbaung dynasty who rose to power in 1752. In the reign of Kamaleswarsingha (1795-1810), another embassy from Mong Kwang is recorded in the Ahom chronicles.²⁰ The contents and oral message conveyed by the envoys are not recorded, but it is likely that Mong Kwang, the dominant Tai state in the region was now under serious threat of Burmese domination against which its ruler wanted to maintain good relations with Ahom kings. Our claim is confirmed when we find another embassy from Mong Kwang in the Ahom capital in a few years' time.²¹ In his letter, the Mong Kwang ruler requested Kamaleswarsingha for help against the king of Burma who had invaded his territory. Referring to the close tie existing in the past between the two kingdoms, the Mong kwang ruler hoped for positive response from the Ahom king to repel the Burmese invaders. The outcome of the embassy is not known. It was the last embassy from Mong Kwang, for that matter, from any Tai state in Myanmar or China. Soon after Mong Kwang was subjugated by the Burmese, and Assam was also invaded by them in 1816, 1819 and 1821. The British occupation that followed the Anglo-Burmese war of 1824-26 closed this long chapter of Ahom-Mong Kwang relations.

IV

- 4 1 This is in brief the history of the different stages of the relations of the Ahom kings with those of Mong Mao in Yunnan and Mong Kwang in Upper Myanmar between the 13th and the early 19th centuries. We see that despite occasional breaks and gaps there never was a total collapse until their own extinction caused by external forces. Mong Mao lost its sovereign identity to Han imperialism, Mong Kwang to the Burmese, and the Ahom kingdom to the British. In the Ahom-Mong Mao relations, the rulers of Mong Mao considered the Ahom kings as their subordinates and claimed allegiance. This position was acquiesced by the Ahom kings. One of the reasons was that their new kingdom lay outside the Tai political domain and was surrounded by totally different peoples. They therefore needed the material and moral backing home state to keep their enemy at bay. On the theoretical side it was based on suzerain-subordinate plain. After initial failure to assume suzerain position over Ahom, Mong Kwang had to treat the Ahom rulers as equals. Soon, however, circumstances turned the scale on the other side, for towards the end, Mong Kwang had to appeal, on more than one occasion, for Ahom assistance. At one stage, the Ahom rulers even treated Mong Kwang as their subordinate state.

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THE SILK ROUTE

V. LALITHA*

I

The origins of the Silk Roads, which were conduits for cultural and commercial flow have been lost in the mists of time. The expansion of Buddhism in Asia and the example of two commodities silk and ceramics were to have a far-reaching significance in east-west transaction. While the movement of Buddhism westwards was halted by the Sassanians in Persia, in other parts of the East and South East Asia, it moved along the paths traced by the land and maritime Silk Roads with diverse fortunes and deviations in belief and practice that stemmed from the different matrix of cultures on which it was superposed. Pilgrims, traders and warriors fanned out, impelled as much by their proselytizing zeal as by dreams of conquest, exploration, trade, novelty and prosperity.

II

THE GREAT CARAVAN ROUTE

China became famous in ancient times for her richness in silk. The *Mahabharata* and *Arthashastra* refer to China as "Tsin".¹ Silk in the West was imported mainly from China by the overland trade route - the Silk Route - between India or the West and China passing through Central Asia, better known as 'Ser - India'. One of the oldest highways of the world, the Silk Road

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acquired this evocative name only in the last century through the writings of a German Scholar Baron Ferdinand Von Richthofen. As a description it is somewhat misleading. For, this great caravan route across China, Central Asia and the Middle East not only consisted of a number of roads,² but also carried a good deal more than just silk-gold and other valuable metals, woollen-linen textiles, ivory precious stones (jade), ceramics, glass etc.³

III

TAKLAMAKAN

Taklamakan⁴ and its oases are bounded on the north by the majestic Tianshan, on the west by the Pamirs - the Roof of the World - on the south by the Karakoram and Kunlun ranges, only the East is free of mountains, but there, nature has placed two further obstacles, the Lop and Gobi deserts. The rivers of China owe their origin to the eastern ranges of the Kunlun, the Kashgar Daria rises from the Tien Shan and the Yarkand Daria from the Pamirs. Many colonies grew up in these river valleys. People of Kashmir and North West India started colonies in Khotan and Kashgar in the first two centuries of the Christian era. The routes from Taxila ran along the valley of the Kabul river, passed by Hidda and Nagarahara (Jalalabad) and reached Bamiyan, a valley surrounded by snowy cliffs, of the Hindukush. Then crossing the Hindukush this route reached Bactriana (Balkh), where converged almost all the great trade routes of Central Asia.

IV

CHIANG'S EXPEDITION

- 4.1 Chinese diplomat, Chiang Kien was sent by Emperor Wu-ti in 138 B.C. on his trail blazing journey with a caravan of one hundred men to the west. He returned to Changan, the Han capital after thirteen years to report to the Emperor. The expedition proved to be one of the most important one in that it was to lead China to discover Europe and the birth of the Silk Road. The intelligence that Chiang⁵ brought back — military, political, economic and geographical — caused a sensation at the Han court. Greatly pleased Wu-ti conferred the title of "Great Traveller" on Chiang who had blazed the trail westwards towards Europe which served to link two super powers of the day - Imperial China and Imperial Rome⁶. He could therefore fairly be described as the Father of Silk Road.
- 4.2 Chiang's Report deals with India's trade with south-western China through Assam and Burma as early as the second century B.C. Silk is mentioned as a foreign gift in the great epics of India and in the *Manusmriti*. Kautilya also mentions silk of China. Kalidasa speaks of *Chinanashuka* (China silk) in the *Abhigyan Shankuntalam*. He also refers to the weaving of cloth of cotton and

silk of superfine character, fine enough to be easily blown away by breath⁷ Hence we may infer that India imported silk from China in the early centuries of the Christian era and manufactured silk cloth in the Gupta period⁸ At a period later than A D 300⁹ knowledge of the working of the silk travelled westward and the cultivation of the silk worm was established in India The fact that sericulture was first established in the Brahmaputra valley and in the tract lying between this river and the Ganga renders it probable that it was introduced overland from the Chinese Empire The Periplus records that silk goods of China were exported to Damerica by way of the river Ganga¹⁰

V

TRADE ROUTES

The ancient world as shown in the map of Ptolemy, had trade routes that stretched from china to the Atlantic, whose terminals were the Chinese and the Roman Empires The routes that led from China, South-East Asia, India, Western Asia and East Africa to the Mediterranean fall into three groups

- (a) northern routes which came by the Black Sea to Byzantium and Asia Minor
- (b) central routes that followed or crossed the Euphrates on their way to Petra and the cities of Syria, and
- (c) southern routes that approached Egypt by the Incense Road, the Red Sea and the Nile

These routes overlapped from the silk road, western terminals were Byzantium, Antioch, Petra and Alexandria and those in the east, Cattigara and Loyang From Loyang, the eastern terminal of the silk road, to Seleuccia or Ctesiphon, where it forked on one side to Antioch and on the other side to Petra via the Persian Gulf was a distance of some 4350 miles and to antioch direct via Arbela about 4590 miles ¹¹

VI

THE SILK ROAD

- 6 1 The Silk Road led over a succession of desert or semi desert wastes, in Sinkiang, Western Turkestan, and northern Mesopotamia, where possibly it followed the line of mountains — the Kunlun, Tien Shan, Kopet Dag and Elburz - to enable the merchant to find food and forage at the settlements which marked the intersection of the track with the streams that were fed by the mountain snows Beyond the Elburz there was the Euphrates Valley On the routes which led across the Arabian Gulf ports via Palmyra to Damascus, from the Hadhramaut via Petra again to Damascus, from Seleuccia to

Palmyra, or north by the Euphrates to Zeugma - the same condition obtained, namely, the dependence of the caravan on the oases or rivers for its water-supply

6.2 The Silk Road (or Silk Route) started from Loyang (the Chinese Metropolis of Ptolemy) passed through Changan, where the caravan made its formal departure, struck north westwards, passing through the Kansu corridor to the Oasis of Tun-huang in the Gobi desert, a frontier town destined to play a dramatic role. The Silk Road had variations east of the Pamirs, which formed approximately its half way mark. These variations began when the road, emerging from the pan-handle in Kansu (between the Nan Shan in the south and the Gobi desert in the north) reached the Salt Swamp of Lop Nor and divided to north and south of the swamp. Up to Lop Nor the main points on the road were Loyang, Changan, Lanchow, Wurwei, (Lianchow), Changyeh, Yumen Kuan 'the Jade gate' Anhsi (where a route forked north to Hami, Kital, Urumchi, the Ili Valley and Samarkand), Tunhwang and Tsienmo (Asmiraea) at Lop Nor. The northern of these two trails struck out across the desert towards Hami, passed through ancient Sogdiana, crossed the Jaxartes, passed by Tashkent, went westwards through the passes, hugging the foothills of the Tien Shan or Celestial mountains, and then followed the line of oases dotted along the northern rim of Taklamakan & at last reached Uch-Turfan Kashgar. The shorter route passed the country of Tokharians near Badakhshan and over difficult passes of the Pamirs reached the plain of Kashgar. Yet another and shorter route joined Kashgar with the upper valley of the Indus. It passed through Gilgit and Yasin Valleys up to Tashkurgan, where it joined the other route proceeding towards Kashgar at the foot of the Eastern Pamirs.¹²

6.3 Three routes ran from Sogdiana to the source of the Oxus and Jaxartes

- (i) The Original Route - the Nan lu or the Southern Route opened by General Pan Chao in A.D. 74 threaded its way between northern ramparts of Tibet to the south of the Taklamakan desert, ascended the high valley of Oxus under the northern slopes of the Kunlun through Badakhshan again following the oases including Cherchen, Niya, Keriya, Khotan, Guma and Kashgar (Issedon Scythica). From Kashgar, the Silk Road continued west, over the Sarikol range and down the Alai through past the Stone Tower to Bactria.
- (ii) The later and alternative route from Lopnor opened by Pan Chao in A.D. 94, the Peilu or the Northern Route ran to the north of the Taklamakan desert, went down a part of the middle valley of the Jaxartes, along the southern slopes of the Tien Shan and turned to the east towards the Chinese Tartary. This Northern Route, while it lacked the attraction of trade at Khotan, was preferred for reasons of food and fodder, as it enabled the merchant to send his camels through the various pass into the grazing grounds north of the range. It was more exposed to raids from the Mongol Steppes. The Principal posts on the Peilu from Asmiraea (Lopnor) to Kashgar were Kurla, Kucha and Aksu.

- (iii) There was a third route - the central one - an extension of the Peilu which ran straight to Kashagar by the high valleys of the Jaxartes and turned northwards around the far end of Taklamakan at Anhsi and from there followed the Tien Shan on their northern side via Hami, Turfan, Urumchi, Kuldja, the Ili Valley, Alma-Ata, the valley and lake of the Issyk, and so round perhaps via the site of the later Tashkent, to Samarkand (rejoining the northern route at Kashagar) thus avoiding the crossing of the Pamirs¹³

- 6 4 From Kashgar the Silk Road continued westwards ascending the High Pamir, passed out of Chinese territory into the Soviet Central Asia, continuing via Khokand, Samarkand, Bokhara, Merv, through Persia and Iraq to the Mediterranean coast. From there ships carried the merchandise to Rome and Alexandria. Another branch left the Nanlu at the far end of Taklamakan and took in Balkh (in Northern Afghanistan) rejoining the west bound Silk Road at Merv. An important feeder road to India also left the southern route to Yarkand, climbed the hazardous Karakoram passes, to the towns of Leh and Srinagar before beginning the easy ride down to the markets of the Bombay coast. There was yet another branch at the eastern end of the trail known to the Chinese as the road of the centre. After leaving the Jade Gate this skirted the northern shore of Hedin's 'wandering lake' at Lop Nor and passed through the important oasis town of Loulan before rejoining the main northern route. The route from Yellow River to Bactria started from Singanfu and went through Lanchowfu, Kanchow, Yumenhsien, Ausichow and Lop Nor to Tsiemo.
- 6 5 The ancient routes between Lop tract south of the Tarim and Tun Huang, the western most of China, are interesting. Aurel Stein points out two possible roads, one, the mountain route "longer but practicable throughout the year passed along the high barren slopes of the Kunlun range, i.e. the Altin tagh" and the other, the desert-route follows the line of depression between the Kuruk tagh in the north and the Altin tagh in the south. The desert route began winding round the Karakoshan marches and ran along the south of the salt lake bed to reach the centre of the Oasis of Tung-huang towards Eastern Turkestan. Stein came across "the Dragon mounds" on the northern route used to cart-traffic, which remained the main line of traffic from Tun-huang westwards during the first few centuries after the Christ¹⁴
- 6 6 The Wei-leo tells us of three routes from Tun-huang to the Western countries. Two routes of the south and the centre are said to have passed along the Altin tagh slopes to Miran and through desert to Lou-lan respectively, while the new route in the North is stated to have started from Yumen Kuan, passed through Hang Kang avoiding the San Lung desert and reached Churshich at Kao-Chang (Turfan) and then turning west, must have rejoined the central route at Chiutze (Kucha). Stein also thinks that the complete reduction of Lou lan in 77 B.C. was followed by the institution of a Chinese Protector-General in 60 B.C. only to control both the routes of the north and south. Stein found a valuable relic at the station Txva, of the ancient silk trade. The relic consists of two strips of fine silk, undyed with an inscription *stasya pata gisti saparisa*

which proves that between 61 B C and A D 9 traders using Indian languages and script used to travel by this route across the Chinese Limes for the silk of the seres. The line of the limes ceased to work by the middle of the second century A D, when of course, the Lou lan route linking Tun-huang with China continued its use. The house in the midst of the sand buried ruins of Lop Nor, where a small bale of silk was found to be perfectly preserved, bears a clear testimony to the use of this route by traders of the period ¹⁵

- 67 At Tsiemo, again, the main route divided itself into two. One was the "Nanlu" or "Southern way" which followed south of the Tarim river to Khotan and Yarkand, thence over the Pamirs and westward to the Oxus and Bactria. The second route "The Peilu" or "Northern Way" followed the same course from Singanfu to Tsiemo and thence, north of the Tarim basin through Kuche and Aksu to Kashgar and over the tremendous heights of the Terek to the Jaxartes and Samarkand. From Samarkand the route ran south to Bactria, while another led south west more directly to Merv. A branch of the Peilu led from Yumensien to Hami, Turfan and Karachar, meeting the above route at Kuche. Another Variant led from "Turfan through the Tien Shan to Urumachi and Kuldja, thence by the Ili river and north of the mountains to Tashkent Bokhara and Merv" ¹⁶

VII

MAES' ROUTE

Maes Titianus, a Macedonian silk merchant who traded with Chinese silk dealers at the Stone Tower in Komedi Country about A D 120 reports that,

"Thence (from Bactria) the route passed through the mountainous country of Comedi and through the territory of the Sacae to the "Stone Tower", the station of those merchants who traded with seres. Thence to the Casii (Kashgar) and through the country of Thaguri, until after a seven months' journey from the "Stone Tower", the merchants arrived at "Sera Metropolis", the city called Thinae "

The route from Stone Tower of Sera was exposed to violent storms and hence the progress of travellers would have been frequently interrupted. This account of Maes is a clear proof of direct trade between Rome and China. His route followed nearly the same direction, as the Chinese Nanlu, after leaving Bactria, crossing the Pamirs diagonally to Kashgar on the Peilu, but then turning south through Yarkand to Khotan and in passing, "Thagura" took a direct and southerly route than the Nanlu itself, which it joined half way between Lop Nor and the Bulungu (the river of the Hiongnu), east of which all three routes were identical as far as Singanfu

VIII

TASHKURGAN

- 8 1 Stein identifies Tashkurgan with the Stone Tower of Ptolemy or of Marinus ¹⁷ Nature has marked the site as the most convenient place for trade exchange on a ancient and once import route connecting great portions of Central Asia with the far West and East From Tashkurgan the road lies open equally to Kashgar or Khotan and thus to both the great routes which lead from Turkestan into the interior of China Here too the best two lines of communications across the Pamir converge The Taghdumbash Valley, giving direct access to the upper Oxus, is met by the route which crosses by the Naizu Tash pass in the Aksu Valley and thence by the Great Pamir leads down to Shingan and Badakshan The ruined town rests on a great rocky crag and is backed by the river Sita (i e Taghdumbash branch of the Yarkand river) on the east
- 8 2 The *Mahabharata*¹⁸ speaks of Shakadvipa and the sacred river "Chaksu Vanku-r-Vardhanika" (Oxus or Jaxartes river of Ptolemy) The Shakadvipa may be taken to be the Oxus-Jaxartes valley Imaos of Ptolemy is the meridian chain which intersects the Kaukasos, demarcates between China and Turkestan and is known as Bolor Tagh The Comedai were the people of the hilly region east of Bactria and in this valley lay the caravan route from Bactria bound for Senka across Imaos or the Tsunglung Stein also points out that as a result of the researches of Yule and Rawlinson, the valley of the Comedai has been made possible to be identified with "the mountains which divide the Wakshab river and the Alpine tracts of Korategin from the course of the Oxus "¹⁹

IX

COLONIES

The number of colonies planted by Indians on both the routes north and south of the Tarim basin speak of the use of these routes from very early times Kashgar, Yarkand, Khotan, Niya and many others on the southern route contributed much to the trade and cultural relations between China and the Western countries Similarly Polukia, Kuci, Yenki (Karashahr) and Kaochang (Turfan) along the northern route added to the exchange of trade and culture between China and India ²⁰ P C Bagchi has shown the importance of Khotan and Kuci in this respect Stein remarks that the dreary route towards Khotan through the desert of Taklamakan was undoubtedly the ancient line that led from the Oxus region to Khotan and China Husan-tsang passed through the Taklamakan on his way to India in the seventh century Stein remarks that while "Jade is the produce that has made Khotan famous all over the east since ancient times" the pieces of remarkably well finished laquered-ware and

the bits of delicately woven silk fabrics and the seal of old Chinese porcelain, unearthed from the sands of Khotan show the closeness of commercial relationship of Khotan with China. The discovery of an ivory-die of the peculiar shape popular in India also speaks of the use of the trade route between Khotan and India.²¹

X

SILK ROAD AND ITS SURVIVAL

The Silk Road was entirely dependent for both its existence and survival upon the line of strategically situated oases, each no more than a few days march from the next, which hugged the perimeter of the Taklamakan. In turn, these depended for their survival upon the glacier-fed rivers flowing down from the vast mountain ranges which form a horse shoe around three sides of the great desert. As the Silk Road traffic increased, the oases began to rank as important trading centres in their own right and no longer merely as staging and refuelling posts for the caravans passing through them. Over the centuries the larger and more prosperous oases gained sway over the surrounding regions and developed into independent feudal principalities or pretty kingdoms. This made them an increasingly attractive target for Hans and others greedy for a share of the Silk Road profits. Because this trade was beginning to bring considerable wealth to Han China, a ceaseless struggle ensued between the Chinese and those who threatened the economic artery. Periodically the Chinese would lose control of the Silk Road and it would temporarily fall into the hands of the barbarian tribes or to some independent feudal ruler. The new overlord would then demand tribute for allowing the safe passage of goods in transit, or simply pillage the caravans until the Chinese managed to regain control of the route by force of arms, treaty or savage reprisals. Even when the Silk Road was firmly under Chinese control, caravans rarely travelled unarmed or unescorted for there was also always the risk of being attacked by brigands (particularly Tibetans skulking in the Kunlun) on one of the more lonely stretches of the trail. All this made the journey a costly one, ultimately encouraging the development of sea routes, but in the mean time adding greatly to the price of the goods. None the less despite these hazards and interruptions, the Silk Road continued to flourish.

PS : The UNESCO has planned Silk Road expeditions with a team of interdisciplinary focus. While some voyages were undertaken in 1991 the final expedition is expected to retrace the ancient Steppe Route in Central Asia and the whole venture culminates in a Festival of the Silk Road in 1993.

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- 2 Cf. *Chambers' Encyclopaedia*, XIII, pp. 720-21 for linked routes in the Middle East.

- 3 Peter Hopkirk, *Foreign Devils on the Silk Road*, 1980, p 17
- 4 *Ibid*, pp 11-12 In Turki Taklamakan means 'go in and you won't come out', ancient Han Records show that 2000 years ago, the Chinese knew Taklamakan as the Liu Sha or 'Moving Sands'
- 5 Surendranath Sen, *India Through Chinese Eyes*, 1956, p 181
- 6 J Innes Miller, *The Spice Trade of the Roman Empire*, 1969, p 32
- 7 *Raghuvamsha*, XVI 43
- 8 Chakraborti, *op cit*, 222-25
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- 10 Schoff, ed *Periplus*, 39, 48, 49, 56, 64
- 11 Cf L Boulnois, *The Silk Road* (English Translation by D Chamberlain, 1966), chaps I-XII
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- 13 Innes Miller, *op cit*, pp 120-24, McCrindle, ed, Ptolemy's *Geography*, p 12, Hopkirk, *op cit*, pp 17-19
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- 15 *Ibid*, pp 701, 705, 730, 733
- 16 *Periplus*, p 268, cf also Richthofen, *China*, I p 460
- 17 Innes Miller, *op cit*, p 123, when Marinus of Tyre wrote his account repeated by Ptolemy of Maes, Loyang was the imperial capital It was at a place such as this that silk merchants would meet and the caravans assemble (*Periplus*, 6 & 39)
- 18 *Bhishmaparva*, ch 13, verses 13, 22, 32
- 19 A Stein, *Sand Buried Ruins of Khotan*, pp 67-68, Idem, *Khotan*, p 54
- 20 Pelliot has shown that there was a regular trade route between Eastern India and China through Upper Burma and Yunnan as early as the second century B C Later this route was obstructed by barbarous tribes, but reopened in the eight century A D
- 21 Chakraborti, *op cit*, pp 46-47, A Stein, *Khotan*, pp 54, 233, 334

**THE BOLSHEVIKS AND WORKERS'
DEMOCRACY : 1917-1927
THE IDEOLOGICAL CRISIS OF RUSSIAN
COMMUNISM AND THE RISE OF STALINISM**

SOMA MARIK*

I

- 1 1 The collapse of the Soviet union has raised serious questions about the nature of socialist democracy even among its former supporters. At the same time, it seems to have lent further credence to those scholars, like Schapiro¹, who has insisted that a commitment to an ideology and model of development at all costs made 'totalitarianism' inevitable.
- 1 2 In reality, classical theory assumed no model to be imposed. In contrast to all earlier communism (Babeuf, Weitling, Cabet, etc) and many contemporaries (Lassalle, Bakunin), Marx and Engels did not advocate authoritarian communism.² Starting from the fundamental proposition that 'the emancipation of the working classes themselves',³ they argued that communism is the very result of this self-emancipation. Hence it had to be democratic, for a whole class cannot make up its collective and otherwise. This implied that political parties of the working class had to be democratic, and that the workers' state would start giving up its bureaucratic structure from the beginning and ensure democratic popular control over all state type functions.⁴ The principle of self-emancipation was well known to the Russian Social democrats. In his polemic against Lenin, Trotsky in 1904 invoked the principle.⁵ Lenin, too, cited this

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principle to reject any talk of a direct transition to socialism in course of a polemic with Trotsky.⁶ Nevertheless, it is true that between 1918 and 1921, workers' democracy, which had flourished in 1917-18 declined and that all attempts to reinvigorate it between 1921 and 1924 failed. By 1927, the ideological climate for Stalinist authoritarianism had been created. In this paper we shall trace the doctrinal changes and modifications, and show how Bolshevism's legacy split into two lines.⁷

II

WORKERS' DEMOCRACY IN 1917-18

- 2.1 The Russian Revolution of 1917 saw hundreds of thousands of workers, soldiers and peasants fighting for their own interests, organising democratically, and creating new democratic institutions and practices for that purpose. All parties had to confront these practices. Ultimately, the Bolsheviks alone provided adequate theorisation and leadership capability.⁸
- 2.2 Prior to Lenin's return to Russia, the resolution, 'On the provisional Government' (22 March 1917) went on to say "The focal point for the latter's [revolutionary democracy's - S.M.] consolidation should be the Soviets which, as embryos of revolutionary power, are prepared at a given moment to implement the full power of the proletariat in alliance with revolutionary democracy so that the demands of the insurgent people may be fully realised."⁹ Lenin's 'Letters from Afar' clearly equated the soviets with the commune, and referred to Marx's conception of the commune as the dictatorship of the proletariat.¹⁰ On his return to Russia, Lenin called for a change in party line, developing his ideas in the 'April Thesis'. In these, he wrote "The masses must be made to see that the Soviets of workers' Deputies are the only possible form of revolutionary government."¹¹ In *The State and Revolution*, he further developed his understanding of Marx's concept of the dictatorship of the proletariat. Two things are striking, first, the far reaching democratic commitment¹² and second, the near-total absence of references to the party, and certainly no conception of an omniscient, omnipotent party.
- 2.3 Another area where 1917 saw the Bolsheviks making an important departure was workers' control. The April thesis had cleared an ideological space here as well.¹³ The inner-party disputes were publicly aired, and even given publicity in *Pravda*. The March conference, whose minutes were suppressed by Stalin for many years, saw an open clash of all these trends. Lenin's return and the April theses created consternation and wide ranging debate. The fact that the unquestionably top-most leader had to publish his theses as 'personal' theses while *Pravda* editorially dissociated itself from him, is proof enough that the Bolshevik party had no conception of 'deviations' in the later, Stalinist sense. At all stages, party rules and norms provided definite guarantees. At the 7th party conference in April, Kamenev was a co-reporter, along with Lenin. At the

sixth party congress, the conciliator, or Kamenev trend, was well represented in the new Central Committee

- 2 4 In the post-October period, when the conciliators violated the CCs terms, they were only asked to either abide by the CC decisions, or to withdraw from all responsible posts in party and working class movement till the next congress. The sovereign right of the congress was implicitly acknowledged¹⁴
- 2 5 Similarly, the debate over the Brest-Litovsk peace saw three platforms, openly organised as factions. The left Communists brought out a factional paper (*Kommunist*) from their Moscow stronghold. While opposing them, Lenin acknowledged their right to form a faction and propagate their views¹⁵. At the 7th party Congress, with the left Communists refusing to serve on the CC, the Congress passed a conciliatory resolution, which read in part

“ refusal to serve in the Central Committee, given the present situation of the party, is especially undesirable. The Congress declares that each person can and should decline by means of a declaration, not by quitting the Central Committee. He does not approve of”¹⁶

- 2 6 The Bolshevik commitment to workers' democracy is further brought out in various ways, of which two are worth mentioning. The first is the Decree on Workers' Control which recognised the right of workers in all industrial enterprises to control all aspects of production¹⁷. Commitment to Soviet democracy was the other key feature. As a Central Committee resolution said, those (i.e. the right-wing socialists) who had left the 2nd All Russian Congress of Soviets could return and be reintegrated¹⁸.

III

THE TENSIONS IN REVOLUTIONARY THEORY

- 3 1 Civil war, imperialist intervention, and theoretical inadequacy combined to produce a crisis of workers' democracy between 1918 and 1921. But in spite of problems, many Bolsheviks defended workers' democracy. One of the earliest sites of conflict was workers' control. For Lenin, such control was meaningful only as long as the bourgeoisie remained in possession of the factories¹⁹. The major theoretical objection came from V. V. Osinsky, who wrote in April 1918: “In order for it to become socialisation, it is necessary

(a) that capital's power of command is destroyed

(b) it is necessary that the public authority [be] a proletarian authority”²⁰

By mid 1918, Lenin and Trotsky became convinced that workers' control could not cope with the deep structural crisis of the economy. Instead of expanding the scope of self management, the factory committees were placed under

unions and one-man management was reintroduced in the name of raising the productivity of labour "The dictatorship of the proletariat is expressed in the abolition of private property in the means of production, in the supremacy over the whole soviet mechanism of the collective will of the workers and not at all in the form in which the economic enterprises are administered" ²¹

3 2 As Maurice Brinton correctly says, none of the Bolshevik leaders "saw the proletarian nature of the Russian regime as primarily and crucially dependent on the exercise of workers' power at the point of production the Bolshevik leaders saw the capitalist organisation of production as something socially neutral" ²² The greatest blow to workers' democracy was the decline of the soviet system At the 8th Congress, Lenin acknowledged that the soviets 'are in fact organs of government for the working people by the advanced section of the proletariat, but not by the working people as a whole,' ²³ This was a slide back from 1917, when Trotsky, as president of the Petrograd Soviet, had promised to respect workers' democracy in the Soviet structure ²⁴

3 3 As the civil war situation worsened, there grew an intolerance of opposition and the Bolshevik party and its most authoritative leaders became defenders of a de facto one party rule However, the new Party programme (March 1919) stated categorically

"the forfeiture of political rights, and whatever limitations may be imposed upon freedom, are necessary only as temporary measures" ²⁵ But the party went on swallowing the state At the 9th Party Congress (1920) Kamenev could say, without challenge, that "the communist Party is the government of Russia" ²⁶ And Lenin justified such a course of development "The dictatorship of the working class is being implemented by the Bolshevik Party, the party which as far back as 1905 and even earlier merged with the entire revolutionary proletariat" ²⁷ In no institution was the coming of one party domination more resisted than in the trade unions The 9th Party Congress resolution 'on the Question of the Trade unions and their Organisation' stated that under the dictatorship of the proletariat the trade unions cease being organs of struggle and become apparatus of working class rule Their chief tasks become organisational-economic and educational It was argued that since the state was a workers' state, no opposition was possible between trade unions and the organs of soviet power ²⁸ and finally

"The dictatorship of the proletariat and the building of socialism are ensured only to the extent that the trade unions, while formally remaining non-party, become communist in their essence and carry out Communist Party Policy" ²⁹ This together with Trotsky's subsequent call for statisation of the unions, brought about furious resistance The resistance was strong enough to make Lenin retreat partially from his initial endorsement of Trotsky's position There followed a bitter factional struggle, culminating in the 10th Congress resolution on the trade unions, which rejected statisation, but said

"The Russian Communist Party in the person of its central and local organisations unquestionably directs, as before, the entire ideological side of

the work of the trade unions The selection of the executive personnel of the trade union movement should be made, of course, under the directing control of the party But party organizations must exercise particular care in applying the normal methods of proletarian democracy precisely in the trade unions, which are the one place, more than any other where the selection of leader should be done by the organised masses themselves ³⁰

- 3 4 As society became emptied of democratic content, the party could hardly remain untouched by the developments Between 1918 and 1921, there was a steady decline in the effective power of Congress and Central Committees Too often, civil war conditions did not permit regular meetings of the Central Committee, so that the Political Bureau, the Organisational Bureau, and the Secretariat began to take its place At the 10th Party Congress opposition was branded in violent terms Organisationally, those who had supported other factions (Trotsky-Bukharin, workers' opposition, Democratic Centralists, etc) were removed from vital party bodies, At the same time, an implicit claim was put forward, for the first time, that Lenin's line was the legitimate 'ruling' line, while other lines were 'oppositions' or 'deviation' to be treated either as 'madness', or, as Lenin said of Shlyapnikov, 'his is a Kronstadt, anarchist type of statement, to which the response is a gun' ³¹
- 3 5 Two major anti-democratic resolutions were passed in the end But the resolution "On Party Unity" still acknowledged that the tightening of discipline was a function of the current emergency, ³² while Lenin in his speech acknowledged the undemocratic nature of clause 7 of the resolution, ³³ authorising the CC to expel its own members
- 3 6 Trotsky, who in 1921 told the Party Congress that the Workers' opposition had taken a dangerous position by elevating the principle of workers' democracy above the historic birthright of the party (sic) ³⁴ was the sole top level Bolshevik leader to realise, later, the gravity of their errors In 1936, he wrote

"The prohibition of oppositional parties brought after it the prohibition of factions The prohibition of factions ended in a prohibition to think otherwise than the infallible leaders The police manufactured monolithism of the party resulted in bureaucratic impunity which has become the source of all kinds of wantonness and corruption ³⁵

IV

THE RISE OF STALINISM & THE ROUT OF WORKERS' DEMOCRACY 1921-1927

- 4 1 At this juncture the Stalinist bureaucracy begins to emerge, Two ideological trends are clearly visible over just this question of workers' democracy At the 12th Party Congress, with Lenin paralysed, Trotsky silent, but his supporters began to forge what was in effect an alliance with former Democratic Centralists and members of the Workers' opposition It was an ex-Democratic centralist Osinsky, who attached Zinoviev's pretensions The 10th Party

Congress had passed a resolution on workers' democracy, calling for "a constant control by public opinion of the party over the work of its leading organs and a constant interaction in practice between the latter and the whole party in its entirety, together with the furtherance of strict accountability of the appropriate party committees not only to the higher, but also to the lower organisations"³⁶ Conveniently forgetting this, Zinoviev at the 12th Congress asserted that the dictatorship of the proletariat was equivalent to the dictatorship of the party, and that all opposition even 'left' opposition was Menshevik in nature³⁷ Preobrazhensky, Osinsky and Lutovinov were among those who challenged him Kossior called for a repeal of the emergency undemocratic measures of 1921³⁸

- 4.2 Stalin came to Zinoviev's defence. He rejected Preobrazhensky's plea. And responding to Lutovinov, he said, in a straight-forward bureaucratic defence of 'efficiency'

"He wants the whole party to be stirred up on every question and to take part in the discussion of it. But comrades, now that we are in power, now that we have no fewer than 400,000 members and no fewer than 20,000 Party units, I do not know what this sort of thing would lead to. The party would be transformed into a debating society"³⁹ This open defence of bureaucracy came at the end of a series of actions, including the rejection, at the time of the Kronstadt uprising, of the demand for restoration of legality to socialist opposition parties, the growth of the bureaucracy in the state and the party's dependence on it, as Lenin acknowledged⁴⁰ the practice of foisting Central Committee nominees as *guberniia* party secretaries (condemned by Preobrazhensky at the 12th Congress)⁴¹ and the use of psychological pressure to bully party members into silence, as Bukharin admitted in 1923⁴²

- 4.3 All this provided the basis for the theoretical pronouncements of Stalin. In his 'Lenin as Organiser and Leader of the Russian Communist Party', he acclaimed Lenin primarily as an organiser⁴³ In his speech on the occasion of Lenin's 50th birthday, he pointed out some alleged mistakes of Lenin only to stress that the party could never be wrong⁴⁴ A party cult was slowly in the making. This was an indispensable weapon for Stalin in the ultimate victory of the bureaucratic counter-revolution. It is worth noting that on the same occasion, Lenin in his speech warned against allowing 'our party to contract a swelled head'⁴⁵ Stalin could consolidate his power as he was General Secretary, Commissar for Nationalities, and Commissar for Workers' and Peasants' Inspection. But eventually, Lenin and Trotsky both became aware of his potentials. Lenin's work of 1922-23 has been admirably reconstructed by Lewin⁴⁶ Lenin's final paralysis ended his central attempt - to change the General Secretary. It was Trotsky who fought, after an initial hesitation, in late 1923. He scored an initial victory, when the New Course resolution was adopted, and 46 prominent Bolsheviks came to his support⁴⁷ The resolution admitted that bureaucratism was a major cause of factionalism, and reaffirmed in ringing tones the need for workers' democracy.

"Workers' democracy means the liberty of frank discussion of the most important of party life by all members, and the election of all leading party functionaries the leading party bodies must heed the voices of the broad party masses and must not consider every criticism a manifestation of factionalism The Tenth Congress laid down a series of limitations there must be a re examination of the appropriateness of some of these limitations "48

But Stalin, who had publicly acknowledged the existence of an inner cabal at the 12th Congress, ⁴⁹ was not the man to sit back and take the defeat He launched a counter-offensive

- 4 4 It is enough to counterpose the two positions In a letter to party cells, Trotsky argued that the party must subordinate to itself its own apparatus, and bitterly opposed the typically bureaucratic claim that the cultural level of the working class was too low to allow workers' democracy ⁵⁰ Carr is in error when he suggests that the letter was written to "dot the i's and cross the t's of the resolutions" ⁵¹ Rather, it was written because Trotsky was apprehending a bureaucratically twisted version of the resolution to be peddled Indeed, Stalin did just that His 15 December essay in *Pravda* is significant for the qualitative change in the attitude to workers' democracy For the first time Trotsky and the 46 were attacked as "non-Bolsheviks" — The yardstick being Leninism, then just being created by Stalin It was part of a party cult and personality (leadership) cult The argument ran that since Lenin had proposed a particular rule, how could a true Bolshevik ask for its abolition ? Trotsky's biggest sin was that he had weakened "the will of the Party membership for unity in supporting the Central Committee and its position " ⁵²
- 4 5 Using the full power of the apparatus, rigging elections, ⁵³ etc the Zinoviev-Kamenev-Stalin triumvirate defeated the opposition Thus, Stalin's position became the official party position The sacred duty of members henceforth was to rally round the "Leninist Central Committee" Stalin could now say, without challenge, that "there will not be all embracing, full democracy" ⁵⁴

Routed, humiliated, the left could do little At the 13th Conference, it was condemned as petty bourgeois deviation A few days later, Lenin died Stalin and Zinoviev, each in his own way, launched on an elaboration of Leninism — a cult to sanction undemocratic practices and legitimise bureaucratic domination Stalin's famous oath of 26 January, 1924, as the oath of the chief priest, swearing to obey the six commandments of the infallible God By the 13th Party Congress, even Trotsky was temporarily on the retreat, saying "Comrades, none of us wants to be or can be right against the Party In the last analysis, the Party is always right " ⁵⁵ And Grigory Zinoviev reiterated that "It was now a thousand times more necessary than ever that the party should be monolithic " ⁵⁶

- 4 5 The ideological defeat of workers' democracy and its defenders had been brought about by the Stalinist bureaucracy, with the aid of a large section of the old Bolsheviks themselves. The contradiction between a still surviving revolutionary theory and an undemocratic practice was resolved in favour of the latter. Thereafter, the new theory was to come in handy to smash all Bolshevik opposition. Zinoviev fell a victim at the 14th Party Congress when a packed Congress defeated the Leningrad opposition that he headed, and went on to break up his power base in Leningrad on the grounds that he and his supporters had "voted against confidence in the Central committee" ⁵⁷

In 1926, the left opposition, the Leningrad Opposition, and remnants of smaller groups joined hands to form the united Opposition. On the issue of democracy, the sharpest fight was put up by Trotsky who was the major author of the 'Platform of the Opposition'. Restating all three elements of the concept of workers' democracy, the 'Platform' called for autonomy of the trade unions, democratisation of their internal life, the abolition of the practice of removing elected Communist unionists from their positions by the party for strict adherence to the elective principle, and the right of all dissenting minorities ⁵⁸. The united Opposition insisted that there could be no socialism without fullest democracy — though it balked at calling for legalisation of opposition parties, a demand that Trotsky would accept only in the 1930s - and tried to take its view to the party ranks.

- 4 6 The battle, however, ended quickly. First, the opposition was denied the right to publish the 'Platform'. Then, as it sought to engage in secret propaganda, Trotsky and Zinoviev were thrown out of the Party. At the 15th Congress, even without allowing the Opposition to present its viewpoint, it was proclaimed that holding the opposition's viewpoint was incompatible with party membership ⁵⁹. Stalinist ideology, as it expressed itself between 1923 and 1927, thus had links only with the errors and vacillations of Bolshevism. It was at the same time a negation of the latter. It succeeded among other things, because the years of gap between theory and practice had created a general lowering of consciousness, so that when sections of the party did try to fight back, they lacked the support of a militant, politically active class vanguard.

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ZIONISM, U.S.S.R. AND THE PARTITION OF PALESTINE

S. SHAMIR HASSAN*

I

- 1 1 "The word 'Zionism' appeared at the end of the nineteenth century to designate a cluster of different movements, the common element of which was the project of giving World Jewry a spiritual, territorial or state centre, usually located in Palestine"¹ Naturally the Zionist idea took many forms particularly in its formative period, and it is not surprising that sometimes its strands negated each other Zionism has manifested itself in multiplicity of concepts, values, emotions, ideological assumptions, political strategies and tactics, closely interwoven with powerful networks of organisation Like all fully grown national or nationalist movements, it contains complexities, contradictions and ambiguities, often making the very definition of Zionism puzzling² Anti-Zionist ideologists have themselves often used the term "Zionism" in a loose way³
- 1 2 "Zionism" as a concept or ideology has been interpreted or understood from many angles For some it is a "permanent national calling of all Jewry" Therefore it is justified and beneficial For others it is subservient to universal values, irrespective of the fact whether these values are taken from Judaism, liberal, humanism or from international proletarianism For those who believe in universal human values and international proletarianism, Zionism is harmful and they consider it capitalism in its imperialist stage⁴

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- 1 3 The Western thinking and efforts lent a helping hand for the growth of Zionism. Two European developments in the second half of the nineteenth century created a congenial atmosphere for the imperialistically conceived Zionist idea. The European Jewish mind was imbued with this Zionist idea and from a distance it seemed to be an "inner motivated Jewish development".⁵ The first was direct and indirect impact of the intellectual and political growth of European chauvinist nationalism. Nationalism had such an influence that even a "socialist" like Moses Hess titled his book *Rome And Jerusalem* (1862). This book glorified Italian nationalist movement and played upon the theme of 'pseudoscientific racist' theories of the nineteenth century.⁶ Hess had warned the Jews to avoid assimilation and reassert their exclusivity by reconstructing their national centre in Palestine. *Rome and Jerusalem* is an important book but what is of greater historical importance is the political and intellectual climate of Europe that produced it. According to Abdul Wahab Al Kayyali, "The real politic of European Statesmen exercised tremendous influence and Bismarck was virtually an inspiration to the intellectual and political founders of Zionism".⁷
- 1 4 The programs in Russia in 1881 were the second European development which provided impetus to the Zionist idea. On account of these programs there was a mass exodus of Jews from Russia to other countries of Eastern and Western Europe. This was the vital reason for the failure of "Haskalah" an assimilationist movement. It was substituted by the movement of "Lovers of Zion" which was inspired by Leo Pinsker's pamphlet, *Auto Emancipation*. Societies were formed in Jewish centres to chalk out a programme for the settlement of Jews in Palestine and to revive the Hebrew language.⁸

II

- 2 1 **Russia and its Jews.** At the time of the Crusades the Jews fleeing from Western Europe started living in Poland where they enjoyed numerous freedoms and royal protection. At the end of the eighteenth century Polish Kingdom lost in strength and many of its Jews were inherited by Russia. According to Howard M. Sacher,⁹

The largest number of 'Jewish Easterners' were to be found in Russia, where they comprised some four percent of the Romanov empire's population and by far its most despised and oppressed minority. The government's approach to these unwelcome infidels whom it had inherited in the eighteenth century partitions of Poland was simply to cordon them off from integral Russia in a 'Pale of Settlement' that consisted essentially of the newly annexed western province.

- 2.2 Russia was the least tolerant of the Jews from the beginning of her history¹⁰ Czars, being Christians, during the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries had ruthlessly put down a movement for conversion to Judaism. The rulers of the seventeenth century such as Peter the Great, though moderate in his dealings with the Russian Jews, was not at all liberal. The succession of Empresses to the Russian throne was another era of fanatic policies towards them. Catherine I in 1727, Anne in 1739 and Elizabeth in 1742, all issued special decrees expelling the Jews from little Russia, the heart of the country.¹¹ Russia had got through successive partitions of Poland (1772, 1793, 1795) the largest chunk of that land. Roth writes, "Thus Russia which was least disposed to welcome the Jews ruled, in the nineteenth century, over the largest section of the Jewish people. The number of Jews in Russia equalled if not outnumbered all others combined."¹² From the very beginning the Czars of Russia adopted a policy which was to confine the Jews to the newly acquired Western provinces ('Pale of Settlement') and to prevent them from spreading to other parts of the empire.
- 2.3 The reign of Alexander III is known as the period of unprecedented oppression in modern history. The Jews faced great hardships on account of new rules and regulations. In 1881 a chain reaction of officially inspired pogroms started all over the densely populated Jewish hinterland of Southern Russia. On May, 1882 in the form of "temporary regulation" Alexander III issued a new series of anti-Jewish decrees. They were not however temporary as they continued in effect, with mounting stringency until the March Revolution of 1917.¹³ These oppressions of the Russian regime did not yield the desired result. According to Emswiler¹⁴

The more the Jews of Russia were oppressed, the more they clung to their distinct ways, the more they were thrown together into areas of forced residence of ever-diminishing size, the more they sought refuge in the narrow confines of orthodox religion, or in Messianic dreams or in radical avenues of escape.

- 2.4 Given the plight of the Jews in Russia there were three options for them. The most popular one was the migration to America. New York was considered for these Jews a new Jerusalem beyond the seas. Politics was another avenue of escape. Participation in the revolutionary movement in Russia was the third option of the politically oriented Jews. Historically, they were the most urban of all the ethnic groups of Russia and Poland. The third option was the so called Jewish nationalism. It was a reaction not only to Jewish suffering but also to the emergence of other national movements. The Jewish nationalism was very much influenced by German romanticism.

III

U.S.S.R. AND ZIONISM:

- 3.1 When the Bolshevik party came to power in October 1917, there already existed a powerful deep-rooted Zionist movement. Among the Russian Jewry Zionism as an idea and as a movement predates Herzl's *Juden staat* and the emergence of the world Zionist Organisation. The early writings of Perez Smolenskin, Moshe-Leib Lillenblum, and Leon Pinsker, contained nearly all the basic elements of classical Zionist concept. The first conference of Hovevei Zion (Lovers of Zion) met at Katowicz in 1884, thirteen years before the first Zionist Congress in Basle, and practical colonization work in Palestine started even before that date. There were in Russia at that time some 80 Hovevei Zion groups in 50 towns.¹⁵ The precursors of the first 'Aliyah' (Ascent) were the Biluim, the fourteen Jewish students from Kharkov who landed at Jaffa in 1882. The second 'Aliyah' (1903-15) was predominantly Russian. The majority of the forty Settlements that existed in Palestine before the World War I were created by Russian Jews.¹⁶
- 3.2 Russian Jewry had responded overwhelmingly to Herzl's call. Of the 197 participants in the First Zionist Congress (1897), 66 were from Russia. Next year, the movement counted 373 local groups. At the fourth Congress (1900) Russian Zionists were represented by more than 200 delegates, and at the fifth (1901) they played a leading part in the formation of the 'Democratic faction', which demanded that more attention be given to Jewish national education and culture.¹⁷ The First All Russian Zionist Conference met in 1902 at Minsk, with the participation of 5000 delegates, representing some, 75,000 *sekel* holders.¹⁸ At the sixth Zionist Congress (1903) the Russian delegation constituted the bulk of the 177 who opposed Herzl's proposal to appoint a commission to investigate the British Government's Uganda offer and walked out after the proposal had been accepted. By the time, Russian Zionism with its 1,572 local groups was a major force in the World Zionist Organisation.¹⁹ In Czarist Russia, Zionism was an illegal movement and like all other political parties was largely handicapped in its expansion. But the Soviets confronted a strong well organized Zionist movement. With some 1200 local groups and a membership of 300,000²⁰ it enjoyed virtual hegemony in Russia's Jewish communities. However, as early as 1903, Lenin wrote in the party's Central Organ, *Iskra* (The Spark), that the very idea of a Jewish nationality was "manifestly reactionary" and in "conflict with the interests of the Jewish proletariat". Ten years later the same idea was elaborated by Stalin in the pamphlet *Marxism and the National Question* (1913). This represented the authoritative Bolshevik view and was consistent with Lenin's occasional observations on the subject. According to this document Stalin firmly denied the status of nationhood to Jews since they lack certain constituents of a nation. He wrote, "A nation is a historically evolved, stable community of language, territory, economic life and psychological makeup manifested in a community of culture."²¹

Stalin asks ²²

what national cohesion there be between the Georgian, Dagheslanian, Russians and American Jews?

If there is anything common to them left it is their religion, their common origin and certain relics of national character But how can it be seriously maintained that petrified religious rites and fading psychological relics affect the 'fate' of these Jews more powerfully than the living social, economic, and cultural environment that surrounds them? And it is only on this assumption that it is generally possible to speak of the Jews as a single nation

Consequently, Zionism was a reactionary ideology and Zionist activities in U S S R were effectively crippled in the thirties The last citadel of underground Zionism - The Moscow Central Executive Committee for Tzeirei Zion and the Union of Zionist Youth were liquidated in September 1934 ²³

- 3 3 In the years 1936-9, the government mounted an intensive, large scale campaign against "Zionist-imperialist oppression of the Palestinian Arabs" By the end of the thirties even the vestiges of Zionism were eradicated and U S S R considered 'The Zionist Chapter' fully and irretrievably closed
- 3 4 However, it was dramatically reopened in the early stages of the World War II In September 1939 the Soviet Union annexed Poland's eastern and south-eastern provinces with a Jewish population of about 1,200,000 - 1,250,000 (some 300,000 Jews came later as refugees from the German occupied areas) In 1940 the Romanian provinces of Bessarabia and Northern Bukovina were incorporated in the U S S R According to the Romanian census of 1930, these had the Jewish population of 277, 949 The almost simultaneous annexation of Latvia, Estonia and Lithuania added a further 265,000 Jews Within nine months the Jewish community of the Soviet Union increased by some two million ²⁴ Zionists constituted a high percentage of this influx Polish Jewry, was the 'backbone' of the 'World Zionist Organisation' The Soviet Union was once again confronted with the Zionist question and resulting conflict in Palestine

IV

PALESTINE, ZIONISTS AND THE SOVIETS

- 4 1 Palestine became a British Mandate on July 24, 1922 under the League of Nations pending such time as the country was ready for complete independence The terms of the Mandate included the pledge of the Balfour Declaration obligating Great Britain to create a Jewish national home in

Palestine The Soviet Union attacked the Mandate system as a mask for the seizure of Turkish and German possessions by the Entente powers²⁵ It refused to recognize the Palestine Mandate from its inception until its termination on May 15, 1948 The Soviet Union alleged that the Mandate system was one reason for its refusal to participate in the League of Nations In 1934, when the U S S R did join the League, it specifically restated its negative position on the Mandate system²⁶ "The bankruptcy of British policy pretension was revealed by a succession of Arab uprisings in 1920, 1929, 1933, and 1936-39 The Stalin regime, in 1929, was engrossed in the First Five Year Plan Hence the Soviet leaders had little interest in events in Palestine The outbreak of riots in Jerusalem in August and their impact throughout the Arab World however, reawakened Soviet interests in the progressive revolutionary movement' taking place in the Middle East²⁷

- 4 2 At the Sixth Congress of the Comintern (July 19 - September 1, 1928) a certain Haider, a Palestinian delegate criticised the Third International for its neglect of the Palestine Question The Palestine, he insisted, was of great significance to the Comintern because of the confrontation in this small area of a large number of important problems and questions, with different types of imperialist policy and all forms of colonial bondage²⁸ When the Riots occurred in Palestine, the Comintern attributed them to the "dismemberment of Arabistan into numerous small countries", "disfranchisement of the basic mass of the population", "violent Zionist colonization" and the "growing pressure of British and French imperialism" in the Arab countries²⁹
- 4 3 However, during the decade of the thirties, there was significant move in Palestine The main reason for the comparative lull in Soviet-Arab relations was the rise of Fascism and Nazism in Europe and their impact on the Near and Middle East The Arab rebellion of 1936-39, unlike that of 1929, invited little Soviet attention This was perhaps due to tension abroad and the Stalin's purges at home
- 4 4 During these years, the anti-semitism of the Hitler regime evoked a sympathetic response among some Arab nationalists in general and Mufti Amin Al Hussein, in particular Moreover, English officials were inclined to tolerate the Nazi's because they were anti-communist Although as a result, the Soviet government might well have become disillusioned with the Arabs in the late thirties, it was in no position to assume an aggressive role in the Middle East until the end of World War II
- 4 5 In June 1941 Hitler's armies invaded Soviet territory In the face of new realities with its persistent anti-Zionist policy on the home front, the Soviet Government made a sustained effort to enlist the sympathy and support of World Jewry for its war effort by an appeal to Jewish solidarity
- 4 6 On 24 August 1941, the Jews the World over heard for the first time over the Radio - Voice from Moscow, addressing them as 'Brider Y den' (Brother Jews) In this broadcast the poet Parets Markish said that all Jews were now one people and one army and that no longer the man would divide them³⁰

- 4 7 In 1943, Solomon M. Mikhoels, the renowned actor, and Itzik Feffer, Red Army Colonel went with Stalin's personal blessings to the United States and England, to plead for active Jewish support of the Soviet War effort. They were understandably eager to secure Jewish understanding and sympathy for their mission. London, Mikhoels declared that Zionism is a "great idea" though it was inapplicable to Soviet Jewry with its deep roots in Russia. On his return to Moscow in December 1944, he sent greetings on Dr. Weizmann's seventieth birthday³¹. Interest in Palestine was also shown by Ivan Maisky, the Former Soviet envoy to London who visited Palestine in October 1943 and sent to Moscow a glowing account.
- 4 8 The following April, the Palestine Communist Party, which during the bloody riots of 1929 and 1939, had observed and glorified the "national revolutionary nature of Mufti's policies, announced its readiness to co-operate with the Histadrut in combating the infamous British White Paper. At the World Trade Union Conference (WTUC) in London in February 1945, the Soviet delegation endorsed a resolution stating that "the Jewish people must be enabled to continue the rebuilding of Palestine as their National Home." It was also noted with satisfaction that the Moscow paper *Red Star*, the organ of the Red Army published an article highly critical of the Arab League on 13 July 1945. Two days later its content was broadcast by Radio Moscow in Arabic³².

V

POST WAR SCENARIO.

- 5 1 The situation that Stalin came across in the post-war Middle East are important in two respects. First unlike the other regions the Middle East had long been a sphere of exclusive Western (mainly British) influence. For this reason with the exception of northern Iran, the Russian Army made no move into the territories of the USSR's southern neighbours. Secondly according to 1941 agreement with Great Britain, Soviet troops were obliged to leave northern Iran no later than six months after the end of the World War II. In view of these considerations, the Kremlin was left with no choice but to pursue its interest in the Middle East by means of diplomatic negotiations with its war time allies. Soon it was explicit to Stalin that neither London nor Washington was prepared to countenance Soviet presence in the Middle East since the area was perceived by them, militarily, economically and politically vital³³.
- 5 2 After 1945, when it became obvious that the West had no intention of offering any such recognition, Moscow embarked upon a course of political competition vis-a-vis its former allies. The main concentration was on three major areas contiguous to the Soviet Union, Europe, the Far East and the Middle East. In the Middle East Stalin's handling of the Palestine Question is an interesting example of such a process.

VI

ATTEMPTS AT COOPERATION

- 6 1 Though at the Yalta Summit, the question of Palestine was not on the official agenda, it did come up in informal discussion. The most striking feature of these deliberations seems to have been a tacit agreement by the Allied heads of state "to hand over Palestine to the Jews and to continue Jewish immigration at least for the immediate future"³⁴. President Roosevelt subsequently reported being surprised by the fact that "Stalin had not appeared opposed to Zionism"³⁵. Kremlin's conciliatory posture was probably influenced by a desire to demonstrate to the Western Allies its flexibility at the juncture when it was generally assumed that the question of the Palestine mandate would soon be submitted to the United Nations, whose establishment had been officially agreed upon at Yalta³⁶.
- 6 2 Stalin's calculations at Yalta went awry. Prime Minister Churchill, in later February 1945, announced his government's decision not to submit the political problem to the United Nations. It was clearly evident that this move was to preclude Soviet Union in the affairs of the Mandate. This decision on the part of Churchill, "deprived (Stalin's conciliatory) stand on Palestine, including the support of the Jewish cause there, of its *raison d'être*"³⁷.
- 6 3 The resolve of the Allied Powers to keep Soviet Union away from the Palestinian question was well taken by Kremlin. When, in late fall of 1945, Great Britain to review the Jewish refugee problem in Europe as well as the situation in Palestine,³⁸ Stalin adversely reacted to the Committee and its recommendations³⁹. He was now convinced that London and Washington had no intention to cooperate with Moscow. The USSR was left with no choice but to develop its own approach to the political problem. The Kremlin endeavored to return the issue to the United Nations where they could be expected to play a prominent role. Whatever Stalin's original intentions may have been, it was obvious that thereafter, in Palestine and elsewhere, 'East-West' relations would be marked not by cooperation but by confrontation.
- 6 4 USSR was not lacking in power with respect to Palestine. Soviet trump card was the issue of immigration to Palestine. The Soviet Union was not in a position to control events in Palestine directly. Nevertheless, it could deny emigration to the Jews from eastern Europe to counter the Western objections to its participation in the resolution of the Palestine problem. Kremlin set out to facilitate their emigration to the Western Zones of Germany and Austria. It should be noted that earlier Soviet Union had taken a stance publicly that it was opposed to mass exodus of Jews of Eastern Europe. The Soviet Union did so in full awareness of the fact that most emigrants were determined to proceed to Palestine. As a result, the number of Jewish displaced persons (DPs) in West Germany and Austria swelled from "less than 100,000 in summer 1945 to approximately a quarter of a million early in 1947", making it impossible for the West to disregard the "the Question of Palestine's political future"⁴⁰.

- 6 5 Initiation of this policy, on the part of Kremlin, seemed to have been serving related objectives. First Great Britain was opposed to the mass immigration of Jews to Palestine and President Truman was in favour of it. Moreover large scale influx of Jewish DPs in the Allied zones of occupation could have been expected, at a minimum, to exacerbate Anglo-American relations. Secondly, the influx of a large number of East European Jews into Palestine might well have resulted in a failure of Western efforts to resolve this ticklish problem independently of the larger international community.⁴¹ Either way, the chances of the Palestine issue being brought before the United Nations, Moscow's major political objective in 1946-47, did greatly improve. Stalin's gambit, followed by the Kremlin's support of the Jewish communities (Yishu's) political aspirations in Palestine did indeed lead to the desired results. The Soviet moves eventually contributed to the collapse of Anglo-American attempts to settle the Palestine question outside the U N framework. Once that occurred Great Britain was forced in early 1947 to place the Palestine Question again on the United Nations agenda. It became participation in the search for a resolution of the problem.
- 6 6 Stalin had come to the conclusion that cooperation between the USSR and its war time Allies was impossible. Kremlin began actively searching for means to weaken the Western hold on the Middle East. Palestine was this 'weak link' in Great Britain's regional imperial defence system. It was vulnerable because of the existence of two diametrically opposite ideologies, the Zionist settler colonialism and the Arab Nationalist movement. Both were in turn opposed to British tutelage. Therefore, in concentrating on Palestine, Moscow could have reasonably hoped to remove the British presence. This could have been the prelude for the withdrawal of imperialist presence from the whole of the Middle East. It is an irony that for the attainment of these particular objectives Stalin's policies more readily facilitated Soviet backing of Zionists rather than Arab nationalist aspirations in Palestine. The Kremlin welcomed the submission of the Palestine Question to the U N. Andrei Gromyko Deputy Foreign Minister declared on May 8, 1947, that the U S S R was prepared "to take upon itself, together with the United Nations as a whole, the responsibility not only for the final decisions that may be taken by our organization on the Palestine problem, but also for the preparation of the decision."⁴² United Nations partitioned Palestine into two states, one Jewish other Palestinian, on November 28, 1947. The U S S R along with Bylo Russian S S R and Ukrain S S R and the whole East European block voted for the partition. Like the policies of the United States, Soviet policies were determined by an interplay between an internal "Jewish factor" and the perceived requirements of the Soviet interest in the Middle East as a whole in the context of the super power struggle.

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CHANGES IN THE LAND REVENUE ADMINISTRATION OF BRITISH BURMA: 1852 - 1885

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- 0 1 The present paper proposes to examine broadly the successive changes in the field of land revenue administration under the British imperialists in lower Burma during 1852 - 1885
- 0 2 For better understanding of the major changes in the land revenue system of British Burma, this paper is divided into two broad sections. While Section I looks into, in general, the existing system of land revenue under the Burmese Royal authorities before the establishment of colonial rule, Section II mainly speaks of the gradual changes in the Burmese land system brought about by the British between 1852 and 1885, which, in the long run, firmly established the British imperialist control over its economy.
- 0 3 Before British conquest the traditional economic and social life of the Burmese people had been mainly feudal and based on the tradition of village economy. Under this the province outweighed the capital on the balance of political power. The capital lay at Ava sustained by the surplus that the provinces sent it and in the provinces the Governor, the *Myowun*, was only theoretically more powerful than the local district official, the *Myothugyi*. In practice, the *Myothugyis* enjoyed immense power at the local level. This was all the more so because the *Myothugyi* was as much a leader of the people as he was an appointee of the Royal Government. The functions of the *Myothugyi* also

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ensured his complete control over his jurisdiction. Though he had a number of assisting officers to look after the several aspects of administration, he was overall in charge of the two fundamental tasks of revenue collection and police duties, with some 300 to 600 men serving as his retainers.¹

I

- 1 1 Being predominantly an agricultural country, all of Lower Burma was a one-staple area, with rice everywhere the important cash crop. Nearly seventy one per cent of those employed in Burma were engaged in agriculture or forestry, only ten per cent of the country's workers found employment in industry.² Under the Burmese kings there were four classes of land - Royal Land, Official Land, Waste Land and Private Land. "And lands cleared by cultivators were private property and were not subject to taxation"³ The King was, however, theoretically, "Lord of all lands, and in the course of time, as the property of his subjects was confiscated for rebellion or other offences, the area of the Royal lands extended more and more"⁴ There had been times when the King's estates were tilled by his personal slaves, but gradually tenants paying the land tax came to take over.
- 1 2 'Official land' was held by persons who "actually or nominally rendered or were liable to render service to the king, and to whom the land had been assigned as remuneration for such actual or nominal service"⁵ It also included grants given by the king to officials, soldiers, and members of the royal family. Due to the sparse population there was a great deal of waste but cultivable land. 'Private land' was that held under allodial title which continued to be tax free. Customary rights to land were acquired by simply clearing and cultivating any land which was not claimed by a previous occupant. Such land obtained under the tenure known as *dama-u-gya* became the private property of the cultivator. He could mortgage, sell or pass it on to his descendants.⁶ This land remained his even if he left it uncultivated for ten or twelve years and any newcomer who occupied the land without his permission could be ejected. But since land was so easily available it was a common practice for the person who had cleared the land to abandon it after a couple of years or so and strike out for the more fertile virgin land. Any newcomer was usually allowed to occupy the abandoned land which would then become the private property of the new settler.⁷
- 1 3 Since the middle of the 17th century, as it is difficult to go back earlier due to lack of source materials, boundaries of all lands came to be clearly demarcated. Lands were kept for the use of the *Ahmudans*, the service people who served in the court, the palace, or the army. To provide maintenance to the thoogyees, in every circle land was set apart from which they could levy the *thugyi-Za*, which approximated to about 1/10th of the gross produce.⁸ Since then, the officials began to collect the *thugyi-Za* from all land cleared and cultivated in their circles. The practice was still continuing at the time of imperialist expansion in Burma. It is said that the demand varied from 1/4th to 1/10th of the gross yield and almost all categories of land came under its purview.⁹

- 1 4 It has already been said that the vast majority of the population of Burma in the 19th century was engaged in agriculture. Although there were various other imposts and sources of revenue, agriculture provided the main crown revenues through taxes on the produce of the land. According to the *Report on the Administration of Burma, 1861-62*, the average size of a farm in Lower Burma was from eight to ten acres¹⁰. However, there were two different systems for collecting the land tax and sometimes both systems were found within a single jurisdiction. The basic system in Upper Burma was to assess annually one-tenth of the yield as payment for ruling¹¹. In Lower and Central Burma, the Martaban, Hanthawaddi and Taung-nga Land Rolls show clearly that the assessment was made per unit of land tilled. The most common statement in these documents is that the tax is so many baskets of paddy per yoke of buffalo. Incidentally it may be noted that a yoke of buffalo was found to work 8 to 10 acres of paddy land, 10 to 12 acres of *Kaing* land, and 12 to 15 acres of dry cultivation¹². The annual receipt at the royal treasury before the loss of Pegue from the whole of the empire was the inconsiderable sum of Rs 1 crore¹³.
- 1 5 It is to be remembered the British with all their experiences in India and in South East Asia discovered after 1826 that they knew nothing about how surplus extraction had been done before them in Burma. Over and above the general tax structure was levy that the minorities in Burma had to pay as household tax or a 'tax upon families which were generally assessed by the village officials'¹⁴. Land revenue as such was collected only in selected villages¹⁵ presumably where agriculture was more paying. "It was seldom, however, that any records existed to show the method of assessing the family tax, or the amount collected on that item, or of the land tax"¹⁶. "In the early days of Lower Burma, when people cultivated shifting patches in the jungle, no other system was so convenient."¹⁷ Subsequently, wherever cultivation continued to be in shifting patches the British had to stick to this practice. After some years the tax on plough gave way to tax on land measure and there the first conflict arose "how to adjust the rates levied on the ploughs, to the standard of land measure adopted"¹⁸. In Arakan the standard measure that the British discovered and subsequently adopted everywhere was the *doon* which was a rough 6¼ English acres. "It was rightly estimated that a *doon* of land was equal to what the people called 'a yoke of oxen (or buffaloes) of land'." The Thoogyees of village tracts were then called on to state what rates per *doon* the lands of their villages would bear, and the result was, that large tracts of country had a certain rate per *doon* imposed upon them, as the rate of tax of all cultivation payable to Government. This plan was at that time the only one practicable, as there was no agency by which thorough investigation might have been made into the nature and fertility of land, and it was essentially necessary to come rapidly to some determination in order to commence revenue at all"¹⁹. The latter part of the above quote is extremely significant. Major Phayre observed that the result of this flat rate of taxation varied from place to place. In Arakan the tax burden turned out to be light, while in Tenasserim the peasantry got squeezed²⁰.

II

- 2 1 With the assumption of political supremacy by the British in Lower Burma, one can witness the successive changes in the field of revenue administration. The general aims of the British Government were to develop the land as quickly as possible so that revenue could be obtained to defray the costs of administration and at the same time, to establish a body of peasant proprietors. The peasant proprietorship form of land tenure was not new to Burma for under *dama-u-gya* tenure there was no holding from an overlord and the agriculturists were, in fact, peasant proprietors paying taxes, in the form of services or in kind, to the king - a legacy of the feudal past²¹. It was thought that the system most conducive to the stability and prosperity of the country was one of a great number of persons owning land, working it themselves and paying revenue direct to the state. To these ends the following land tenure systems were formulated.
- 2 2 First, the Squatter System of land tenure which resembled the tenure of *dama-u-gya* of Burmese times. Any person could clear and settle on any vacant land. But under British rule a cultivator was liable to eviction by government though he was generally allowed to remain in occupation so long as he paid the annual land revenue regularly. Under the lower Burma Land and Revenue Act of 1876 a squatter who continuously occupied the same piece of land and paid land revenue regularly for twelve successive years acquired a landholder's occupational rights over it. He then ceased to be a squatter, could no longer be evicted and obtained a permanent, heritable and transferable right of use of land. Under this system much land was brought under cultivation²². This mode of acquisition was most popular in the more settled parts of the country. Soon abuses crept in. The genuine squatters were often ousted from their land. This was because they were obliged to borrow at a higher usurious rate to meet the expenses of land reclamation and cultivation, often using their land as security. In this way much land passed into the hands of non-agriculturist money lenders and traders²³.
- 2 3 The second system was the *patta* (grant of land) system which was tried by the government in order to regulate the disposal of land and to encourage cultivators to settle on the same piece of land. A *patta* meant the grant of a small piece of land, about fifteen to fifty acres, by the government to an approved cultivator with exemption from land revenue for a period of years varying according to the difficulty of bringing that piece of land under profitable cultivation. The grant-holder was not allowed to mortgage his land. Applicants must prove that they were bonafide cultivators with sufficient means at their disposal to clear and cultivate the land without taking help from the moneylenders²⁴. It was soon recognized that a *patta*-holder had a less valuable property for the purpose of borrowing money than a squatter because of the strict conditions attached to a *patta* and the liability to forfeiture for a breach of these conditions. In theory, a squatter was liable to eviction until twelve years' continuous occupation had accrued but in practice evictions of agriculturists were so rare that the liability came to be ignored²⁵. By 1900 the

government realized that the *patta* system not only brought with it numerous administrative problems but also had failed to build up a body of peasant proprietors for it had not prevented land from being transferred to moneylenders, traders and landlords. The system was then abandoned.

- 2.4 The third system, the 'lease system', was introduced to simplify the assessment of land revenue to encourage people to remain in occupation of land they had cleared and cultivated, and to extend the area of cultivation. Under this system revenue on land was settled for either five or ten years during which period cultivators could take up any amount of vacant adjoining land without having to pay additional revenue. By the 1870 cultivation proved so profitable that inducements to remain on cultivated land and to extend it were no longer necessary. Thus, no leases were executed after 1876.²⁶ When the government found that cultivation did not expand as quickly as it expected, it decided to encourage capitalists to develop the land by offering them large areas on easy terms under the grant system.
- 2.5 When Pegu passed under British rule after the second Anglo-Burmese War in 1852, agriculture was found to be conducted by small independent cultivators, the average size of whole holdings came to 8 acres roughly. The first land revenue assessment was made in 1853-54 under conditions in which the British knew little of existing arrangements, and what is more important, when the country in general was yet to be 'pacified'. "Such of the *Thoogyees* or local village officers of Circles as could be got together were consulted as to the fertility of the paddy lands in their jurisdictions. From a knowledge of the rates existing in the neighbouring provinces a rate of Rs (2) two per acre was fixed, after hearing the statement of the *Thoogyees*, as the maximum rate in the Districts of Rangoon and Bassein."²⁷ A point that should be noted and emphasized is that from the very beginning the colonial state was anxious to break the existing subsistence form of agriculture. In the Directions For the Assessment of Paddy in the Province of Pegu 1861, one of the more important points was as follows: "In proceeding to assess the paddy lands of those *quengs* entirely cultivated, it is necessary to ascertain as follows - 1st the present rate of tax per acre, 2nd the average yield of paddy per acre, 3rd the average price of paddy on the spot, 4th the distance from, and means of facility of transport to the nearest great and constant market." The emphasis on establishing a commercial linkage in making assessment is clear, though these instructions were certainly not always carried out.²⁸ Nevertheless, the phase of experimentation continued. Even the method of agriculture was sought to be changed, and peasants were actively discouraged in the practice of shifting cultivation which in many places had been their natural way. For, that created problems not only in assessment procedure but also made it difficult to expand cultivation.
- 2.6 As the colonial rule was firmly established, the Burmese villages were witnessing a systematic invasion into their closely guarded insularity. Local autonomy was rapidly vanishing. The change was perceptible even to the commonest Burmese peasant. The new state took care to make the process

as evident as possible "Dissatisfaction is the result' but dissatisfaction that others, who have better land, pay in proportion less, or even in an inverted rate "²⁹ But we have reasons to doubt this official version of dissatisfaction. Prome in 1858 was still going by doon arrangement and it was admitted that it created 'trouble and uncertainty'. Not only was there the annual harassment of fixing of annual revenue, the process of centralization was systematically draining away the surplus from the locality at an increasing rate. Locality ceased to be the major consumer of the revenue any more. Thus within fifty years Lower Burma was transformed from an underdeveloped and sparsely populated area into the world's leading rice-exporting area "³⁰ In 1839, of a total revenue of Rs 4, lakhs, land revenue produced over one-third and in 1885-86 the total assessment of land revenue was Rs 73,81,060. The figures in the following Table show the total area of land brought under cultivation in acres and the land revenue received therefrom, for the period between 1861 and 1885.

TABLE

Year	Total Area of Land Cultivation (in Acres)	Total Assessment of Land Revenue (in Rupees)	Increase (in Acres)	Increase (in Rupees)
1861-62	1,552,563	26,56,708	-	-
1870-71	2,090,386	34,45,227	537,823	7,88,519
1880-81	3,466,277	65,56,653	1,375,891	31,11,426
1881-82	3,676,610	66,81,292	210,333	1,24,639
1882-83	3,807,974	68,75,403	131,364	1,94,111
1883-84	3,966,321	69,29,460	158,347	54,057
1884-85	4,133,003	70,71,451	166,682	1,41,991
1885-86	4,389,170	73,81,060	256,167	3,09,609

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THE RECENT DEBATE ON THE COSTS AND BENEFITS OF IMPERIALISM: THE INDIAN CONTEXT

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I

- 1 1 Scholars working on British economic and imperial history now generally accept that it was somewhere during 1870-1914 that the rate of growth of British economy became slow and uncertain. This was also the time when British possessed one of the largest empires that the world has ever known. In this context, in the recent research on imperial history, an attempt is being made to evaluate the costs and benefits of retention and extension of territories for metropolitan economics and extension of questions have long been debated in relation to colonial societies in Asia, Africa and South America. But now these questions are being studied in relation to metropolitan end of the imperial system. In British imperial history the problem which is receiving most attention, both at the theoretical and empirical levels, is whether the empire represented a net loss or gain to the domestic economy. In other words, did the empire pay? Western economists and imperial historians - Lance Davies, Robert Huttenback, P. J. Cain, A. G. Hoppins, Sidney Pollard, O'Brien, Foreman-Peck, Andrew Porter and many others - are coming to the conclusion that the empire was a costly and deleterious affair.¹
- 1 2 In the process of putting the metropolitan economy back, at the centre of analysis, scholars are paying attention also to the role of non-industrial forms of capitalism, to what is described as 'gentlemanly capitalism' to distinguish it

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from industrial or commercial capitalism² It has been argued that landed interests, investors and service sector including the financial institutions centred upon London dominated Britain's economy But the economics of colonizing power's capitalism is not likely to offer the key to the politics of empire or to a study of imperial structure and has, therefore, not been taken up here

- 1 3 Of all the works on the impact of British overseas possessions on metropolitan economy, *Mammon and the Pursuit of Empire* by Lance Davies and Robert Huttenback is the one of which historians and economists working on imperial history are bound to take notice It is a monumental work based on mind-boggling statistics collected after painstaking research by over a dozen research assistants who combed the archives and libraries spread over the entire globe The data encompass the United Kingdom, India, fifteen colonies with responsible governments, fifty-nine colonies and protectorates in some form of dependent status, eighteen Indian princely states, sixteen foreign countries classed as developed and twenty-five other categorised as underdeveloped The authors have made elaborate counterfactual argument because they believe that what did happen can only be explained by contrasting the events that did happen with those that did not This elaborate exercise in cliometric history has been undertaken to answer the question Did the empire pay?³ The focus is on the profitability of Empire during 1865-1914 and on the identity of what might be termed as players in the imperial game — the identities of the investors whose main concern was the empire and the politicians whose votes shaped the empire
- 1 4 The question of need for investment during the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries continues to occupy the centre of the stage in research on imperial history in these days of hectic international flows.⁴ It is accepted that British capital exports rose spectacularly during the period There is a surprising amount of agreement on figures relating to its magnitude By 1912-13 about one-third of British wealth was held abroad⁵ Even the contemporaries saw a direct connection between the desire to export capital and the need to acquire colonies Hobson (1902) and Lenin (1916) stressed that the export of capital and the subsequent need to protect this investment by force was the primary reason behind the growth of empires of Great Powers In the 1960's D K Fieldhouse emerged as the most prominent critic of the view and argued that capital was definitely exported overseas, but it did not find its way to tropical regions which witnessed the growth of formal empires during this period This conclusion has been confirmed by statistical evidence subsequently marshaled by other historians and economists Davies and Huttenback have collected and tabulated the data on the direction and volume of portfolio finance that passed through the London market between 1865-1914 They have calculated that the sale of new issues alone amounted to £ 34 billion in 1865 and £ 192 billion in 1914 i.e. £ 4 5, in 1914, for every man, woman and child in the United Kingdom But, of these flows, the British empire did not draw large quantities As a fraction of all (Home, foreign and empire) finance the colonies with responsible government got about 20 per

cent, India 5 per cent and dependent colonies 3 per cent. From this they draw the unambiguous conclusion that there are no grounds for thinking that in terms of finance alone, the dependent empire could have played an important role in shaping the British economy. The magnitude of investment in empire and the rate of return on it have been seen as means by which Britain imposed burdens on colonies and boosted the economy. These findings knock the bottom out of such arguments.

- 1 5 Davies and Huttenback also study the question relating to profits from empire for British business. They have examined the records of 482 British firms operating either in Britain, in the Empire, or in the rest of the world. They compare the returns from empire and those available at home as also the profits that were attainable in the empire with those that would have been available in the domestic and foreign sectors had the empire not existed. The central finding is that although the empire may have remained good business for some, on an average it was certainly less rewarding than domestic alternatives. For the general investor, in the years after 1880 the empire was a snare and a delusion — a flame not worth the candle.
- 1 6 An attempt has also been made to examine whether political structures of Empire could have been used to manipulate expenditures for the benefit of British business. Davies and Huttenback examine the level and composition of Empire expenditures in four fields: law and justice, public works, human capital and direct business support for the six categories at states mentioned above. To take one example, on human capital during the fifty-two year period from 1860 to 1912, on an average Britain spent £ 22 per person per year while other foreign developed countries, spent £ 09, foreign under-developed countries £ 05 per person while colonies with responsible government were able to spend £ 55 on the head. The expenditure in India was £ 01 per person per year which was half of what even Indian princely states spent. On this basis the authors have concluded that government influence in support of business was most evident in colonies with responsible government i.e. in areas where political control was least effective. This was weakest in India where political control was almost absolute. Within Britain the pressure groups such as the Chambers of Commerce had only limited influence on the formation of imperial policy and governments were reluctant to act in support of business firms and bondholders. An analysis of the voting behaviour in the House of Commons provides further evidence for the view that economic self-interest was not the driving force behind parliamentary support of empire.
- 1 7 The question whether this degree of profitability was increased or offset by the cost of running the imperial system has also been taken up. In this context Davies and Huttenback argue that in respect to expenditure on administration as well as defence the British spent substantial sum which amounted to subsidy to empire. From their calculations of defence expenditures (railroads excluded) for six categories presenting them in colony weighted £'s per capita, colony weighted percentages of budget, population weighted £'s per capita and population weighted percentages of budget, Davies and Huttenback draw

the conclusion that the defence subsidy alone amounted to at least £ 54 per year for every British man, woman and child. They conclude while the British tax payer paid, their colonial confreres prospered - at least those, in the colonies of white settlement. This enabled colonies like Canada, New Zealand and Australia to devote more on education and social overhead investment. For the dependent empire the benefits are more obscure. Similar conclusion has been drawn from the examination of the non-defence components of the subsidy under which they have included government loan, favourable interest rates, privileged access to the capital market, direct assistance in the form of grants in aid, subsidies for cable construction, military subsidies, operations of crown agents etc. The direct result of this burden of defence and administration was that taxes in Britain, remained among the highest in the world. Every Briton paid about £ 2 40 per person per year by way of taxes. In foreign developed countries the average was less than £ 1 per person per year. But the benefits of empire were not distributed evenly. The profits accrued largely to the upper classes while the middle class received less than its proportional share of the burden it had to bear in the form of additional taxes.

- 8 From this elaborate exercise Davies and Huttenback have concluded that "the British as a whole did not benefit economically from the empire", that the British taxpayer paid and the colonies benefitted and that massive published expenditure upon the apparatus of imperial rule was not necessary for the growth of British economy during the period under study. Others have drawn similar conclusions. Foreman-Peck, from his balance of payments reconstruction for nineteenth century Britain and India which according to him 'provides a wider coverage of investment returns than does Davies and Huttenback's study', also draws the conclusion that profits from imperial investment were not excessive and that returns on British investments in India were no higher than the domestic rates of return. Patrick K. O'Brien also says that the notion that the empire made any positive long-term contribution to the health of the domestic economy is not likely to survive systematic analysis and statistical testing. The morale of this elaborate statistical and cliometric exercise, subsequent dialogue between western scholars and hindsight has been that far from being an economic asset for the metropolis the empire was a liability. Such a conclusion leaves the readers, at least on this side of the globe, almost nonplussed.

II

- 2.1 This debate is confined almost exclusively to the metropolitan end of the empire. But the subject matter of imperial history cannot be subsumed into the internal history of the metropolis or any of the peripheral states. It has two basic elements - the history of the metropolis as it expanded and that of one or more overseas dependencies. It is very important to study what D.K. Fieldhouse describes as 'the area of interaction'.⁶ What mattered was whether and to what degree a country became an organic portion of Britain's

international system Importance of the Indian connection to Britain, for example, cannot be judged only on the basis of her share of total British investment or the amount of trade between Britain and India Besides, in making any balance sheet it would be well to remember that imperialism had costs for the colonies too A look at the Indian context of this debate on costs and benefits throws light on many questions which have come up and which are likely to lead to a reassessment

- 2.2 It is interesting to note that in their discussion on empire Davies and Huttenback treat India — the jewel in the Crown' — as an exception On the defence expenditure they argue that not only did the self-governing colonies refuse to pay for their own defence, but they importuned the British Government to underwrite military operations designed solely to expand the empire in directions that the colonists thought profitable But 'most critics of empire *smiled on India*' because India bore 'the expenses not only of the Indian army but of British regiments stationed on the subcontinent' On the expenditure on human resources they say 'If Britain committed some resources to human capital and colonies in the empire even more, *the same could not be said for India*' About the performance of British business in the non-white colonies they say It appears that even in the dependent empire *outside of India*, British business did not fare well' Further, on the question of Whitehall giving direct support to British business they say *Laissez-faire* was the state religion *outside India*'
- 2.3 One can multiply much instances But treating India as an exception in various calculations tends to erode the very basis of various arguments and counterfactuals Davies and Huttenback themselves comment at one place that "India was not Africa or the Sugar islands of the Caribbean" Precisely In the dependent empire they have included fifty-nine colonies and India But India was not just the sixtieth colony The authors themselves are more aware of this than anybody else and have treated India as a category in itself in all their tabulations, counterfactual arguments and conclusions While fifty-nine dependent colonies between themselves extended over 3.2 million square miles and were populated by 374 million persons, India alone had an area of 2 million square miles and a population of 322 million in 1914 When Whitehall deviated from *laissez-faire* policy with regard to India and forced the Government of India to remove cotton duties (267), or gave contracts for oil exploration etc to British companies and not American Companies even though the latter offered more favourable terms (262), it was reacting to the pressure of British business community as well as to the fear that India could have the potential to compete with British firms Davies and Huttenback concede this when they comment

India was not Africa or the sugar islands of the Caribbean By the standards of most of the dependent Empire, it was relatively well-developed, and most importantly it had a business community that was prepared to compete with the British in providing a wide

range of products and services and that was nearly competitive even in some manufacturing industries' — particularly cotton textiles India not only exported entrepreneurial talent to many corners of the dependent empire, but had, by the end of the period, begun to compete with the British even in such traditionally British industries at steel?⁷

Not just Davies and Huttenbach but even Edelstein argues and Foreman Peck endorses that if there had been no empire then politically independent former colonies would have placed higher duties on British exports and caused a deterioration of the British terms of trade

- 2 4 The extent to which Indian policy responses could be adjusted to suit the interests of the metropolis highlights the many dimensions that exist on this issue. These dimensions cannot be appreciated by arguing, as Davies and Huttenbach do, that 'either the right hand did not know what the left was doing or India was *sui generis* and treated like no other colony'. There is need for closer look at the economics of the imperial system and for showing greater sensitivity for the complexity and inter-relatedness of the many factors that shaped that era. Foreman-Peck rightly comments 'Imperial relations have inbuilt tendency to provide for exploitation because they seem to create barriers to market entry, redistribute rights and impose obligations'
- 2 5 It has been argued that in the overall, British trade proportion of imperial trade was relatively small. Davies and Huttenbach refer to India's massive trade deficits. But this only underlines the danger of relying only on bilateral trade and of not seeing the imperial system as a whole. As S B Saul pointed out more than thirty years ago, India's surplus with the rest of the developed world enabled Britain to settle, to a substantial extent, her own deficits with the latter so that the large part of Britain's invisible receipts could be lent abroad.⁸ In this arrangement institutional mechanism of the empire was the major contributor

III

- 3 1 Similarly there were other sources of gain for Britain which have not been taken into account by Davies and Huttenbach in preparing their ready-reckoner on the costs and benefits of imperialism. One such possible source of gain for Britain at the expense of India, which has been studied by Foreman-Peck, is the manipulation of exchange rate of rupee to Britain's advantage. Over the period 1861 to 1895 the rupee sterling exchange rate fell by almost one half. This was also the time when Indian Government expenditure in England was rising - from Rs 76 m to Rs 274 m over this period. Assuming there was no scope for increasing Indian resource utilization by expansion, then the cost of empire for India was enhanced and Britain gained greater benefits in the form of cheaper Indian imports. Foreman-Peck says that the cost of imports from India as a result was 69 per cent lower than it would have been. Imports from

India amounted to £ 18.2 million in 1895 and this amounted to 1.3 per cent of U.K. GNP in that year. Similarly, economic historians are taking increasing interest in the contribution to the pattern of overseas finance made by direct investment abroad, direct in the sense of being made privately and locally by the British companies operating largely overseas.⁹ Many of these firms generated high profits and showed interest in imperial opportunities. Thus a study of the imperial structure as a whole is likely to throw Davies and Huttenback's calculations of subsidy to India and also a number of other estimates back into the melting pot. A study of imperial relations between Britain and India is also likely to alter many of the conclusions derived by them.

- 3.2 Davies and Huttenback also argue that expenditure on defence establishment was the highest in Britain and that evidence indicates that Britain actually maintained two defence establishments — one for the Home island and the second for the empire. But it is not possible to disentangle the British from the "imperial" element in overall defence expenditure. A very large proportion of imperial subsidy — colonial administration, military campaigns, naval defence, etc. — was closely related to the restoration, maintenance and defence of conditions conducive to commerce, not simply within the empire but, well beyond it. One can argue as Paul Kennedy does, that the statistics suggest that the British taxpayer was probably not bearing a disproportionate burden of expenditure on the army and navy, perhaps the small island state of Britain itself was enjoying a disproportionate share of global lands, raw material, power and influence.
- 3.3 Going through this elaborate debate on the unattractiveness and unprofitability of empire, the question that comes to mind is why did the British so cheerfully bear the burden of empire? Davies and Huttenback, in spite of their formidable exercise based on statistical evidence and counterfactuals, stop short of making the heroic counterfactual why economically rational choice of rapid decolonization was not adopted? Not only did the British maintain their Indian empire, they took far-fetched precautions to defend it. They sent military expeditions to Afghanistan (1878), Burma (1886), Tibet (1903) and many other places which were likely to increase their obligations, not decrease them. The successive governments in Britain were determined to defend the empire at any cost. In 1885 when Afghan army was defeated by Russians in a skirmish near the remote unknown town of Panjdeh in central Asia, the Liberal Prime Minister Gladstone described the clash as a "grave occurrence", he asked for 11,000,000 for military preparations.¹⁰ Since 1815 no government had asked the Parliament to sanction such a big amount except during the Crimean War. Some historians who have tried to answer the question provide a rehash of arguments used by Victorians to justify their rule over India like need to maintain peace and order in India and helping India to 'modernize'. For example, Foreman Peck says that rule over India was socially necessary for integration of India into world economy. But after decades of research on Indian history it is not necessary to accept such apologia for the Raj.¹¹ One can only say that if Britain found far flung and far-fetched precautions necessary for safeguarding the 'Jewel in the Crown' then its valuation of this

empire must have been very high Such issues cannot to ignored simply because they are difficult to answer

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THE REVOLT OF MAHMUD TARABI AND THE SARBADAR MOVEMENT

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I

- 1 1 During the middle ages, the transfer of power and the change of government seldom took place without some bloodshed and the Mongol ascendancy in Central Asia was no exception. As a people, Central Asians too were far from being placid. Their urge to combat against all forms of injustice is well reflected through their popular revolts and uprising — at times adopting most interesting (and in certain ways modern and democratic) methods to register their protests. The Arab conquest of Central Asia was followed by a number of revolts. This reaction to 'intruders' was not an isolated incident and can find parallels in the history of other parts of the world also. But, the socio-economic uprisings which erupted in Central Asia spreading over the thirteenth and fourteenth centuries in the wake of the Mongol conquest and rule seem to be somewhat conspicuous by their character, intensity, persistence, frequency and extensive appeal. In this paper, an attempt is being made to discuss such uprisings of Mahmud Tarabi in 1238¹ and the *Sarabdar* movement of 1365 which grew with time until it was eradicated by Timur's stern and diplomatic manoeuvres.² Both the uprisings seem to have common igniting factors and similar aspirations and objectives in their bases. The difference, however, exists not only in the time of their occurrence, duration and area but also with regard to their "prey" against whom these movements were directed. Generally, the Mongol rulers are held responsible for the ills of the government.

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and thereby for the evils of the society resulting in the discontent of the people. A careful study of the sources would, however, reveal that the dimensions to the problems were as varied as those responsible for the uprisings which were numerous. The discussion, therefore, relates to many causes, circumstances and consequences of the two uprisings and further highlights the forces at work and being responsible for such agitations.

- 1 2 It would not be historically correct to say that the revolt of Mahmud Tarabi which percolated through the entire Bukhara region and which completely shook the government machinery had left behind the seeds of "revolutionary movement" which finally emerged as the *Sarbadar* movement. On the eve of Khwarazm Shah's invasion also, a similar "popular and democratic movement" led by Sanjar (the son of a seller of shields who held "the honourable shield" of the region in utter contempt and himself enjoyed the faith and support of the people) broke out in Bukhara.³ The *Sarbadar* movement was completely different both in the origin, growth and development from such sporadic uprisings as led by Sanjar or Mahmud.
- 1 3 Mahmud was a sieve-maker of Tarab (a village three farsangs away from Bukhara) who managed to win the confidence and support of the people of Bukhara and organised a massive uprising though only to be killed and routed by his unscrupulous rivals. Juvaini and other chroniclers have branded Mahmud as "ignoramus" and "stupid" whose following comprised vulgar rabble and dissolute (runud, *avame aubash*). The reasons given for his popularity among people were equally flimsy and highly fanciful. Since in Central Asia, exorcism was much in vogue and magicians and shamans "cured" the patients with their magical rites, Mahmud too asserted that the genii were under his possession who served him continuously and conversed with him, revealing to him the unknown and the hidden (*manibat*). Being instructed by his sister in the art of magic (*paridan*), he practised it successfully. It was sheer coincidence that those who sought remedy were cured by his *tabbarruk* and even paralytic and the blind and those afflicted were cured by Mahmud through strange medicines.⁴ Not only the "superstitious" and "illiterate" became his ardent devotees but even the "sane and sober" were "lured" into his service through a verdict of famous and popular saint Shamsuddin Mahbub became Mahmud's disciple and devotee because of his (former's) own prejudices against the remains of Bukhara and the elite (*ashraf-o ayan*) of that *balda*. Mahbubi played upon the whims of the people and declared that his father had predicted in his book the emergence of a mighty lord from the soil of Tarab who should conquer the world and that the reigns of the same greatness were manifest from the forehead of Mahmud. This prophecy of a virtuous and learned man naturally had a rewarding effect upon Mahmud Tarabi's prospects. The calculations of astrologers further added to its credence. Whatever be the situation, Mahmud's claims to pose a challenge to the Mongol supremacy was courageous and timely venture. The population of Bukhara was "disgusted" with the Mongol rule and the appearance of Mahmud as "saviour" seemed to be an answer to the people's prayers and a desired fulfillment of their aspirations. Mahmud's followers started multiplying and their

faith increased in him with the same stride as Mahmud's inflated pride and his heightened ambitions. Juvaini says that "in stupidity and ignorance, Mahmud had not his equal" but he "began to show and counterfeit piety and saintliness so that vulgar and commoners followed him. Mahmud appeared "in the dress of the people of rags" i.e. sufis and gave the call of "holy war" against the Mongols. The *emirs* and *basqaqs* of Bukhara after consultations despatched a messenger to Khujand to the Minister Mahmud Yalavuch to apprise him of the developments.⁵ Mahmud's passion for conquests and his popularity with the populace frightened the Mughal amirs living in Bukhara. In the meantime, they themselves approached him under the pretext of seeking favour and blessings. The *darogha*, *basqaq* and the *ayan* collectively invited him to visit Bukhara so that the city could also be adorned by his presence. It was arranged in a way that when Mahmud reached Saripal he was to be suddenly assailed with a shower of arrows. Juvaini records that Tarabi was wise enough to sense their evil intentions at the glimpse of their unpleasant attitude, when they drew closer to Saripal, Tarabi warned Tamsha (*Nusha basqaq?*), the senior *shahna* to desist from his evil intentions or else providential punishment would wrench out his eye. The superstitious Mongols were terrified and Tarabi safely reached Bukhara and alighted at the palace of Sanjar Malik, Khwand Mir avers that the plot leaked out and it was certain Shaikh Razzaq threatened the Mongol *darogha*. The timely disclosure dampened the spirit of the enemies of Tarabi who received a rousing welcome from the people of Bukhara and its environs. Although the ruling elite were, trying to surpass each other in showing honour to him, they were constantly looking for an opportunity to kill him. But the common people were in majority there and that particular quarter of the town where he was lodged and the neighbouring *bazar* were so filled with the people that "even the air could not penetrate" and that there was "no room even for a cat to pass". The thronging of the people soon passed all bounds. They refused to depart without his blessings so Tarabi went on the roof of palace and rained down spittle upon them. Every person on whom there fell a sprinkling departed for his home smiling and contented. It was at this juncture that someone informed Tarabi of the plot and he stole out of a doorway and in one gallop reached Abu Hafs. While the Mongols sought for him in vain in all the directions, the hordes of common people managed to gather around him. After the evening prayers, Tarabi made a fiery speech exhorting them to equip themselves as best as they could with weapon, tool, staff, club etc. and see it that "the world must be purged of the infidels". Tarabi called all his followers and those desirous of truth to strengthen Islam. The agitated band of his devotees, the "illiterate" and the "commonalty" (*Johala-i awamunnas*) accompanied him to Bukhara. Tarabi alighted at the palace of Rabi' Malik and sent for the *sadrs*, grandees and notables of the town. He superseded the chief of the *sadr* — Burhanuddin — the last of the race of *Sadr-i Jahan* because he had some "defect in reason or virtue" and in his stead he appointed Shams Mahbubi to the office of the *sadr*. Tarabi insulted most of the grandees and notables and besmirched their honour. Some of them were put to death, others succeeded in escaping. Elements posing a threat to this authority were evicted from the city. The commonalty (*avam va runud*) vulgar

and dissolute supported and collected around him. They received whatever they desired. Tarabi claimed that his army was partly visible consisting of men and partly invisible consisting of the heavenly ghosts, which fly in the air, and of the tribe of the jinns, which walk on the earth. He consoled his armless band of soldier saying that they will be receiving arms "from the invisible". At that very juncture, the arrival of a Shirazi merchant and his followers strengthened Tarabi's supernatural connections and his followers no longer entertained any doubt as to the victory. Tarabi was declared as the Sultan of Bukhara and that very Friday *khutba* was read in his name (and if Khwand Mir is to be believed) by Mahmud himself. The rich were to supply tents, yurts, carpets and rugs for which Tarabi's followers formed themselves into large bands, and the rogues and ruffians (*runud va aubuash*) entered the houses of the wealthy and set their hands to pillage and plunder. The property thus obtained by plunder was bestowed upon his followers, troops and associates. Sultan Tarabi's indulgence thereafter in wine and sensual pleasures alienated many including his own sister. The nobles and the *sadrs* then assembled in Kermina and arranged with the Mongols stationed in that area in such a manner that the latter should muster army from every side and thus surround Bukhara and attack it. The Mongol army was scared due to the rumour that whoever moved a hand against Mahmud would become paralysed and marched slowly. Contrarily, Mahmud's army was confident though it consisted of "a band of market loungers clad only in shirt and pyjamas". Mahmud Tarabi and Shams Mahbubi stood in their ranks in the centre without weapons or breast plates. Although both of them were struck to death by the arrows of their enemy, neither of the army could know about the event. Almost at the same time a strong wind and dust storm stirred up to such an extent that nothing could be seen. The frightened Mongol army took it for a miracle of Tarabi and fled from the place hotly pursued by Tarabi's men. The discontented population of country districts issuing forth from their villages fell upon the fugitives with spades and axes. Whenever they came upon one of their member especially if he was a tax gatherer or land owner, they seized him and battered in his head with their axes. They followed the Mongols as far as Karmina and nearly ten thousands were slain. When the followers of Tarabi returned and failed to find him, they believed that their master had retired into the unseen. They declared his two brothers Muhammad and Ali to be his vicegerent till Tarabi's reappearance. The two followed in the footsteps of Tarabi and continued the same old plundering and destroying. After a week, Mongol officers Yilduz Noyon and Chigin Qorchi arrived with a large army of the Mongols. Again these persons drew up in the battle array into the open country completely unarmoured. At the first discharge of arrows both of them were killed and about 20000 others were slain on this occasion. The Mongols were eager to wreak vengeance upon the inhabitants of Bukhara, "turning people into fuel for the fire of calamity and carry off their property and their children". The timely intervention of Mahmud Yalavach checked and prohibited the massacre and plunder saying that the city which they had so long endeavoured to restore to its prosperity should not be destroyed and because of a few wicked and ignorant people, the innocent thousands should not be

slain. It was finally agreed that the matter should be referred to Qaan and the latter's words should be followed. Simultaneously he dispatched messengers to the Emperor and exerted long and successfully to secure forgiveness for the people of Bukhara whose promises and thanks Yalavach earned. Khwand Mir, however, gives the credit for this task of saving Bakhara from the onslaught of Mongols and Tarabis only through the attention of Qarachar Noyon.⁶ The abortive revolt of Mahmud Tarabi was the last of the series of rebellions during the thirteenth century against the Mongol rule. Although this insurrection has been depicted in different colours with varying details by the historians of multifarious hues, almost all chroniclers agree that the uprising was ignited through socio-economic discontent and the agrarian, artisan and religious groups had supported them with zeal due to extortions and agrarian destructions perpetrated by the Mongols.

- 1 4 The Movement of Sarbadars which started a century later (1336) in Persia and later on spread to Transoxiana possessed multi dimensional features though it continues to be misunderstood as a reaction against the Mongols rule. The confusion is aggravated because of the biased account available in court chronicles and their exaggerated assessment as given by modern historians.
- 1 5 In an autocracy based upon 'command economy' and in a wealth-oriented society, people's uprising was considered an unwelcome feature and an unjustifiable phenomenon. These movements, therefore, did not receive a favourable treatment by the court of elite chroniclers. Not only the chroniclers like Juvaini denounced this revolt of Mahmud Tarabi as the "*Khuruj*" (rebellion of a demagogue), the Sarabadar movement had also been condemned by Ibn-i Batuta as the handiwork of the "recalcitrant" and "seditious elements".⁷ The literature available on Sarabadar movement, however, describes it as a 'socio-economic mass uprising or a protestant movement of discontented people. Apart from the famous work '*Tarikh-i Sarbadaran*' (compiled in A H 765 at the court of Mu'id Ali Sabzwari or some other Sarbadar ruler by an anonymous writer, and which deals exclusively with the Sarbadars, we also have the unofficial versions of the event (as preserved in Fazlullah Musavi's *Assah ut Tawankh* (comp 1412-14) and Abdur Razzaq's *Matla us sadain* which provide an insight into the inner recesses of Central Asian socio-economic milieu which nurtured such risings. As compared to Shami, Yeazdi gives greater details regarding the events of 1365 which have been supplemented richly by Turkish and Uighur sources (e.g. *Josh Kharosh*, *Tarikh-i Khani*, etc.) Hafiz Abru has also added much to our understanding of the problem.⁸

II

- 2 1 Certain modern historians too have dismissed the entire movement as those of vagabonds and plunders. Others have tried to explain it "in terms of a socially oriented reform movement having the character of a class struggle". Petrushevsky describes it as an agrarian uprising or a peasant revolt supported by "angry masses" comprising the 'havenots', urban poor, artisans

and the merchants. According to him, the class struggle was sharpened by racial friction and national antagonism. H. R. Roemer had disagreed with this view.⁹ Almost all Soviet and other historians agree on the point that the Sarbadar uprising in Khurasan was an immediate reaction to the financial burdens imposed upon the people in general and to a grinding tax structure and oppressive methods used to realize the taxes.¹⁰ The explanation, however, that since Amir Abdur Razzaq had killed an *amil*, he had formented troubles and organised uprising¹¹ to cover up this drastic action seems to be an over simplification of the actual occurrence which was the culmination of a cumulative suffering not only at the hands of the Mongol rulers but also due to the actions of corrupt native officials. The word *Sarbadar* has been as differently spelt and interpreted as the movement itself. Faryumadi¹² and certain others used the word as "*sarbadalan*". The word "*baddal*" in Arabic denotes "a seller of eatables" where 'dal' alone means wolf and 'dall' denotes 'indicatory'. Thus, the word *Sarbadalan* does not seem to be correct at least in this context.

- 2.2 Usually the medieval chroniclers have used word *Sarbadar* (lit. head on gallows, i.e. the gallow birds) stressing that "the struggle against the unjust rule was worth the risk of execution".¹³ If Ibn-i Batuta is to be believed, the *Sarbadar* movement was not merely confined to one place. Such fighters for people's rights existed in almost all the Muslim countries. In Iraq, they were called as *Shattaris*, in the west as *Saqura* and in Khurasan as *Sarbadars*. They had very close resemblance to the fraternity group/fraternites of Turkey known as *akhi* movement. Ibn-i Batuta says that the founders of this movement which originated from Khurasan were the two gallant men, namely, Masud and Muhammad who along with their five faithful and brave devotees "unitedly", laid the foundations of sedition and robbery with their headquarters at Banhaq (Sabzwar). They remained in their hideout during the day but plundered and attacked Buqra and caravans at night. When there was anarchy in Persia, many other "hoodlums" joined them adding to their mutual strength and power. Their number, wealth territorial possessions and grandour steadily increased. Such was the craze for this new order that the slaves from the four corners ran away from their masters to join this new group of activists and "each *ghulam* who-joined them became the owner of a horse, and hence "wanted" (*khwasta*). If he was brave and adventurous, he acquired leadership of a detachment. Soon Masud conquered Baihaq and other territories and acquired enough strength to declare himself as the head of this army (*saridasta*) and a Sultan. They were all *rafizis* and dreamt of eradicating Sunnism from Khurasan. In Meshed, a Shila saint Hasan supported the action of this group, persuaded the people to join this group and even trained them as *Sarbadars*. He was declared their Caliph. It seems that the reason for the sudden and ever-increasing popularity of *Sarbadars* was their strict adherence to rules and regulations as stipulated by their leaders. The restoration of law and order particularly after the lawlessness which prevailed during the last century must have been a pleasant and welcome change. Sheikh Hasan practised and advised justice even in his last will (*tausiya*). The justice and honesty reigned

supreme in his empire to the extent that "even the coins of gold and silver lay untouched in the dust till its owner was discovered" ¹⁴

- 2 3 Here we are not concerned with the *Sarbadars* of Persia directly though the movement was borrowed from Persia and channelised into Transoxiana. It will be sufficient to say that the *Sarbadars* of Sabzwar were known as "usurper", rootless phenomenon having no legitimate or dynastic claims to the crown or to its authoritative position. In Khurasan, there was a triangular power struggle. Apart from the *Sarbadars*, there was "pretenders" Tugha Timur (claiming to be the sixth descendant of Jochi Qasar, a brother of Chingiz Khan) - keen for restoring Il-khanid Empire and the Karl dynasty in Herat. The two leaders, Hassan Juri and Masud, both had different ideologies, arms and action plans. The dichotomy existing between the two elements led to the emergence of another offshoot - the Shaikhiyan and a long spell of mutual confrontation. With their strength in men and money, the *Sarbadars* conquered Nishapur, Sarakhs, Zawah and Tus defeating Tugha Timur and his army of 50,000 Mongols. But, the Ghurid Turks and Simnanis defeated 'Masud Badshah' in the plains of Poshang on 13 Safar 843 or (in 484 by another version) ¹⁵
- 2 4 In Persia, the gradual disintegration of Ilkhanid Empire after the death of Abu Said in 1336 was followed by a rule of Sarbadars for half a century. This "kingdom without a kind" having its own coins was definitely directed against the remnants of the Mongol regime as much as against the exploiting Persian bureaucracy. Persia suffered more than Transoxiana as it was twice ravaged by the Mongols. The inhabitants do not seem to have reconciled to their new rulers and it was no wonder that the simmering discontent raised its head each time with greater vigour.
- 2 5 The movement started with the same name in Samarqand also and became forceful in 1365-66 though it totally different in its origin and results from that of Khurasan. The Samarqandis rose in revolt not against the individual rulers but against the internal enemies against whom even the administration failed to take action. The Sarbadar movement developed in Transoxiana in the fourteenth century and is said to have lasted for six to seven months (A.H. 766-767) though it must have started much earlier almost concurrently (or a little later) with that in Sabzwar.

III

- 3 1 The most important event relating to the activities of *Sarbadars* in Central Asia was the siege of Samarqand by Jetah ruler and its defence by three persons, namely, Maulana Zad Samarqandi, Maulana Khirdak Bukhari and Abu Bakr Kelevi (cleaner of cotton). The first two belonged to the group of Muslim scholars whereas the third was an ordinary artisan. It is significant that both Shami and Yezdi mention only the nicknames of the two while they use the personal name of the worker. Musavi and Abdur Razzaq, however, mention only one name (of Maulana Zad) in connection with this episode, Musavi says that he was a "young student who led this movement".

- 3.2 The youths of noble origin and the *madrassa* students with the help of other representatives of intelligentsia and the working class took upon themselves the responsibility of the defence of their town leaving aside the expectations from the rulers' army. They displayed extraordinary courage and organising capacity with full confidence and repulsed the attack of the enemy while the rulers were silent spectators of the event.
- 3.3 The disintegration of Chaghtai dynasty had started almost simultaneously with Il-khanid Kebek's death (1326) and Tarmashirin's exile from Central Asia, while the turbulent conditions prevailed which were further aggravated between 1358-70. After the death of Amir Kazaghan, the Turco-Mongol *amirs* held the sway. Neither Amir Hasan nor Ilyas Khwaja could be a good match for the situation while Timur was yet in making. In the battle of Mir, Amir, Husain and Timur were defeated and fled away crossing Amu.¹⁶ The Mughal army reached Samarqand and the leaderless population shuddered at the very thought of facing the Jetas who could neither be placated by presents nor by surrender. It was then that a young man rose to the occasion. On a Friday assembly this "*danishmand*" (sagacious scholar), *buzurgzada* known as Maulana Zad who hailed from the nobility and belonged to scholarly group of Bukhara and was famous for his archery and gallantry moved towards the pulpit. He addressed the desperate shattered people as "constellation of reformers" (*Mu'ashshar ul Muslahin*) and used his eloquence to goad the people. The fiery speech of Maulana Zad had the following message: "Now today there was domination of *Kafirs* who had come forward aiming at the house and belonging (*khana-o-man*) of Muslims. The rulers had been realizing "*Jiziya*" from Muslims naming it as '*bajo Kharaj*' and spending it on themselves for their personal comforts. The enemy thundering at the gate could not be satisfied even by *amani* or *sawun* and the lives of Muslims were at stake. There will be questions from you on the Day of Judgement. Who would and could be the *Mutassadi* or the *mutahid* in the welfare of high and low so that we bow our heads before him and serve him." When all the elders kept quiet, Maulana Azad queried: "what if I become that dedicated one? would you cooperate?" All consented and accepted him as their chief." Maulana Zad read the *Khutba*, persuaded them for waging war against Jetah and got down. There was a frenzied reaction to this and many offered submission. If Musavi is to be believed, a group of fully armed youngmen of 1000 immediately accepted him as their leader. The details available in Hafiz Abu and Samarqandi supplement each other. Maulana Zad appointed guards on the gates and gardens. After his departure from the mosque, he did not sleep for three days and three nights keeping himself busy in the arrangements for the defence of Samarqand which had, since the days of Chingiz Khan walls nor citadel. A list of inhabitants was brought to him containing the names of all living persons who were appointed at various places. Streets were barricaded and the sheds were constructed for the embrasures for archery. All the inhabitants had to take oath on Quran that they would not disobey him. None was to leave his place of posting even for assisting his fellowmen. They were not to react to the arrival of enemy's army near the wall and to wait for his *jar* and *vasaq*. There were detachments of

brave archers placed on the only opening on the left side in the main street. A detachment was left in ambush. When the *qarawals* of Jetah quite oblivious of the arrangement arrived, they were suddenly surrounded by ambuscade and even the *yadah* acts failed to protect them.¹⁷ Finally, they devastated the outskirts of the town as a last gesture of frustration when they failed to storm the boundary of the town. An epidemic among their horses further added to their problems and they had to leave. Shami says that the Jetah retreat was not so much due to bravery and planning of the defenders but because of the weaknesses of the invaders themselves. Yezdi says that heavenly aid saved the Samarqandis. If Musavi is to be trusted, Maulana Azad had sent the good news even to Sultan Ghazi though Samarqandi does not refer to this action.¹⁸ The achievement of people for the defence of the town without the help of an army or the guidance of a ruler was certainly a praiseworthy event. Nitinzi says that the economic and material losses had goaded the population to react since out of the *Kharaj* and *Jihat* taxes, feasts (*toi*) were being organised, *suyurghals* and favours were being doled out and the elite was earning excellence for themselves through the burden of good living, maintenance of army and the expenditure on all these reparation fell upon the shoulders of subjects and the Muslims of Samarqand. This uprising was exclusively organised by the labourers, artisans, scholars, professionals (*peshawaran* and *sahab-i ihraf*) and the elements associated with *futuwwat*.¹⁹ Yaqub says that the *Sarbadars* of Samarqand were the followers of Khurasan *Sarbadars*. It is quite possible that Kullu Abu Kabr naddaf who distinguished himself as an ideal *Sarbadar* had come from Khurasan to Samarqand.²⁰

- 3 4 Central Asian Sources are full of such instances where the civil population of the neighbouring villages surrounding a town is invited to help the ruler and the small rutine against the outside enemy. The natives were no less democratic in their protests against the ruling clique. The behaviour of Persian protestors against chaos introduced by *Gaikhathu* is in complete contrast to the submissive surrender of Delhi population at the introduction of token currency by Muhammad bin Tughlaq. The sources inform how the discontented people "gheraoed" the *qazi* and the other officials several times and also how the population attacked the shops and looted the bread cakes if they were not easily found. Even poets like Mushfiq Bukhari recited their poems like "complaints of tyranny" (*shikayat uz zulm*) in the face of a ruler like Abdullah Khan.²¹ Nevertheless, the episode has been widely discussed and turned into a polemic issue as the rise of *sarbadar* movement in itself was a significant event. Interesting comments have been offered in this connection. Some scholars have suggested that the movement had its origins in Caliph Abdul Nasir's idea of waging holy war and strengthening of Islam at the grass root level.
- 3 5 Some scholars hold Mongols to have been directly responsible for this unrest. The defence of Samarqand against Jetah ruler is said to be a religious war fought against the infidels to protect the property and the lives of Muslims under the leadership of a religious guide and several political leaders. This defence is described as "*begana satizi*" or war against external elements.

unsur-i begana Yaqub Azand has recorded the following comments. The fight against the Mongols was directed against their highhandedness. The Mongols did not have any pastime except *chapawal* (incursions) plundering and devastation and that they lacked any ideology of rulership, and in general were half way through civilization. There was a general apathy on their part regarding the interest of the subjugated people and they had no targets in view to be fulfilled and possessed no concept of equity, equality and group justice. As the ruling group was ease-loving, profiteering, extortion and corruption had become the order of the day. The military aristocracy and the administrative bureaucracy suffered from mutual jealousy, rivalry and consequently from lack of unity, cohesion and cooperation among the elite. The mixing of *baitul mal* with other miscellaneous *mal* and subsequent exploitation of poor through extraordinary levies was also a source of misery for the common man. Equally disastrous was the duality in *Wizarat* and the organization of *divani*.²²

- 3 6 However a careful study of the sources reveals that the beneficiaries of any economic exploitation occurring during the period were not the rulers but the intermediaries as the state treasury continued to be in a depleted state. It should also be noted that from amongst the various uprisings of the period only one insurrection of Mahmud Tarabi in Bukhara (1238-40) is reported to be directed against the Mongol rulers and the Bukhara Emirate. The Mongol hurricane had wiped off the two strong pillars of Islam, namely, the Sunni Empire of Abbasids in Baghdad and the Shia domain of Ismailis in Almut. The blow had been felt more strongly by the people in their days of declining fortunes. Notwithstanding Chingiz's reverence for different religions, and his professed and practised toleration, the loyalists of one faith failed to appreciate this variable penchant for different religions. The stern attitude of Chahgatai aiming at self-preservation proved to be detrimental to the interests of the Mongols in the long run.
- 3 7 The ecclesiastical experiments of Chingiz's successor ranging from successive and swift conversions, fluctuating faith and multiplicity of religions existing within one family excited more suspicion than confidence. Unencumbered by any socio-religious complexities the Mongols were "least bothered" about mounting tension. The "indifference" of those engrossed in their military ventures, search for summer and winter quarters (*yilaq and qishlaq*) and the acquisition of wealth and power were most appalling for the people. The people evolved a defence mechanism of their own and developed an ostrich like attitude by erecting a bastinado of religion around themselves. The *khanqahs* and *madrasas* were now zealously spruced up and were thronging with life. The economic discontent gave rise to escapism. The saints and Sufi orders were ready to 'embrace the harassed refugees'. Underneath the cover of mysticism and religious activities, a class of havenots, joined together by common religion, ever increasing grievances, and spirit of struggle for survival arose. Political and group activities of *Sarbadars* multiplied. They challenged the incompetent and self gratifying elements on the one hand and despised their submissive boneless brethren on the other.

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LIFE HISTORY : A TOOL FOR A HUMANISTIC UNDERSTANDING OF HISTORY

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I

- 1 1 In recent years social sciences in general have gone through significant theoretical fermentation. While a lot of this new research ranging from the discourses of structuralism to post modernism may have just produced some exaggerated claims or plain neologisms, yet two very significant departures seem to be gradually making a mark on the methodology of social sciences. These pertain to a fresh concern with the creative and meaningful role of human agency and its complex interaction with the structures of society including those of "general meanings". The formulation is sometimes presented as that of an interaction between 'structure', 'agency' and 'meaning'.¹
- 1 2 The discipline of history has, of course, often been receptive to the cross currents in the neighbouring fields of enquiry yet its special concern with the unique and the particular, in time and space has ensured its own steadfastness and given it a rhythm of change and development which is peculiarly its own. In this paper, I wish to draw scholars' attention to some important possibilities of writing history in a way which penetrates further into the peculiarities of the human-subject and his social and cultural milieu without getting entangled in avoidable neologism. For short, this approach has been termed the humanistic approach to history and social sciences.²

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- 1 3 By 'humanistic approach' we mean not just the oft-quoted study of mentalities of the past but, an approach which pays systematic attention to human subjectivity and creativity as also the intimate experiences of peoples' everyday life in different societies at different times. It is true that these fascinating dimensions of human experience are not entirely absent in existing literature and academic discussions. In fact, not only historical novels and movies but also anthropologists and even some professional historians have paid a good deal of attention to these themes in their writings. The lay reader has, of course, been extremely interested in precisely these kinds of themes. Yet, it is ironical that they were generally dismissed as somehow less serious by professional historians for a long time or, confined to their more casual writings, best sellers or to some subsidiary chapters at the end of their important and more 'academic' works focussing on the 'hard' facts of political, economic and social structures and movements of the past times.
- 1 4 Beginning with the *Annales* and subsequently the various genres of 'New Histories' in various countries, historians have, of course, changed the picture substantially and the history of mentalities, localities, life histories, etc. is already tending to become another kind of orthodoxy in some quarters. However, shorn of some excesses³, the approach as a whole has been positive and stimulating. Yet, and this is the point of my departure, there are important areas of ambiguity in which the spokesmen of the humanistic approach have still to reflect and develop. Most pressing amongst these are (a) the methodology or the tools and strategies for the reconstruction of everyday life as well as people's thought processes in the past and (b) a theoretical debate about the mutual interaction and interpenetration between the more orthodox concerns of historians with political institutions, economic change and social transformation and the newer interests of younger historians. In other words, a systematic analysis of the interaction between the public and the private, action and 'meaning' and between 'structure' and agency in history. In this paper I shall focus on the first concern and, more particularly, look at one of the tools available to the new approach, namely life-history-its potential, limitations and complementarity with other approaches to the reconstruction of the past.
- 1 5 Admittedly, 'humanising' history thus or adopting a new interest in the human face of problems is not an easy task nor can it be the only approach to the reconstruction of human past. However, we do suggest that if social scientists specially historians, fail to seriously consider the intimate experiences of peoples' lives and their subjective interests and consciousness in a more systematic manner, than we may simply be running the risk of not only being dry and uninteresting to people outside the ambit of our 'captive audiences' but also of committing the 'fallacy of objectivism' and, explicitly or implicitly, imposing explanatory criteria which have little meaning outside our own theoretical frameworks⁴.
- 1 6 Fortunately, there is a whole series of sources which can be and, are being, used by social scientists to understand culture and consciousness. One set of

such sources which have been specially used by anthropologists and sociologists are personal-documents including letters, diaries, travelogues, notes, graffiti and photographs alongwith recorded interviews, questionnaires, etc. However, for the historians, except in very recent times, such a battery of sources are by and large impossible to get. Yet, a cultural reconstruction of the past is probably not entirely ruled out on that count. To a certain extent it can be argued that for the humanistic perspective on past what we minimally need are not new sources as much as a fresh approach to the use of familiar sources like paintings, architecture, folklores, official and private records, etc. And though the cultural evidence that may thus be gathered indirectly from such an exercise may be qualitatively different and much more problematic, yet the project is not entirely futile⁵

II

- 2 1 One important source for the humanistic reconstruction of the past may be the study of biographical and autobiographical accounts or even an interpretive understanding of events and incidents from individuals' lives in the past. While the former are structured accounts of the whole or a substantial part of an individual's life, the latter focus more on situating life within its social and cultural milieu and considering the sharp turnings and choices that an individual makes in specific circumstances and what these choices reveal about his and his fellow beings' beliefs and attitudes in general. The most famous use of such techniques of 'Thick Description' has of course been made by Clifford Geertz in his anthropological and historical studies⁶. And though these have been subjected to very important and valid Marxist criticisms⁷ yet it is arguable that a similar treatment of peculiar incidents, corroborated from different sources in Indian history like, Akbar's reported visit to Salim Chishti to pray for a son and heir to the Mughal Empire or the interpretive understanding of the court conflicts generated by Razia's accession to the throne of Delhi sultanate, or an interpretive reading of the autobiographies of Babur or Jahangir, etc., may also afford similar insights into the rituals and customs and mentality patterns of our past.
- 2 2 Such an imaginative use of historical evidence, specially life histories, to arrive at individual or group mentalities and customs of every day life in the past is, of course, neither easy nor definitive. In fact, the literature available on the methodological dilemmas of this research tool competes well with that which actually uses the method to reconstruct the meaning and experience of lives. Since the tool of life histories has been a special topic of discussion within the discipline of anthropology I shall first briefly look at the problems and methods used there and then turn to the specific question of the challenges posed by its use for a reconstruction of the past.
- 2 3 The most important issues raised against the method of life histories have been the questions of reliability of its data and its validity for theory in social science⁸. Thus it has been argued that the construction of life histories through written biographical or autobiographical accounts or through extended

interviews are basically riddled with intricate problems of ego involvement, strategies of self presentation and the conscious and unconscious problems of memory and recall. To begin with, it must be admitted that any life history, specially the one drawn from an autobiographical account, is in one way a mere reconstruction of the self, at a particular stage of the subject's life. Personal ego is therefore bound to play a significant role in selection and presentation of life-history material. So much so that the relevant truth of such an account would then consist not in its 'facts' but in its subjectivity. This is an important topic in its own right. Everyone holds his or her own theory about the history and course of his or her life, his or her successes or failure, gifts and choices and so on. And indeed this construct itself has a relevance even if the author basically misleads the world. Yet, may we then rest content with this limited use of life history evidence?

- 2 4 Ideally we would have desired a 'theory of bias' which could then be routinely discounted in interpreting such material. But the fact is that no such theory exists as yet. Yet, this does not close all doors and the problem of reliability of life-history evidence can be approached quite pragmatically, as with other kinds of research methods, in two ways, First, by checking for internal consistency and secondly, by checking against all other possible sources of related evidence. Here it may be recollected that a life history is that research project which does not begin or end with the recording of an individual's life but covers all possible sources of related evidence through several available methodologies, thus aspiring towards a 'triangulation' of evidence and sources⁹
- 2 5 The question, of course, remains as to how much of common evidence for such 'triangulation' can we hope to find between such diverse source as official records on one hand and personal documents on the other. The details of local events, material life, relations and structure of various social groups and institutions are themes on which evidence from subjects' observations can be easily compared and contrasted with the same from other contemporaries and from written records. However, the subjects' account of his inner-life, of changing feelings, belief, ideals, loyalties and so on, though extremely valuable, has little direct counter-evidence to support or reject it. But this need not be a cause for pessimism since the same is still retrievable from an indirect but substantial evidence of another kind. This refers to patterns and changes in the subjects' behaviour, habits, talk etc. which while reflecting indirectly on mentalities, can also be counter-checked with the subjects' companions and, occasionally, from certain kinds of written records (diaries, court & police records, letters etc.) This is not to suggest that the possibilities of systematically interpreting mentalities from behaviour, talk and so on are clear or complete. Far from it. But for any 'Thick Description' of behaviour or talk, the life-history may indeed provide the best possible comprehensiveness and interrelatedness of available sources"¹⁰
- 2 6 Here it is worth admitting that we may often have to rely, specially for the focus on mentalities, on triangulation of facts from members of a small and

characteristic group. However, precautions against group biases may not be as difficult to constitute as for those of the individuals. Moreover, the accounts from one group can be counter checked with those from another and also with written records.

III

- 3.1 This brings us to the second major problem associated with life-histories' viz that their validity or, in other words, of the relevance of the individualist focus to the concerns of social sciences and of the more debatable issue of generalisability of life history evidence.
- 3.2 In the first place we must consider a whole battery of critical charges which have been hurled against the perspective and methodology of life histories. Thus this interest has been accused of atomism, psychologism as well as nominalism. Broadly, the charge implies that life history, by focusing on the lived experience of individuals, evades the proper 'Nomothetic' focus of the social sciences and also that they fail to relate their 'Ideographic' subject to the general processes and structures of society.
- 3.3 The critique is grossly misfounded. First, as it has been well pointed out, "the outstanding characteristic of man is his individuality". And that, "instead of growing impatient with the single case and hastening on to generalisations why should we not grow impatient with our generalisations and hasten to the internal pattern. An ideographic approach to life histories can serve the useful purpose of developing an in-depth understanding of 'a' person in a particular time, space and context if 'the' person of that space and context. And, this is significant in its own right. Indeed it may ultimately be true that "the deeper insights about Man will precipitate not as much from identification of the several elements in different societies but more from the patterns of their individual configurations"¹¹
- 3.4 But more than anything else the validity and indeed the necessity of the study of individuals lies in its closer penetration into the woefully neglected facts and insights of human psychology. A set of insights which through not unproblematic, still promise to illumine the field of human motivations and experience, a field of which, in the existing state of research, social scientists seem to be carrying more of native and obstinate assumptions than systematic information.¹² And yet, over and above this ideographic perspectives, the life history is also not entirely irrelevant to the more conventional nomothetic purpose of social sciences. Any in-depth understanding of a single individual's life, situated in its socio-cultural milieu, can help to amplify the latter in several useful ways. First, it can provide through its-'miniaturist' detail, a check against explicit and implicit assumptions and generalisations of the 'broad-canvas' approaches. Second, it may provoke fresh insights which may then be tested back on the nomothetic plain. It may still be argued that the totality of society is more than the sum of its parts and that even a hypothetical set of life histories of all the individuals in a social

group may not nab the import of such processes as hegemony, function, etc. But, the individual still remains relevant, for even if society is more than all its individuals it is not independent of them. In fact the individual is its only, incomplete, but most tangible and creative reflection. And he is a reflection precisely because he is not an abstraction, he is "an ensemble of social relations" as well as cultural patterns.

- 3.5 It may broadly be noted that the availability of a whole series of autobiographical accounts, police and court records, and even diaries, letters, photographs, folklore, etc. in the modern period of Indian history especially in the context of different kinds of anti-imperialist struggle and reform attempts offer a rich mine of source material for the construction of life histories and their use in developing a humanistic approach to the writing of modern Indian history.¹³ Such life histories shall, however, focus not only on the 'great' leaders of our freedom struggle and the famous thinkers and reformers but also the forgotten people of the lower strata and their convictions and ideas.¹⁴ Secondly, the genuinely new contribution of such life history accounts will be apparent only if they make a radical departure from the conventional biographical studies which have largely focussed on the 'heroic' and public life of great leaders instead of focussing on the way such individuals moved between the public and private realms, between traditional ties and new loyalties which were being constructed during this extremely critical period of our history and, their dilemmas, tensions and occasional shifts between these various sensibilities and convictions.¹⁵ Thirdly, such life accounts shall focus not only on political attitudes and ideologies in the narrow sense but also try to explore the lived experience of this critical period in its entirety including a survey of long term changes in intimate relations, daily routine and private life and even changing socialising patterns and aesthetic preferences at different levels of society.¹⁶ Life histories can also shed new light on the conventional historical concerns of changing political and economic life under colonial rule and its various contradictions as reflected in individuals' personal experiences.

IV

- 4.1 To conclude, we may recall that though the project of understanding the lived experience of the past through life histories is problematic yet the same applies to all knowledge, more philosophically. On the other hand, the incompleteness of the positivist model of social sciences which deliberately avoids both the unobservable and the unique and focusses rather, on 'hard' and tested facts and laws of society, is becoming increasingly obvious. The issues of meaning, symbols, agency and the subjects' own voice are gradually coming to centre stage in the discourses of social scientists. And life history may, specially for historians, prove to be those useful 'prisms' which refract the opaqueness of these dimensions of human experiences and enrich the study of history not by substituting other kinds of approaches and concerns but by attempting to relate with them in new ways.

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SAARC - A CRITICAL STUDY IN REGIONAL COOPERATION

SUMMARY

ANUZSIYA S.*

&

S. SAMBANDAM**

Cooperation among the states of the South Asian region is essential to its peace and economic progress India occupies a strategic position in the South Asian geo-political system by virtue of its great resources, when compared to other members of the SAARC This South Asian region has been prone to problems and conflicts, which has been the legacy of the colonial past These have remained unresolved and SAARC has been founded with the hope of establishing peaceful political and economic cooperation among the neighbours but so far SAARC has not turned out to be a successful instrument for regional cooperation as its Asian counterpart the ASEAN The key to peace and progress of the region is Indo-Pakistan cooperation SAARC has not been able to achieve much owing to the collision between the two major powers of the region The very fact that the SAARC has been pulling through in social and cultural fields in spite of mutual bickering, quarrels and disputes among its members is itself a great sign of hope for the future

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**MAHATMA GANDHI'S CONTRIBUTION
TO THE STRUGGLE
AGAINST RACIAL DISCRIMINATION
IN
SOUTH AFRICA 1914-1947**

SUMMARY

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Gandhiji returned to India from South Africa in 1914 and though engaged in a life and death struggle for the independence of India, he was also seized with racial discrimination in South Africa. He left no stone unturned to protest against the discriminating legislation in South Africa now and again. He urged M R Jayakar and Srinivas Sastri to visit South Africa. He was in constant touch with the South Africa situation and advised Dr Y M Dadoo and Dr Monty Naicker who were fighting racialism there and met Gandhiji at Patna in May 1947. Gandhiji exhorted that the sufferings of the Indian in this struggle were worth pursuing as the cause of the honour of India and through her of all the exploited coloured races of the earth whether they be brown, yellow or black.

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**WAS HERODOTUS (c. 484-425 B.C.)
OF GREECE
THE FATHER OF HISTORY?
A RETROSPECTIVE PERSPECTIVE**

SUMMARY

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The validity of the conventional view that Herodotus was the "Father of History", is questionable. Actually, he was preceded by twenty Greek historians, who belonged to the sixth and first half of the fifth centuries B.C. Of these, six were the most prominent from whose works he drew the historical information for the completion of his own work, *Historia* without acknowledgement. He did not acknowledge the works of his predecessors and forerunners, probably with the intention of pushing them into the background and bringing his own name into the limelight for being recognised as the first historian in the world. Thus he was one of the fathers of history and not the 'Father of History'. Further, like ancient Greece, Egypt, Babylonia, Assyria, Persia, India and China also produced histories before Herodotus commenced his writing. It will not be reasonable to consider any particular individual as the father of history in the global context. Thus, was he the 'Father of History'? is one of the controversial questions in the history of historical writing.

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A COMPARATIVE STUDY OF INDO-AMERICAN FEMINIST CULTURE: PAST AND PRESENT

SUMMARY

S.C. DIXIT*

I

- 1.1 The United States and India share many things in common, salient among them is 'one common man heritage' the British Colonialism. The history of two countries is joined by one Englishman — Lord Cornwallis. His defeat as a Commander-in-Chief of the British forces against George Washington, the Commander of the 13 States at York Town in 1782 was the end of the British imperialism in the United States and a far more vigorous beginning than that of Clive and Warren Hastings.

- 1.2 The intellectual movement in the United States that enveloped the whole country, was pioneered by creative writers like Emerson and Thoreau, feminists like Margaret Fuller, teacher like J.F. Clark and philosopher like A.B. Alcott who were collectively influenced by Indian thought and they in return influenced the Indian polity 1857 — The 'First War of India's Independence' was its result. Sir William Jones' translation of *Kalidas* in 1805 and of *Ramayana* a little later being made available in Boston, went a long way to

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influence the American thought. In the same vein, William Bird's view of History, Literature and Mythology of Hindus' made India very much a part of their conscience. From this, we can infer that the commerce between America and India was not only in goods but also in ideas through which the suppressed, silenced and downtrodden feminist culture of both the countries was deeply affected.

- 1.3 The 19th century in the history of the world has been the seedbed of social awakening and political consciousness. Bhakti, Sufi and Wahabi movements in India and Abolitionist, Suffragist and other progressive movements in the United States created a suitable climate for the Doctrine of Equal rights to emerge and work for the amelioration of the feminist culture in both the countries.

II

- 2.1 No feminist works emerged from behind the Hindu *purdah* or from Muslim harem and countries under foreign yoke provide a less fertile soil for intellectual Revolution but in case of India both the premises proved incorrect. Indian Renaissance did emerge in the wake of the 19th century, through various socio-religious movements such as *Brahmasamaj*, *Prarthanasamaj*, *Aryasamaj*, Theosophical Society, *Sufi* and *Wahabi* movements made women conscious of political disruption responsible for deteriorating their status in society.
- 2.2 Charles Dell's visit to India in 1855 and his rapport with Raja Ram Mohan Roy and Sen influenced each other for social reforms, specially the feminist culture. Emerson's indomitable passion to read *Bhagvad Gita*, *Kathopanishad*, *Vishnupuran* and Roy's books *The Christian Register* and *Indian Superstitions* inspired Indians to be acquainted with their scriptures. Thoreau's *Disobeyed Laws* and T.S. Elliot's *The Wasteland* subscribe to the eastern philosophy of *Upanishad* and *Bhagvat Gita*. Robert Oppenheimer found the *Gita* a surer way of drawing the righteous conclusions in the conflicting situations of to be or not to be. This again enlightened the Indian women to extend their private roles to public roles.

III

- 3.1 American missionaries were neither motivated by any sense of religion nor politics but for female education and culture. Women's feminist movement in India was neither a part and parcel of the Nationalist Movement nor a parody of western feminism but it was the logical corollary of the Indian Renaissance of the 19th century. Indian women had never been nor are at war with men, whereas Carl Degler states that in America women and the institution of family have long been "At Odds".

SINOCENTRISM : PRE MODERN CHINA 'S WORLD VIEW

SUMMARY

SHALINI SAKSENA*

China's relations with neighbouring regions and non-Chinese people was coloured by the concept of Sinocentrism and the assumption of her own superiority. This concept gave China a position of leadership in the East Asian family of nations. Foreign relations were based on a non-egalitarian framework rather than international law.

China's relations with other countries were governed by an ideological structure of assumptions institutionalized in the tribute system. The tributary states accepted the Chinese Calendar, sent periodic tribute of local products and performed KOWTOW in the presence of the Chinese Emperor. The indignities of the system were accepted by Western powers to continue the lucrative trade.

During the 19th Century, the world situation changed but China continued her stereo-typed attitude towards western maritime nations. British naval supremacy, her defence preparedness and excellence had been proved in the Napoleonic Wars, her industrialization had advanced rapidly. She was in no mood to accept inferior status. The West wanted establishment of diplomatic relations and tear down China's isolation. Western idea of national sovereignty was incompatible with the Chinese claim of universal overlordship and the antiquated tribute diplomacy. Failure to recognise these facts subjected China to confrontation and humiliation.

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THE ARAB LEAGUE IN HISTORICAL PERSPECTIVE

SUMMARY

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On 22 March 1945 the League of Arab States (more generally known as the Arab League) came into existence. It was born out of Arab nationalism and a general Arab desire for unity. This phenomena developed during the later part of the nineteenth century and early part of the twentieth as a reaction against Ottoman domination and against the centralisation policies of the contemporary system. The Arab League has played a significant role in restoring Arab solidarity on issues on the international agenda.

The need to unify the Arab world under the international organisation was felt in the early forties even though most of the Arab world was still not free from colonial and imperial clutches. Furthermore, the need to confront the growing pressure of international Zionism by an Arab Front also necessitated the urge for a pan-Arab organisation. The British, too, for their long-term interests as a major foreign external power in the region, decided to promote the idea and pro-British regimes in the region. The immediate impetus for the formation of the Arab League may be found in the initiative taken by Prime Minister Nuri Pasha al-said of Iraq. As an outcome the Arab League was formed, not as Nuri al-said had at first envisaged it, but on a more general pattern and with Egypt, Iraq, Jordan, Lebanon, Saudi Arabia, Syria and Yemen. Membership has since expanded to include 21 independent states and Palestine, which is represented by the PLO at League meetings.

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Renewed fighting between Lebanese factions, and the continued Iran-Iraq war taking a dangerous turn with the successive American attacks in Gulf were factors which undermined the scope for effective Arab League in the subsequent years. The League could not play an important role in the recently concluded Gulf crisis, i.e. the Kuwait crisis.

In the recent times, Arab-Israeli relations were influenced more by Super Powers, i.e. US mediation in the Arab-Israeli conflict in which the Arab League is isolated and side-tracked. The League is not only constrained in its function by US policy of intervention and forced diplomacy but also by the fact that it is to work on a diminished staff and low finances. Despite its eventual failure, the Arab League still survives as an important pioneering venture for peace, cooperation and unity in the Arab region. Apart from the Arab League, there is no other unified Arab institution which can act as a mechanism for evolving a common Arab consensus on the various burning issues in international affairs.

THE USA AND INTERNATIONAL TERRORISM WITH SPECIAL REFERENCE TO CIA ACTIVITIES ABROAD

SUMMARY

D.C. SHARMA*

For the average citizen of a Western country, it is impossible to believe that the US can act as stimulant for the growth of international terrorism. In the Western mass media, people used to read that the US spearheaded the campaign against something which it called 'terrorism'. On the other hand, military aid, training programmes and other forms of the support lent by the USA to mercenaries, repressive regimes all over the world have been of decisive significance.

The present paper aims at presenting the true nature of the US foreign policy, aimed against the forces of peace and socialism, and against national liberation movements. The first part of the paper deals with the definitions of national and international terrorism. Then the vague idea of what "terrorism" is that prevails in the West "What I do not like, I call terrorism". It is in this spirit that the US government acts today. Western mass media fulfilling the will of their masters, give the same interpretation of the concept of terrorism.

Major part of the present paper deals with CIA activities abroad. An investigation into the different sources such as the Congress investigation

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material, revelations in the press, and memoirs written by former CIA employees provided a mass of information and prove that there is perhaps no US federal government agency that has been the target of such unanimous condemnation abroad and fierce polemic in the USA itself as the CIA, established by the National Security Act of 1947, and shedding light on the true nature of the agency born at the height of the cold war. These sources tended to describe the CIA above all as a secret agency for terrorism and subversion, whose illegal operations were designed to help ensure the hegemonist interests of the US.

Making terrorism an element of state policy serves the USA's purpose of destabilizing regimes that Washington disapproved of. Thus, after the Second World War, the CIA has been doing its bit towards stoking up hotbeds of tension, breeding conflicts that vitiate the international situation. However, the experience of many countries indicates that the aggressive actions by the CIA are doomed to failure. To expose the roots of terrorism and its true causes, and put an end to it once and for all are among the urgent tasks of today.

**UNITED STATES AND CENTRAL AMERICA:
WITH SPECIAL REFERENCE TO U.S.
INTERVENTION IN GRENADA IN 1983**

SUMMARY

SUJAY MISHRA*

The chief aim of the United States policy with regard to Central America is to impose the diktat of U S monopolies on the countries in that region and to turn them into Washington's military strategic bridgehead U S claims to have "special rights" to rule the destinies of the nations in Central America and the Caribbean, which was evidenced by the U S armed aggression against the tiny insular state of Grenada, an action which caused protest and indignation the world over and fully revealed the danger of the adventuristic policy pursued by Washington in Central America

On March 13, 1979, the anti-imperialist revolution in Grenada put an end to the dictatorial regime of E Gairy and transferred power into the hands of people, The revolution was carried out under the leadership of the New JEWEL Movement party headed by Maurice Bishop The world public welcomed the revolution in Grenada

The peoples Revolutionary Government received a dreadful legacy from the Gairy dictatorship a devastated economy, mass unemployment, hunger and poverty In a bid to overcome economic backwardness, to abolish foreign

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domination and to improve the plight of the popular masses, the new government proclaimed a sweeping programme of democratic changes. The young state was changing rapidly. Drastic changes could be seen in every sphere of life.

Grenadians' attainments aroused the fury of the U.S. and caused alarm and hatred. The U.S.A. used a whole range of pressure methods from diplomatic, economic and military-political to sabotage and terrorism.

In the years of democratic rule in Grenada, the CIA, with Gairy's participation, organised several assassination attempts against Bishop and to undermine the people's Government. The U.S.A. and CIA had long been preparing for aggression against Grenada and wanted only a suitable pretext. In 1983, serious differences surfaced in the NUM party and government leadership, which were being aggravated by the CIA agents. The U.S.A. decided to make use of the situation. On 19 October, 1983, Bishop along with five other ministers was killed and later it was established that the assassination was planned by the CIA. And on October 25, the U.S. invaded the tiny country and finally, the Grenadian revolution was drowned in blood. This was an illegal and immoral act and from a sovereign state Grenada was turned into a virtual colony. But the people of Grenada refused to surrender and the ideas of revolution lived on.

THE PRO-DEMOCRACY MOVEMENT IN NEPAL, 1990

SUMMARY

S.G. MISHRA

Nepal had an absolute form of Government from 1768. The form of Government remained the same from the time of Prithvi Narayan Shah (1742-1774) to the present king, Birendra Vir Vikram Shah Dev with certain modifications. Nepal had to struggle continuously from 1941 to 1990 for the success of the pro-democracy movement. The first, second and the third phase of the movement had taken place in 1941, 1950 and 1979 respectively.

The last phase of the pro-democracy movement started in 1990. The Nepali Congress and the Left parties headed the movement. The banned Nepali Congress called its three day convention from 18 to 20 January, 1990 at Kathmandu. The Nepali Congress was supported by seven Left parties of the country. Ganesh Man Singh, K.P. Bhattarai and G.P. Koirala (present Prime Minister of Nepal) of the Nepali Congress shared the dais with leftists Man Mohan Adhikari, Mrs. Sahana Pradhan and Tulsī, Ram Amatya. Several distinguished Indian MPs cutting across party lines attended the Convention. A senior Janata Dal leader, Chandra Shekhar who later on became the Prime Minister of the country, Harkishan Singh Surjeet (CPM), M. Faruqi (CPI), M.J. Akbar (Congress) and Dr. Subramanian Swami attended the Convention. The Convention demanded the restoration of the multi-party system in the country. The Convention passed a political resolution calling for a mass

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movement from 18 Feb , 1990 By Feb 23, 22 pro-democracy activists were killed By this time journalists were also arrested and tortured Slowly people of all walks of life participated in the struggle Thousands of University teachers and students of Nepal went on a day's countrywide pen - strike on 27 Feb in protest against the "intrusion, aggression and repression perpetrated by the Government inside campuses, hostels and residential areas By March 4, three prominent News Weeklies were confiscated On March 19, the three top leaders of the Nepali Congress were ordered to be kept under house arrest for a further period of ninety days under the draconian Security Act At last king Birendra read writings on the wall Political events of the Eastern Europe also affected his mind On 8 April, 1990 king Birendra bowed down to the popular demand for the restoration of a multi-party system in Nepal The king's decision to dissolve the Rashtriya Panchayat and the various organisations were a great victory for the people Soon K P Bhattarai assumed office of the Prime Minister on 19 April,1990 It was a very happy thing that the king moved with the changing times and he surrendered all powers to the people As the result of the General election in the Himalayan kingdom, the Nepali Congress assumed power under the multi-party democratic system

V

**HISTORICAL ARCHAEOLOGY,
EPIGRAPHY AND NUMISMATICS**

Address of the Sectional President

CULTURE ENVIRONMENT INTERFACE: A HISTORICAL PERSPECTIVE

M.K. DHAVALIKAR*

I

- 1 1 Let me at the outset express my grateful thanks to the Executive Committee of the Indian History Congress for electing me the President of this section which is devoted to Archaeology, Numismatics and Epigraphy. I very well realise that my own contribution in the field is quite modest, and that they have done this honour to me more in recognition of the achievements of the organization to which I belong - Deccan College Postgraduate and Research Institute, Pune.
- 1 2 My address is devoted to the problem of inter-relationship between culture and environment, and I am not, therefore, presenting, as is customary, a review of the recent work done in the field. Culture and environment are the two predominant issues of our own times. Considering the role of environment in shaping human cultures, I will discuss how environmental changes have affected our culture process through the millennia. It is common knowledge that archaeology - especially scientific archaeology - has been making rapid strides by employing new paradigms from other scientific disciplines and as a result, it has now become possible to study the social, political and economic organization of past societies. The sixties of this century witnessed a revolution in archaeological theory and method which was ushered in by Lewis R. Binford in U.S.A. and by the late David Clarke in England. New Archaeology - or the processual Archaeology - which they propounded is no more new, and

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post-processual developments have taken place during the last three decades. These include cognitive, contextual, critical, Marxist, structural and symbolic archaeology.¹ The remarkable achievements of socio-economic archaeology in the 70s was obviously due to the new methods such as modelling, simulation and experiments as also because of the new knowledge of ecology.² We need not presently enter into the merits and demerits of the various theoretical positions, but suffice it to say that the 21st century will witness the elevation of archaeology, which has once been described as an "undisciplined discipline"³, to the pedestal of scientific discipline.

- 1.3 A most important contribution of New Archaeology is the definition of culture

"Culture is an extra-somatic means of adaptive system that is employed in the integration of a society with its environment and with other socio-cultural systems"⁴

It is needless to emphasize in the light of this definition the important role of environment in shaping human cultures. It would, therefore, be interesting to examine the process of Indian culture from the standpoint of changes in the environment.

- 1.4 A casual glance at the panorama of Indian history is enough to reveal that there were only two phases of prosperity viz. the Harappan, from Ca. 3000 B.C. to 2000 B.C., and the Early Historic period from Ca. 3000 B.C. to 500 A.D. whereas all the remaining periods are characterised by economic decline and decay in varying degrees, albeit with a few brief intervals of well being. It would, therefore, be fruitful to critically examine the causes of our prosperity as also of decline. If we accept the definition of New Archaeology, then it goes without saying that environment must have been largely responsible for these ups and downs in the culture process. But unfortunately our knowledge of our past environment is almost next to nothing for the simple reason that very little or no work has so far been done in this respect in our country. This is, in the main, due to the poor survival of pollen record in the hot and humid climate of the sub-continent, and unless some new methodology or technique of the recovery of pollen data is developed, our knowledge of our palaeo-environment is bound to be sketchy. Some work, however, has been done in Rajasthan.⁵ Besides, there are a couple of other sources which can be of some help in this respect.
- 1.5 It is well known that our fate is tied to the monsoon which is erratic and hence Indian agriculture has become a gamble with nature, for every third year is a bad year and every fourth, a famine. The rainfall records in India are available from 1840 onwards. They were used in 1910 by Sir Gilbert Walker, the then Director General of the Indian Meteorological Department, to study the variability of rainfall. He noted two periods of the greatest rainfall deficiency, the first from 1843-1860 and the other from 1895-1907. It was observed that the monsoon fluctuations tend to occur simultaneously over large areas of Africa and South Asia because

"In as much as the Nile flood is determined by monsoon rainfall of Abyssynia, and as the moist winds which provide this rainfall travel in the earlier portion of their movement side by side with those which ultimately reach the north of the Arabian Sea, there is a tolerably close correspondence between the abundance of the Nile flood and that of the monsoon rains of northwest India. It would, thus, appear legitimate to utilise the Nile data for indicating at any rate approximately the character of the variation to which the Indian monsoon is liable."^{5a}

Even Alexander's historians were aware of this correspondence.⁶

- 1 6 In the last century, North Africa and India experienced common intervals of droughts and in the present both the regions faced weak monsoons between the sixteens and the seventies.⁷ The annual Nile floods are the direct consequence of the summer monsoon rainfall over the catchment basin of the Blue Nile in the high lands of Ethiopia. Thus, the maximum flood level of the river indicates the magnitude of the rainfall. Formerly the records of the levels of the Nile were available from A D 622 when every year the water level was recorded by the "Nilometer", a gauge located on the island of Roda at Cairo. But a five thousand year old record has now become available.⁸ It is carved on a large stone stele, known as the "Palermo Stone", dated to the 25th cent B C and records the flood levels of the Nile from 3050 B C.⁹ This record allows us to form a fair idea of the monsoon in India in the first half of the third millennium.
- 1 7 There is yet another source which can be used but with some caution. Scientists have noted that whenever there is an intensely cold climate in Europe tropical countries like India suffer drought. Sulman¹⁰ has explicitly stated that "whenever the high latitudes cool, monsoons tend to fail." No satisfactory explanation for this curious phenomenon has as yet been offered. Similarly it also appears that when the temperate lands experience a warmer climate countries like India enjoy a wet phase with an adequate rainfall.¹¹ According to a renowned authority, "Climate is a worldwide system. Significant changes cannot take place in one part without changes occurring in other places. There are dynamic connections that interlink climatic changes in various parts of the globe."¹² It is now well established that climatic changes tend to be nearly synchronous globally. The climatic world is one world.¹³
- 1 8 It should be clear that although we do not have much evidence for the reconstruction of past environment in India, we can to a certain extent visualize as to what sort of climatic fluctuations were taking place here in the ancient past. It will be seen from the following discussion that whenever the country was enjoying prosperity, the environment was very congenial whereas whenever there was economic decline, it was adverse. In other words, there was adequate rainfall when the country prospered, and famines and droughts when there was economic decline. It is noteworthy that these fluctuations were

almost global in occurrence. So far as the prehistoric period is concerned, we have only the material evidence at hand, but for the historical period, our hypothesis is corroborated to a considerable extent by the literary and epigraphical evidence as also by archaeology.

II

THE FIRST CIVILIZATION

- 2.1 In the present discussion we do not intend to go back to the early Stone Age, but begin our study with the Mesolithic period which forms a backdrop to the beginning of food production. The Mesolithic hunter-gatherers in India had abundant food supply, both plant and animal foods, especially the small game because the climate was extremely congenial.¹⁴ In consequence the population increased rapidly as is evident from the number of mesolithic sites strewn all over the country. This happened not only in India but almost all over the Old World. Europe enjoyed a warm climate during the fourth Interglacial when ice sheets in north Europe began to retreat and new areas like the Scandinavian countries became available for human occupation for the first time.¹⁵ It is significant that the evidence of Nile floods suggests a strong monsoon from 12000 to 5000 years B.P. In Central and Western India and the Deccan, the Black Cotton soil was formed because of thick vegetation cover over it, an indication of sufficiently wet climate. Soon after food producing communities occupied northwestern parts of the sub-continent around 7000 B.C. as the evidence at Mehargarh near the Bolan Pass would show.¹⁷
- 2.2 The climatic conditions during the period when the Harappan civilization (Ca 3000 - 2000 B.C.) flourished, were probably extremely congenial.¹⁸ As a matter of fact, the time appears to have been favourable, so far as the environment is concerned, for civilizations to flourish, many early civilizations rose during this period in different parts of the Old World. In India, the Harappans had located their settlements - even metropolitan centres - in that area of Rajasthan, which is now a desert. Gurdeep Singh's¹⁹ analysis of the pollen data from Rajasthan lakes indicates a wet phase with about 450 mm of rainfall. Presently the annual precipitation there is hardly 120 mm and sometimes it does not rain at all for years. The prosperity of the Harappan civilization was due to the long distance trade with West Asia, especially Mesopotamia. It reaches its heyday from c. 2350 B.C., from the time of Sargon of Akkad onwards, for a couple of centuries. The Harappan merchant-traders had already begun to descend into Kutch and Saurashtra, first in search of raw materials such as carnelian, chank shell, ivory etc. for the purpose of trade, and in course of time established their control over the region. The Early Harappan phase - also known as Kalibangan I or Kot Diji - is conspicuously absent in Gujarat which clearly indicates that the Harappan civilization was planted on the soil of Gujarat from outside. What is more, although the beginning of the Harappan civilization in Gujarat has to be assigned, on the basis of radio-carbon determinations, to circa 2400 B.C. (uncalibrated), many

of the settlements appear to have been established later around 2200 B C. Last but not the least important is the fact that almost all the settlements, save a couple of them such as Lothal and Dholavira which were urban centres, can be classed as villages - either large or small - albeit well protected with fortification or enclosure walls as at Rojdi and Kuntasi. In fact, some of them in Kutch, as for example Sur Kotda, almost look like forts. The Harappans, like the British later, came to Gujarat for the purposes of trade and established their political control over the region in course of time.²⁰ We can only say that the history repeats.

- 2.3 The beginning of the second millennium marks the decline of Harappan trade with West Asia.²¹ In Egypt also significantly, there is evidence to show that there was disturbance during the Middle Kingdom and the Second Intermediate period from 1991 to circa 1570 B C. This is evident from excavations and inscriptions and is also corroborated by the Nile levels.²² Palynological evidence from Rajasthan lake sediments suggests the onset of aridity from Ca. 1800 B C to Ca. 1200 B C after which the climate became extremely arid, almost desertlike. The prosperity of the urban Harappans was now a thing of the past and the post-urban phase is marked by large and small villages not only in Gujarat but also in Punjab, Haryana, Rajasthan and Western U P.²³ These late Harappans settled in the Saraswati and Drshadvati valleys which was the heartland of the Vedic culture and significantly belong to the latter half of the second millennium. It is, therefore, tempting to suggest that these late Harappans may represent the culture of the Vedic Aryans. Jim Schaffer²⁴ is justified in his observation that the recent evidence from Haryana has significant implications for understanding the "Aryan Problem" in South Asian culture history.
- 2.4 It would be interesting at this stage to examine the evidence from Late Harappan settlements in north-west India. They all appear to be village settlements, and if the evidence from Hulas is any indication, the people seem to be living in round huts and storing grain in pit silos.²⁵ Culturally, they were considerably poorer than their forefathers, just their jejune shadows. It has been observed that generally people living in round huts lead a seasonally settled life implying thereby that they were pastoralists.²⁶ The Vedic culture, as reflected in the *Rigveda*, was that of cattle pastoralists. The circumstantial evidence of the locale and time period of the Late Harappan cultures in the north-west corresponds well with that of the Vedic Aryans. This would also explain the "wave of advance" model developed by Colin Renfrew for migrations.²⁷
- 2.5 There seems to be a general acceptance of B B Lal's²⁸ identification of the Painted Grey Ware (PGW) culture with that of Aryans. This, however, belongs to the first half of the first millennium, and can, therefore, be equated with that reflected in the later Vedic literature. It was an iron-using culture, the technology being introduced in the last quarter of the second millennium. The antiquity of iron now goes back to a much earlier period in South India as also in Central India where the evidence comes from megalithic burials.²⁹

III

DARK AGE

- 3 1 From 1800 B C onwards the climate began deteriorating as the palynological evidence would suggest, it worsens much more from 1200 B C onwards. In India, we witness the emergence of post-Harappan Chalcolithic cultures in Central and Western India in the second millennium. Their economy was based on subsistence farming, stock-raising and hunting-fishing. They could not attain urban status and died as village cultures. As a matter of fact almost everywhere in Central and Western India and the Deccan we find that the chalcolithic habitations were deserted and the sites were occupied after a prolonged hiatus of over six centuries in the Early Historical period. This was probably due to a drastic change in climate³⁰ which has been confirmed by the scientific analysis of sediments in Maharashtra³¹. This was a world wide phenomenon and has hence been labelled as the 'Dark Age' of ancient history which witnessed the fall of early powerful states in Greece, Anatolia, Egypt and Mesopotamia where droughts became of frequent occurrence after Ca 1200 B C³³. Human factor, as for instance rampant tree felling, may also have contributed to the deterioration of environment.
- 3 2 "The breakdown of the existing order in the East-Mediterranean Ca 1250-1150 B C has also been a familiar concept. The Aegean world, Mycenae, the Hittite empire, and the great Late Bronze Age cities of Cyprus and Syria, all came to an inglorious end, and even Egypt was so exhausted by struggle as to be finished as a world power"³⁴. A cyclical global environmental deterioration seems to have set in the thirteenth century. During this period, droughts became quite frequent in West Asia. In Egypt Pharaohs had to sink wells deeper and deeper and dispatch large shipments of grain to Anatolia to relieve famine while the archives of Ugarit around 1200 B C confirm that a terrible famine was ranging in Hittite lands, and even Cyprus was appealing for food relief. The famine was so widespread and severe in Anatolia that the memory of it lasted for centuries afterwards and was commented upon even by Herodotus much later.
- 3 3 In England most of the northern Britain appears to have been rendered inhabitable by a catastrophe resembling the "nuclear winter" that some scientists believe will follow a nuclear war. There is evidence to show that there was a remarkable contraction of settlement and agriculture throughout Britain and Ireland after 1200 B C. In many parts, there was little or no settlement between Ca 1200 and 800 B C³⁵. In central and western India and the Deccan too the early farming communities seem to have resorted to a semi-nomadic or nomadic existence from C 1000 B C onwards till the beginning of the Historical period³⁶. According to Sinha³⁷ in north India there was a culture break from Ca 1100-700 B C. In Europe, the most marked change seems to have been from Ca 1200-700 B C and by 700-500 B C prevailing temperatures must have been about 2° lower than they had been half a millennium earlier³⁸. It is, thus, evident that the climate started

deteriorating in the second millennium and was at its driest at the turn of the second millennium. This is also reflected in the archaeological record. It is significant that these dates coincide with the period of emergence of pastoral nomadism in different parts of the world as has been established by archaeological and written sources. In Maharashtra, this phase of pastoral nomadism has been clearly established at Inamgaon³⁹. Here the earlier cultural periods I and II viz. Malwa (Ca. 1600-1400 B.C.) and Early Jorwe (Ca. 1400-1000 B.C.) respectively yielded convincing evidence of a fully sedentary life with flourishing agriculture. The economic decline sets in during period III viz. Late Jorwe (1000-700 B.C.) as is evident from small, flimsy round huts, coarse pottery and the dwindling agriculture. But the most important piece of evidence is furnished by animal bones. The proportion of the bones of cattle and sheep/goat in the early levels of Late Jorwe (period III) was about 56% and 25% respectively whereas in the upper levels it becomes inverse (26% cattle, 52% sheep/goat) and at the same time the percentage of the bones of hunted animals, particularly gazelle and antelope, which is mere 5% in the earlier levels, increases to 14%. The evidence is, thus, eloquent and indicates that in the Late Jorwe, the people started leading a seasonally settled life, and practised sheep/goat pastoralism. It is significant that almost at the same time, i.e., 1000-400 B.C. Europe was experiencing a period of intensely cold climate (sub-Atlantic phase) which forced people to resort to pastoral nomadism.

"Almost all the palaeoclimatists accept that the second millennium B.C. was characterised by a dry climate which, it would appear, was at its driest at the turn of the second and the first millennium B.C. Archaeological data would confirm this suggestion." ^{39a}

"The fact that these dates coincide with the period of emergence of pastoral nomadism, as it has been established by archaeological data and written sources, is scarcely due to chance. It would appear that the dry climate was the final stimulus for pastoralists to abandon agriculture once and for all and become fully nomadic." ^{39b}

- 3.4 The Inamgaon evidence points to the gradual deterioration of climate after ca. 1000 B.C. There was no adequate rainfall, hence no floods in the river, and consequently the irrigation channel fell into disuse. Hence wheat could not be grown. The tremendous increase in the quantity of ber seeds in period III (ca. 1000-700 B.C.) indicates that droughts became of frequent occurrence. Even at present the people in that area preserve ber (*jujube*) fruit for making powder for consumption during famines. In the succeeding centuries in the 9th and 8th, the huts become extremely flimsy and irregular on plan and when mere existence became impossible, the people deserted the habitation and resorted to a fully nomadic life. How hard the life must have been in those days is evident from the dialogue of two Buddhist monks which is recorded in the *Sutta Nipata* (239-52), the oldest surviving text (5th-3rd cent. B.C.) of the

Pali Buddhist canon It reports an argument between two ascetics of whom the more austere censures the other for living as an almsman, begging food cooked by others, when it would be more righteous to subsist by pure (vegetarian) food-gathering in the wilderness⁴⁰ This suggests that food-gathering was a common and more respectable mode of subsistence at the beginning of the Early Historic period around the 6th cent B C

IV

SECOND URBANIZATION

- 4.1 There is little doubt that iron played a crucial role in the colonization of new areas in the Ganga valley at the beginning of the Early Historical period and the problem of urbanization is linked with this process⁴¹ It has also been suggested that the urbanization was sustained by iron technology⁴² but some scholars are of the opinion that the metal did not play any causative role in the urbanization⁴³ But there is no gain saying the fact that iron technology made it possible to bring large tracts of virgin land under *effective* cultivation which ultimately produced the surplus The prosperity of the early historic period was in no small measure due to the agrarian expansion as is evident from the prosperous *Gahapatis* portrayed in the *Gathasaptasati* Iron technology, therefore, doubtless seems to have played a very important role in the ushering in of the second urbanization In that case, it can legitimately be asked as to why did the urban revolution then take five or six centuries to occur when the metal had already made its advent ? The reason possibly seems to be the adverse environment that characterised large parts of the Old World when no progress was possible

V

THE BEGINNING OF COINAGE

- 5.1 Although the beginning of the Early Historic period is assigned to the 6th cent B C, the urbanization takes a century or more to usher into as has been convincingly shown by A Ghosh⁴⁴ Alongwith monumental architecture, coined money and writing are the two most important features of the second urbanization The origin of coinage has proved to be quite controversial and several scholars have propounded different theories They fall into two groups, viz those favouring a foreign origin and the others adhering to the indigenous origin⁴⁵ Both the groups have equally strong and weak points, but the evidence is not convincing The former group is not able to show the direct foreign evidence or the influence of an anterior date while the other relies solely on literary evidence which is of dubious value Some even think that the Harappans also had coinage⁴⁶
- 5.2 The punch-marked coins constitute the earliest currency in India They are mostly of silver and few are of copper It is indeed surprising that a full-fledged silver coinage was suddenly introduced in India about the fifth century B C It

is enigmatic that silver should have been used on such a large scale for coinage considering the fact that the metal was regarded by Indians as impure since it was believed to have sprung from the tears of Rudra, an exalted Vedic divinity⁴⁷ In fact, there is no proper word for silver in Vedic Sanskrit which describes the metal as "white gold" (*rajata-hiranya*) If such was the position of silver in the period preceding the Early Historic times, it is puzzling that the Indians should suddenly accept the currency of an impure metal like silver What is more, all the supposedly numismatic allusions in the early Vedic literature only refer to gold currency And last but not the least important is the fact that India is deficient in silver

- 5 3 How do we then explain the sudden introduction of silver currency sometime in the fifth century B C ? It may in all probability be due to the Achaemenian contact in the late 6th-5th cent B C From a very early period India and Persia had intimate contacts as is evident from the language of the *Rigveda* and the *Avesta* Later in the 6th-5th cent B C there were definite political relations with attendant trading contacts between the two countries because Darius mentions in one of his inscriptions of about 519 B C the possession of Gandhara and in a slightly later record, he also includes Hindu in his satrapies Thus, Sind and Punjab came under the Achaemenid dominance in the late 6th-5th cent B C and lasted for a century and three quarters The Indian provinces formed the twentieth satrapy of the empire of Darius to which it contributed one-third of its revenue, amounting to 360 talents of gold dust There is little doubt that there was considerable intercourse between the Persian empire and its Indian satrapy Trade must have brought in its wake the earliest Persian coins in India, and silver may have flowed into the country in exchange for gold dust
- 5 4 Among the earliest punch-marked coins, the most important appear to be those which have been referred to as bent bars, they have been convincingly identified as the *Satamanas* of literature as their weight standard was 100 *rattis* of 175 grains⁴⁸ A number of such bent bars were found in and around Taxila, they were probably struck on the Persian standard of double *sigloi* or stater That the weight standard of the Indian *Satamana* and the Persian double *sigloi* was the same may not be a mere coincidence It is highly likely that the Persian silver coins which were already circulating in the adjoining region to the northwest appear to have been imitated by the Indians in Gandhara This is corroborated by some recent evidence from Iran which throws a flood of light on the origins of coinage in India⁴⁹ At Nush-i-jan was found a hoard of silver objects, datable to the 7th cent B C and containing, among other things, a few ingots of bar silver which bear a striking resemblance to the bent bars of Taxila But they do not bear any symbols - the marks of the issuing authority Bent bars, however, are found in the Chaman Huzuri hoard in Afghanistan which has been dated about 380 B C ⁵⁰ Equally interesting is the discovery of 22 bent bars in the Mir Zakah hoard in Afghanistan Of these, two bore the traces of the characteristic six armed solar symbol which is often seen on the Indian bent bars, whereas the remaining are unstamped⁵¹ We, thus see a clear transition from the plain bar currency

of Persia to the stamped bar coinage of the Indian type. It is, therefore, highly likely that the Indians borrowed the shape of the bar currency from the Achaemenians and that they stamped it with their own symbol - the sun or the wheel.

VI

ORIGIN OF WRITING

- 6.1 Controversy also ranges about the origin of writing in India. Although the beginning of the early historic period is generally placed in the 6th cent B C the earliest written records are of the third cent B C. It has been assumed, on the basis of literary evidence, that the earlier writing was on perishable materials which has vanished with the passage of time. Chakrabarti⁵² is justified in his observation that "it is difficult to accept that the prose parts of the later Vedic texts and the grammar of Panini (C 500 B C) were written without the benefit of writing." Ghosh⁵³ is of the opinion that the antiquity of writing can go back to 4th-5th cent B C. This is plausible in view of the fact that the earliest written records in India - the edicts of Asoka - show already a well developed script which must have had some antecedents. In this respect, the recent discovery in Sri Lanka deserves special attention. The earliest inscriptions in that country till now were those of king Devanampiya Tissa, of about 250 B C who was a contemporary of Asoka. But in the excavations at Anuradhapura, the ancient capital of Sri Lanka, a few potsherds scratched with post-firing Brahmi letters have been found. They occurred in a habitational deposit which is assigned by the excavators to the lower levels of the Early Historic period on the basis of other associated artifacts⁵⁵. There are in all five potsherds bearing partly Brahmi inscriptions. Typologically the pottery is assignable to Circa 6th-5th cent B C which marks the Early Iron Age in Sri Lanka. The most important supporting evidence is furnished by the radiocarbon determinations which also corroborate the date of the potsherds 600-500 B C.
- 6.2 The evidence from Sri Lanka is no doubt very interesting and significant and has a great bearing on the antiquity and origin of writing in India. There is little doubt that Brahmi must have had an early period of development preceding the Asokan edicts. S. Paranavitana⁵⁶ had predicted that the Brahmi alphabet had several centuries behind it in the time of Asoka. For instance, "the postulated evolution of letter *ma* into north Indian Asokan from a prototype akin to the southern variant and other examples of pre-Asokan bifurcation as in letter *ṛ* and the occurrence of letters(were) devised to suit South Indian phonetic values already in its early Brahmi"⁵⁷.
- 6.3 It has been inferred that when an Indo-Aryan speaking people migrated to Sri Lanka in the 6th cent B C they brought with them the knowledge of writing. There is no dispute about this argument, but what is in question is how far the radiocarbon date for the script is acceptable. The script, as it appears, can be dated to 1st cent B C, if the angular forms are any indication. But this can be

explained by the fact that the letters were incised after the pottery was fired, hence on a hard surface cursive forms are difficult to execute. Another important feature is that all the inscriptions being incomplete, nothing can be said about the language. It may incidentally be mentioned that all the early Brahmi inscriptions of South India are concentrated in the Pandyan country and the area around Madura seems to be its epicenter⁵⁸. In this context, I would like to draw the attention of scholars to the study of graffiti occurring on early pottery so intensively made by B B Lal⁵⁹. This graffiti, most of which occurs on the Chalcolithic pottery from the Deccan and the megalithic pottery from South India, consists of symbols many of which (80%) curiously enough go back to the Harappan and the chalcolithic times and some of them very closely resemble the letters of the Brahmi script. With the antiquity of the megaliths now going back well into the latter half of the second millennium B C, will it be far fetched to hypothesize that the early writing developed in South India sometime in the 8th-7th cent B C? The picture is still very hazy, but quite plausible and the origin of Brahmi ultimately may have to be traced in the Indus script, with the chalcolithic and megalithic graffiti bridging the gap in its evolution from the ideographic to a phonetic alphabet. This would also explain the introduction of Brahmi in Sri Lanka at such an early date.

VII

AGE OF EMPIRES

- 7.1 The beginning of the Early Historical period is generally placed in the 6th century B C when the two great religious leaders, whose historicity is beyond doubt - Buddha and Mahavira - lived. It is the epoch which witnessed the rise of great empires like those of the Mauryas, the Satavahanas, the Kushans and the Guptas. This period of about a thousand years from the 5th century B C to the 5th century A D was the formative period in Indian history. The Mauryas under the leadership of Chandragupta built a huge empire almost all over the sub-continent save a small part of deep south and even beyond in Afghanistan. The first two or three centuries of the Christian era was a period of great prosperity when the Satavahanas were ruling in the region south of the Vindhyas and the Kushans in the north. This paved way for the Golden Age under the Guptas which is marked by the flowering of the Indian genius in every field of human activity.
- 7.2 It is significant that during this epoch great empires arose in other parts of the Old World also - The Achaemenian in Persia, the Hellenistic in Greece, the Roman in Europe and Han in China. Europe enjoyed a warm climate during this period and the glaciers in the Alps started retreating from 300 B C to 400 A D⁶⁰. High floods have been recorded in the Nile indicating excellent rainfall. In India too rainfall appears to have been adequate as is testified by Kautilya (Ch XXIV, Section 116). According to him, the rain that falls in the country of *Jangala* (dessert countries) was half as much more as in moist countries, but in the case of countries which were fit for agriculture, 23 *dronas* (i.e. 46 inches)

in Avanti which is roughly the Malwa region of the present Madhya Pradesh whereas in the Asmaka Country (central Maharashtra) it was 13 1/2 *dronas* and an immense quantity in Aparanta (western coast of Maharashtra) Arrian's remarks too, suggest increased rainfall in India during Alexander's time⁶¹

- 7 3 In the Early Historical period, the monsoon was probably regular and vigorous and hence its pattern was observed by a Greek sailor, Hippalus in 44 A D who is credited with its discovery This discovery was of momentous importance particularly because of the boost it gave to Roman trade with India The tempo of Indo-Roman trade was considerably slow in the Ptolemaic period because the sea route was infested with pirates and the passage through the Red Sea was treacherous because of shoals It received impetus under Augustus who established his fleet in the Red Sea to prevent piracy The volume of trade then increased gradually and according to Strabo, instead of a few ships a year, 120 ships began to sail to India at the beginning of the Christian era⁶² With the discovery of the Monsoon, the Egyptian and the Greek merchant-traders, who were Roman subjects, could use the Monsoon to their advantage in travelling to India and back and hence the trade between the two countries received a tremendous boost It has been recorded that almost one ship left every day from Egypt to India Rome paid not less than 55 million sesterces (about 6,00,000 pounds) a year to India for merchandise which was sold for one hundred times its original cost⁶³
- 7 4 The literary and archaeological evidence points to a flourishing internal trade during this period Coinage was issued by the ruling dynasties on a large scale as the numerous early coin hoards testify The Kushan rulers even minted gold currency on a large scale The Jataka stories supply ample information about trade routes and the activities of the Sarthavahas - the caravan leaders Different professions were organised into guilds (*shreni*) and there are numerous epigraphs of the Satavahana period which refer to them There is, thus, adequate evidence of the prosperous life of the people during the period of which the *nagaraka* of Vatsyayana was its urban representative and the *gahapati* of the *Gathasaptashati*, the rural one

VIII

DEURBANIZATION

- 8 1 From the 5th century onwards, with the decline of the Gupta empire, we again witness degeneration The following five centuries are marked by urban decay Fortunately, we have ample evidence - literary and archaeological - which gives a fair idea of how the process of deurbanization began⁶⁴ The remarkable evidence consists of the predictions of Varahamihira, the great astronomer, graphic descriptions of economic decline in literary works, the eye witness account of the celebrated Chinese traveller Yuan Chwang, and above all the evidence from archaeological excavations The combined evidence presents a very gloomy picture of the miserable conditions which the Indians of the post-Gupta era were living All this evidence has been very critically discussed by Professor R S Sharma in his recent remarkable contribution, *Urban Decay*⁶⁵

- 8 2 First and foremost, it would be interesting to know the predictions of Varahamihira who lived in the latter half of the fifth and the earlier part of the sixth century⁶⁶ He had predicted the downfall of several cities in north and South India in his *Brihat-samhita* These include Taxila, Mathura, Ujjain, Mithila, Kashi, Girivraja (Rajgir), Tamralipti (Tamluk), Tripuri, Vanavasi, Prayag, Avanti and so on He predicted evil days for the people of Gonarda (the region between Ujjain and Vidisha and those living on the banks of Indus, Yamuna, Sarayu, Son, Kaveri and Narmada as also the Sibis, the Yaudheyas, and the Arjunayanas He foretells that the fate of artists, artisans and merchants would be miserable The sum and substance of his forecasts is that there would be considerable decline in economic activity The celebrated astronomer was also aware of the twelve year famine ⁶⁷
- 8 3 Literature of this period supplies us pathetic accounts of the privation faced by the people Perhaps the most heart-rending is the description of the famines given by Dandin in his *Dashakumara-charita*⁶⁸ The author gives us the harrowing details of the famine in the city of Trigarta to which he was an eye-witness We are told how there was almost no rain successively for twelve years, and as a result crops withered, medicinal herbs lost their curative power and trees bore no fruits, no religious rites and festivals were held and people started eating each other The evidence of the Puranas also corroborates the general dismal picture The *Vayu Purana*⁶⁹ refers to a curse which made Varanasi desolate The city was then deserted and the king founded another city on the river Gomati The *Vamana Purana*⁷⁰ states that several holy places were suffering because of the advance of sand dunes The *Narada Purana* (Uttra Bhaga, Ch 72, Vs 6-17) describes a devastating famine of twelve years' duration We are told that all the sages from different parts of the country came to the same Gautama who permitted them to stay in his hermitage as long as the famine lasted The sages stayed there for twelve years are returned to their respective lands after the famine was over Perhaps the same famine is referred to in the *Devi-Bhagavata* (XII,9,1-37) The story occurs in the Puranas in connection with the origin of the Godavari and the *Padma Purana* (Uttara Khanda, 268 52,54) attributes the rise of the Godavari to the penance of Gautama The *Devi Mahatmya* section of the *Markandeya Purana* (91 43-44) describes the goddess Sakambhari who saved the earth after a prolonged famine She was a headless goddess whose sculptures have been found in the Deccan ⁷¹ All these Puranas no doubt refer to a prolonged famine which was widespread in Western India This was probably the same famine which has been referred to in the Javanese Chronicles They relate that about 603 A D , a ruler of Gujarat, forewarned of the coming destruction of his kingdom because of famine, started his son with 5000 followers, among who were cultivators, writers,warriors,physicians in six large and a hundred small vessels for Java where they laid the foundation of a great civilization ⁷²
- 8 4 The general economic decline is reflected in Yuan Chwang's testimony, for his account corroborates a marked decline of towns and cities in north India such as Sravasti, Kapilvastu, Ramagrama, Kushinagara, Bodh Gaya and so on⁷³ In sum, the north and central India during the post-Gupta period were in decay

whereas Western India and the Deccan were facing severe droughts. When Sulaiman, an Arab merchant, visited India in the 9th century, he found a large part of the country without towns. Those places which survived somehow were the religious centres such as Mathura, Ayodhya, Varanasi, etc. The situation was perhaps not much different in South India. Yuan Chwang, while travelling northwards from the Dravida country with Kanchi as its capital, entered a wild forest in which he noticed several deserted towns and villages.

- 8.5 Professor R. S. Sharma's meticulous analysis of the literary evidence shows that large scale migrations were taking place during this period from towns and cities to rural areas. One reason for this was clearly the land grants which came to be made on a very large scale as a result of which new villages were settled by the grantees. New temples were being built and brahmanas and artisans and other professionals were migrating to rural areas. The Shilpa texts devote more sections to the layout of villages than towns⁷⁴. The ideal now is not Vatsyayana's *nagaraka* but a country squire as in the *Kuttanimitam* of the seventh century, the prosperous *gahapati* now becomes a miserable *kutumbin*. The question that then naturally arises is whether the literary descriptions of the affluent life are a figment of the poet's imagination? Sharma⁷⁵ explains it as the descriptions of court life, particularly in the palaces of feudatories.
- 8.6 All this literary evidence and the Chinese pilgrim's testimony are corroborated to a considerable extent by archaeological evidence. Almost all over north India, the post-Gupta stratum is generally absent, and even Gupta period in some cases is very poorly represented, indicating thereby that the decline had actually set in during the post-Kushan period⁷⁶. This is clear from several sites such as Sanghol, Mathura, Hastinapur and so on where there is a clear hiatus after the Kushan period suggesting that they were deserted again to be occupied only during the Sultanate period. Even in central and Western India and the Deccan there is a break in the habitation after the Satavahana period and the sites are inhabited only in the medieval period and the same story repeats in Karnatak, Andhra Pradesh and Tamil Nadu. Most of the ruling dynasties did not issue coins which is betoken of the decline of the money economy.
- 8.7 This was the time when there was no foreign trade worth the name as there are no objects of foreign origin in India during 400-1000 A.D. We do not have anything except a few late Roman and Byzantine coins in South India, the Chinese Celadon ware begins to occur only at the end of the first millennium. One reason for the absence of foreign trade may also be the unsettled conditions in the west. After the decline of the Roman empire in the fourth century, Europe was passing through troubled times whereas West Asia witnessed the rise of Islam and the consequent turmoil. This is precisely the period which marks the beginning of Crusades in Europe.
- 8.8 It is enigmatic that the period 400-1000 A.D. should be characterised in a large part of the Old World by economic decline. A very important cause seems to be the intensely cold climate in Europe during this period. There is evidence

of glacier advance in the Alps between 400-750 A D ⁷⁷ Further, it has been recorded that between 764 and 860 A D there seems to have been six to ten very notably severe winters in Europe with the great rivers frozen and thick ice on the Black Sea, the Bosphorus and Dradanells and the fringe of the Adriatic In 829, there was ice on the Nile in Egypt It has been suggested that there was a slight improvement in the climate during the eighth and the ninth centuries though there were more such severe winters during these centuries and once again there was ice on the Nile in 1011 A D The Caspian Sea was at its lowest levels between 300 and 800 A D This was the time when settlements were abandoned all along the route through the Chinese Turkestan that had connected China with the West Droughts were of frequent occurrence in Britain and Central Europe in the fifth century There were also widespread droughts in southern Italy, Turkey and Greece and also in Syria in the 7th and 8th centuries and consequently people began to migrate to coastal regions and islands It seems that there was extreme aridity in the eastern Mediterranean region where mass conversions to Islam took place during this period It was obviously facilitated by the unsettled conditions and droughts It is, therefore, needless to emphasize that in India too adverse climate was largely responsible for the economic decline

- 8 9 There was a light amelioration in climate in Europe during the High Middle ages from 1000-1300 A D when it became slightly warmer but deteriorated again from the 15th century In fact, the period from 1500-1900 A D is called the Little Ice Age with greatly advanced glaciers in all parts of the world⁷⁸ and in India we have a reliable record of the droughts during the medieval times⁷⁹ Among these, the one which was devastating, still lingers in public memory, it is the Durgadevi famine(1495) which has become legendary The eye witness accounts of foreigners confirm it The arid phase seems to have continued even till the 19th century Agriculture was on the decline and a vast majority of the populace practised cattle-breeding This was the situation in the most fertile region in the country - the Punjab And when the British took over the Peshwa territories in 1818, it was reported that "the people are few as compared to the quantity of arable land "⁸⁰

IX

THE 21ST CENTURY

- 9 1 Although there have been more phases of adverse environment for us in the past, the 21st century, according to scientists, will be more congenial According to Butzer⁸¹, there will be a moderate increase in precipitation in the tropical and sub-tropical arid zone in what are now pastoral and irrigated lands of Africa, Arabia, India, Pakistan and Australia We then have breathing time to improve our water harvesting technologies, so that the arid phases in future do not affect adversely our economy as happened in the past In fact, the whole world will have to take measures for the conservation of water The last war was fought for oil, but the next one, it is said, may be fought for water If we

don't take adequate measures we will be doomed Perhaps Lord Krishna was aware of our lethargy and it is not for nothing that he ordained us in the *Bhagvad-gita yajnyat bhavati parjanya*

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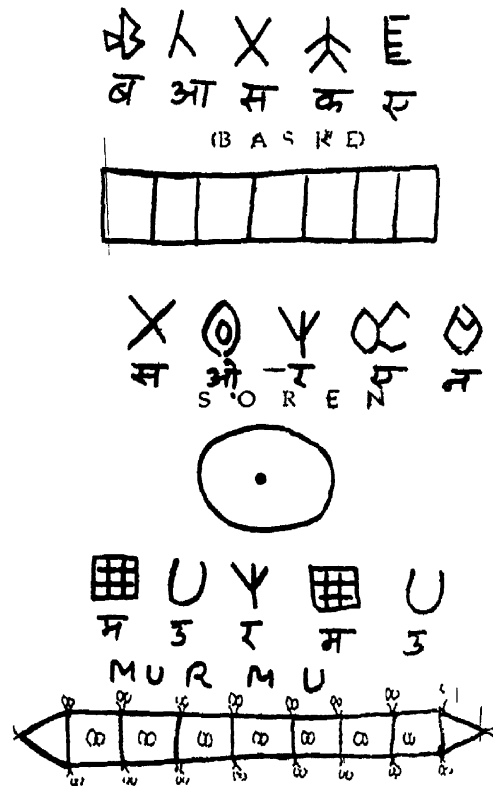
INDUS ALPHABET AND ITS SCRIPT

N.K. VERMA*

I

- 1 1 At times truth is more startling than imagination. My experience about the journey starting from the culture of the Santhal tribes leading to comprehension of Indus alphabet and script is alike
- 1 2 This Research work began in 1982. About 40 kms South-West of Sahibganj (Santhal Parganas, Bihar), there is a Santhali village Kahuadhab. It was the occasion of Baha Porob - the holy spring festival. The Gram Nayke,  Y A A, village priest was worshipping Baha Bonga (Deity) under Zaher Than (a grove smeared with cow dung with holy rice powder). Young girls were dancing and singing traditional songs of Karam Vinita (an oral collection of ancient songs). This disclosed that their ancestors lived in undivided Punjab known Aaei Nai Disham (land of seven rivers) when foreigners invaded. Everything was plundered leaving their blood on the earth. Those survived sheltered in distant woods and hills. The traditions of the ancestors are living with them.
- 1 3 The village priest uchi Karam Guru Birsai Murmu acquainted me with a few Pooja Khonds (Where deities are invited to offer prayer) in which I recognised the inscriptions of Mohen-Jo-Daro —

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I collected such diagrams and discovered that each diagram has its specific pronunciation. One pronunciation for one diagram but many diagrams for one pronunciation. Thus I came to know Indus Script which contains 188 letters. Each letter speaks its own legend and smells of Indian Origin.

II

BIRTH OF SPEECH

2.1 Bapu Thakur (The Almighty) created the Earth and sent first human pair Pilchu Haram and Pilchu Aayo. Then human background was like a clean slate. The

pair continued wandering at each sight of Nature Sensing no stability, Bapu Thakur sent Marang Buru (Nataraj or Lord Shiva) to guide them for a stable human life on the Earth Marang Buru appeared before the pair speech had not begun then Feelings were silently exchanged What one could feel was perceived by the other The pair in curiosity wanted to know about the identity of Marang Buru He made them feel that He is Bonga Then What is Bonga ?

- 2 2 Marang Buru took them near a pond and keeping a stone piece on his palm, he threw it into the water Sound that it produced was 'Bung' and the stone piece disappeared Marang Buru enquired from the pair about the disappearance of the stone piece and the message it left They made him feel that it disappeared into the water and left a sound 'Bung'

Then Marang Bury preached

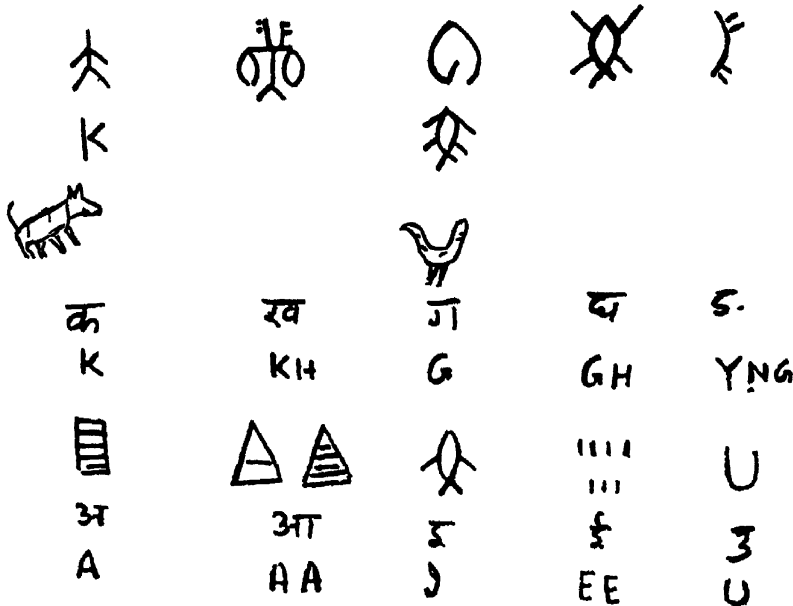
O dear Man ! Bonga (Deity) are from beyond the horizons of Sound - the invisible - non - physical and the other side lies the visible - physical world By saying sounds (prayers) one can call on us Then first prayer was born

- 2 3 I acquainted the tribal Guru with the plates of Mohen-Jo-Daro inscriptions in the book of John Marshall He identified the diagrams saying that they belong to Chai-Champa-Badoli-Koenda Dag Gorhan (script) The letters of this script contain their traditional religious and cultural heritage

III

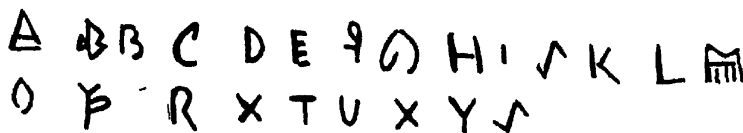
BIRTH OF SCRIPT

- 3 1 Seven wise men - the great ancestors - pondered as where the sounds came from and where do they go ? Do they leave any print for their identification ? On the ancient beating drum, Tamak, they smeared its top with the paste of seven leaves Six of them observed while the seventh tapped the drum with his palm Consequently the drum produced a sound and left an imprint of palm on it The wisemen concluded that with each sound produced, the sound leaves some imprint By giving it a shape, it can be used as a medium of expression Thus was born the script of Indus Valley The print of five fingers represented Moreko (Group of five gods of fire, water, air, space, and the Earth) In terms of letter it is ॥ of this script - IIIII It is in the system of numerals also
- 3 2 Now coming to Indus Script, it is similar to Deonagri script in style The mode of writing is normally from left to right However there are a few exceptions too, as observed in Mohen-jo-Daro inscriptions such as from right to left or at places in ascending or descending order There is system of vowel and consonant



In this script letters have inseparable connections with their pronounciations. One specific letter for one specific pronounciation which is similar to the character of Deonagri. The script appears scientific. The maximum number of diagrams is for N or न which is 22. I have collected 188 letters of this script of different shapes. With their help I could read all the 600 intact inscriptions of Mohen-Jo-Daro.

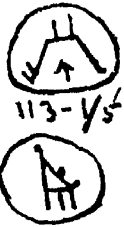
3.3 I noticed that out of 26, 22 letters of Roman script are present in the Indus script with similar diagram (exception a few) and pronounciation —



Now I introduce you to some of the letters of this script with figure, pronounciation and respective legend —



He is Karmu or the Dooer, being the first letter of script क. According to the verses of Karam Vinit, he was the chief Herdsman of the king AAso greek Dhaniraj of Koenda out of the twelve kingdoms initially installed by Bapu Thakur to begin with the system of Kingship. Kings were selected on the basis of their observance of declared moral laws by the Almighty.



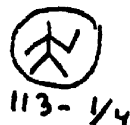
Kings were offered sona Rangta Tuprin (Golden Crown) which is र or R of this script They were provided Relay Sona Mech Machi (Golden throne) It stands for letter ज or J

- 3 4 The cattle-wealth of the King went on increasing This made him proud Bapu Thakur punished him He was made pauper Karmu left the king with the entire stock of cattle wealth and went to dense forests Lukhi Era (Goddess of Wealth) went to jungles of Bhilaonja in displeasure
- 3 5 Again with the endeavour of Karmu the cattle wealth was brought back The King and citizens accorded him civic reception

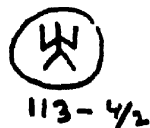


He was offered Sona Tupri (Golden cap) - Letter AA of the script He was also offered two golden sticks

When he holds them in his left hand, it is के or Ke in the alphabet



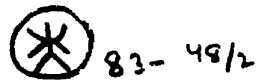
When he holds them in both of his hands, it stands for को or KO



He was also given a golden staff or Lauria Thenga It stands for ल or L

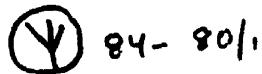


When Karmu blows a trumpet, presented to him by Deity Turuiko, to collect heads, this diagram stands for को or KO This trumpet is known as Nato Noori Dirinj Sahay Sakva



36 Now I invite you to acquaint with diagrams related to Nataraj Marang Buru or Lord Shiva They have been used as letters in this script —

The trident of Natraj stands for र or R



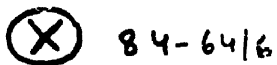
His Tabour stands for ड or D



His Ornamental forehead mark of sandal wood stands for इ or E

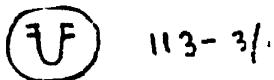


This is dance Khond and stands for स or S



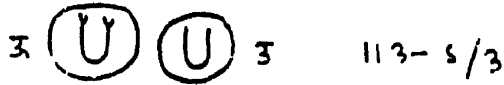
Santhals call it Bir Anech Knond

Some letters relate to Goddess Zaher Era (female part of Mardug Buru)

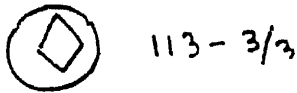


This is known as HORO BANK, a type of anklet worn by Zaher Era and stands for ह or H

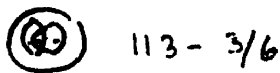
This is Kharu, a type of armlet worn by the Deity and stands for ऊ or U



This is decoration mark worn by Zaher Era on her forehead known as chandan Tikli It stands for ओ or O



It is hoof mark of cow belived to be abode of Lukhi Era (Goddess of Wealth Cow was worshipped being the main pillar of agricultural civilization) It stands for व or V-W



37 Now I introduce you to some of the identified words from the Mohen-Jo-Daro inscriptions

My study revealed them to be any of the following categories—

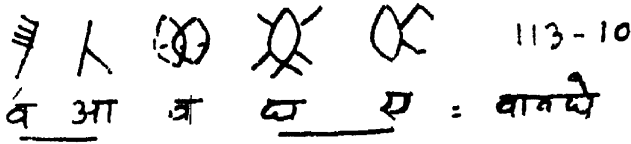
- (1) Of Indian Origin
- (2) " Old Hebrew Origin
- (3) " Old Persian Origin
- (4) " Old Arabic Origin
- (5) " Old Roman Origin

IV

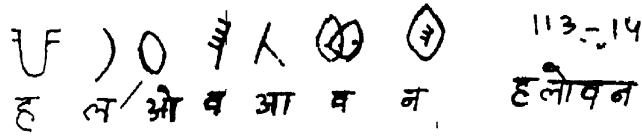
4.1 WORDS OF INDIAN ORIGIN



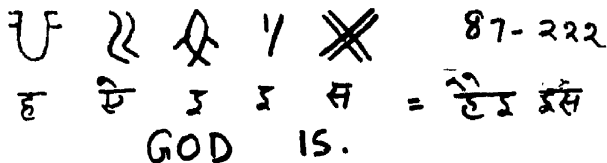
The diagram above is of a deer




The diagram above is of a tiger In Hindi it is spoken बाघ and in Sanskrit it is व्याघ्र (Bagh-Vyaghra)



- 4.2 The figure of Deity Hanuman is on the plate. He holds club in his right hand and a shield in his left hand. On his head, it is ancient crown. He is an Aryan Deity, as there is a reference in the Valmiki's *Ramayana*, Lord Hanuman united Lord Ram with Southern Indian King Sugriv in a battle with Ravan.



- 4.3 In Sanskrit ईश is for God or the Almighty. He is sitting in a yogik posture indicating stability. His Head Crown has three feathers indicating His powers of life, death and maintenance.



 102-13a
 न ट र ऐ ज इ व = नटरेज इव

- 4.4 Nataraj or Nataraj is an Indian word for Marang Buru or Lord Shiva. In ancient Indian mythology, He has been depicted as Pashupati or the Lord of Animal world too. IB (इव) is an Egyptian expression for Sphinx - a deity, having mixed character of human being and animal. Nataraj is the Lord of the both.

V

WORDS OF HEBREW ORIGIN

5.1


 115-465
 अ र उ स ल इ म
 झरऊसलीम

The modern name is Jerusalem in Israel

5.2


 84-92
 Read from R to L

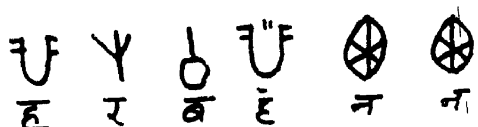
NAJEF - A place in Iraq

DAI - An old Afghan expression for kabila or group of Tribes

VI

WORDS OF OLD PERSIAN + ARABIC GROUP

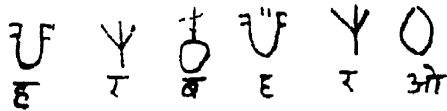
6.1


 96-110

HARAB HANAN

A war of such magnitude in which everything was plundered

62



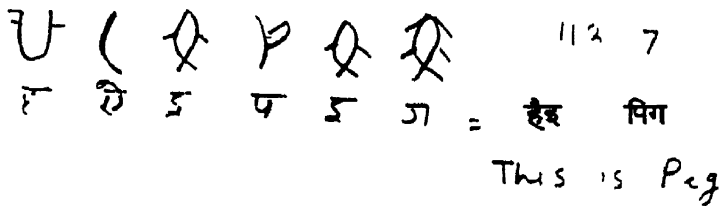
H A R A B H A R A O

A war of heavy bloodshed

VII

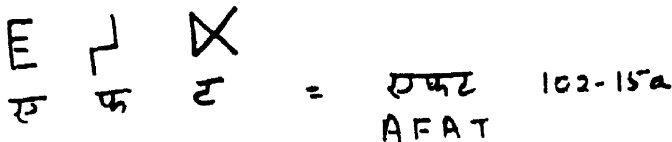
WORDS OF ROMAN ORIGIN

71



The figure above is of a Pig

72



The figure below is of an Elephant

VIII

CONCLUSION

81 My understanding of Indus Alphabet and its script suggest that it is more akin to Deonagri script. It has been written left to right with a few exceptions. In some cases it is in ascending or descending order and in some from right to left.

- 8 2 For each pronunciation, there is a definite letter. Many letters have more than one diagram.
- 8 3 Legends related to the letters indicate that they are purely of Indian origin.
- 8 4 Majority of the letters of this script have been shaped according to ancient armaments, ornaments and decorative marks of deities with a few exceptions.
- 8 5 Presence of 22 Roman letters with same pronunciations and close likeness of their present shapes indicate Indus script to be the Mother of Roman script.
- 8 6 Presence of numerous plates containing words of non-Indian origin indicates foreign invasions and the invaders used the Indus script to express themselves.
- 8 7 Presence of Aryan Deities like **हनुमान**, Sanskrit for God and Lord Hanuman or Hanuman suggest that Indus valley civilization had a composite culture.
- 8 8 I noticed use of numerals in inscriptions both as denoting numbers and also as expressions in terms of letters. The tribal Guru explained straight short vertical lines — (1) were first used as a symbolic representation of **हनुमान** or God. Later the use of straight short vertical lines began for numerals. For example (1) one single mark denoted Bapu Thakur (the Almighty) - Tribal name Mit. Three (III) marks for Bapu Thakur / Thakran Ayo / and Marang Buru - tribal name pay. Seven (IIIIII) such marks stood for all the deities of the cosmos - tribal name, Aea! Bohiya Ko - Aea! Sai Gupini Ko. There is systematic representation of numbers starting from 1 to 10.

PRE-HISTORIC INVESTIGATIONS IN THE NAGULERU VALLEY - A METRICAL APPROACH

D.B. MURTI*

I

- 1 1 Numerical taxonomy and metrical analysis offer a fairly reliable basis for intersite and intra site comparison of tool types or attributes. Normative typotechnological comparisons are, no doubt, sound but when a large number of assemblages are to be handled the probabilistic deductions based on simple eye witness can often be misleading. With the result there is a growing concern among archaeologists to adopt fairly dependable paradigms drawn from statistics and mathematics. The use of analytical techniques, however, can never totally replace the normative approach, implying that a numerically tempered descriptive catalogue can help comparing attributes or artefact types across an array of assemblages.
- 1 2 With a view to drawing such dependable statistics for comparison, handaxes and cleavers from very recently discovered sites in the Naguleru valley are considered. The Acheulean find spots are at Ammaraju kunta, Gummadampadu, Pamidipadu, Garikapadu and Mellavagu confined by 16° 15' - 16° 30' N Latitudes and 79° 35' - 79° 45' 3" Longitudes.
- 1 3 Though the Acheulean locations are close to the stream courses and the artefacts are from open air settings, the specimens do not show any perceptible post depositional alterations. The assemblages reported from Karempudi¹ are prone to information losses as they hail from alluvial contexts, therefore the data is repeated as was reported just for typological comparison.

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II

- 2 1 Almost all the representative types of Acheulean artefacts are present at the find spots (Table-I) The hand axes and cleavers exhibit neat outlines and the surfaces are covered by small shallow flake scars. Patches of cortex are not extant indicating the prevalence of primary trimming of the blanks! In most of the cases the employable units are intact though with occasional signs of retouch or use damage
- 2 2 The craftsmen had chosen chunks and fragments of light brown to grey variety of fine grained quartzites as the medium. With the result a large number of finished products have one of the surfaces flat
- 2 3 Collection of artefacts was through random sampling limited to about 50 sq mts area at each site away from factors of denudation and post depositional drift (Table-II)

III

- 3 1 Hand axes of the region fall into the pointed, spatulated (ficron), ovate, limande, prodnik (pick like), and miniature forms. At Ammarajukunta and Mellavagu, however, spatulated, limande and miniature forms are absent. Asymmetric, symmetric about T-axis, symmetric about B-axis, and biaxially symmetric are the major forms of hand axes, coaxially symmetric forms are, however, absent in the area. Core made, fragment made and flake made specimens occur in the decreasing order of preference, largely dictated by the local rock resources. A few ovates maintain 'S'-twist along the side margins. While some hand axes have biconvex sections, quite a few possess parallelogrammatic cross sections resembling those from the Vaal river of Africa. The 'Val' variants occur particularly in those specimens made on fragments and large flakes. Specimens of the spatulated or ficron variety exhibit deep concave side margins close to the employable unit
- 3 2 Excluding the miniature variety, a sample of 50 hand axes was subjected to metrical analysis. The mean weight of the specimens is 354 gms measuring on average 124 mm in length, 2 mm in width and 44 mm in thickness. The angle subtended at the pointed end by the dorsal and ventral surfaces is 35° while that between the side margins is 64°. The acuteness of the angle is, however, reinforced by 37 mm in width and 22 mm in thickness at one fifth length away from the working end. The actual volume of the specimens is 144 cc covered by 13 flake scars. Whereas at other late acheulean assemblages hand axes possess flake scars upto 25, the relative decrease in their counts in the present industries is largely because of flat surfaces spreading across flakes and fragments on which the specimens are made. While the average circumference is 313 mm the employable unit extended to 209 mm showing that almost 2/3 portion of the margin is converted into useful sharp edge converging at the pointed end, leaving only 100 mm for the butt side
- 3 3 Most of the cleavers are fragment or flake made while the rest are on cores. The cutting edge is straight in a large number of cases though convex and transverse edges too occur to a lesser degree. The butt-ends are convergent

with a rounded tip, though straight and totally rounded butt-types are equally popular. Metrical analysis of 50 cleavers indicated that the average length is 114 mm while the thickness at 1/5 the length close to the working edge is 22 mm. The mean value of the weight is 336 gms. As most of the cleavers are unifacially fabricated on flakes and flat fragments, the number of flake scars is 5 on average with a general range of 3 to 12. The mean width at the employable unit is 75 mm almost equal to 1/4 circumference. The cutting edge in most cases shows signs of use damage. In some of them the damage was that significant as to leave concave notches reminiscent of heavy duty use to which they were subjected to.

- 3 4 Choppers and chopping tools are modelled on cores and thick fragments. Obviously the edges are wavy and some of them retain signs of heavy use damage. Some of the chopping tools beguile proto hand axes probably suggesting half finished forms. There are a few specimens ranking somewhere between large chopping tools and single ended picks or rostrocarinates.
- 3 5 Discoids are not very popular in the Naguleru valley and they are present in small numbers. On the other hand knives, mostly made on fragments and oblong flakes, are recovered in significant numbers. Side scrapers are very common while end scrapers are of limited occurrence. Points of the area are made on simple symmetric flakes with convergent margins at the working end. Retouched, tanged and shouldered varieties of points are totally absent. Knives made on side-struck flakes occur in large numbers while those made on thick fragments are rare.
- 3 6 At all the sample area retouched flakes are recovered in large numbers. Some of them exhibit signs of use damage as well. Serrated and notched varieties of flakes are conspicuous by their total absence. While flake blanks occur in large numbers, blade flakes too are present in significant quantities though bereft of signs of use damage or retouch. Probably the blade flakes and the flake blanks are just byproducts.
- 3 7 In the assemblages broken tools are also present, the extant portions of some belong to the hand axe category. Tips of broken hand axes are also recovered in small numbers though they cannot be matched to any of the extant tip broken hand axes. On the other hand some of the thick variety of knives appear to be the remodelled body portions of tip broken hand axes, indicating reuse of broken specimens in a different but useful functional group.

IV

DISCUSSION

- 4 1 On morphological grounds the hand axe industries of the Naguleru valley can be ranked at the late acheulean stage of the lower palaeolithic. The neat outlines, carefully trimmed surfaces, along with the various subtypes of hand axes substantiate the placement. The presence of cleavers in significant numbers and the relative rarity of discoids probably suggest that the region was grown over by thicker forests than today during acheulean occupation. The associated knives and scrapers usually indicate activity on organic media.

As processing equipment of food and personal effects their presence in considerable number is very significant

- 4 2 Not much could be deduced about the simple flake points as they are rid of any retouch or use damage, though they could be long range projectiles under a proper haft. Retouched flakes could have been simple cutting and slicing tools across an array of food producing and food processing strategies
- 4 3 The results of metrical analysis indicated that irrespective of the nature of the blank, the Naguleru specimens have close similarities to the other acheulean industries in Andhra at Rajupalem, not far off in the Krishna Valley,² Lankalapalem in the Sarada valley³ and sites across the Paleru⁴. Barring very narrow yet permissible local variations all the industries share typological and metrical features in common (Table-III)
- 4 4 A comparison of the metrical details with those from Chirki-on-Pravara in Maharashtra and Birach basin of Rajasthan⁵ indicated that the Naguleru specimens exhibit a much superior technique. As the specimens at Chirki are placed at the early stage of the Acheulean adventure, the Naguleru industries deserve placement with middle to late acheulean phases, the Paleru specimens, however, appear to exhibit an excellent technical superiority in Coastal Andhra
- 4 5 Comparison of metric details apart, the presence of miniatures, a trend closely associated with late acheulean phases, suggest a late date to the industries of the Naguleru
- 4 6 In the recent times Sarma⁶, reported palaeolithic artefacts from Pondugala on Dandivagu. Typologically they are very significant as they appear to deserve a placement with the early Acheulean facies of the lower Krishna valley. Apparently the palaeolithic hunter-gatherers of the lower Krishna set out their strides of cultural expansion into the Naguleru valley during middle to late stages of the Acheulean succession

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- 1 K V Soundarajan, 'Studies in the stone age of Nagarjuna Konda and its neighborhood' *AI*, 14, New Delhi 1958
- 2 D B Murti and K.S. Kesava, 'Metrical analysis of handaxes from Rajupalem, Lower Krishna Valley,' *QJMS*, 78, 1987, pp 3-4
- 3 D B Murti, 'Acheulean artefacts from Lankalapalem' *QJMS*, 76, 1985 pp 1-2
- 4 V V M Rao, 'Discovery of stone age sites in the Paleru Valley, Coastal A P', *Current Science*, 48, 1979, p 8
- 5 R V Joshi and A R Marathe 'Metrical analysis of handaxes from Chirki on Pravara', *Puratattva*, 8, New Delhi, 1976
- 6 I K Sharma, *IAR*, 1973-74, p 8

ACKNOWLEDGEMENT

I tender my hearty thanks to Dr V S R Sastry of Nagarjuna University and Dr V V Subba Reddy of G H R and M C M R College of Guntur for their active help during the exploration and metrical analysis of artefacts

TABLE-I

Artefact Type	Ammaraju Kunta		Gummadam-padu		Pamidipadu		Garikapadu		Mellavagu		Karempudi	
	No	%	No	%	No	%	No	%	No	%	No	%
Choppers	12	4 14	17	4 91	11	2 86	16	4 82	5	4 45	12	18 75
Chopping tools	16	5 52	13	3 76	9	2 33	7	2 11	8	5 52	-	-
Hand axes	27	9 31	85	24 57	117	30 39	93	28 01	17	11 72	26	40 625
Cleavers	23	7 93	21	6 07	23	5 97	31	9 34	8	5 52	2	3 125
Discoids	13	4 48	11	3 18	9	2 34	6	1 81	3	2 07	-	-
Knives	17	5 86	19	5 49	39	10 13	32	9 64	12	8 26	-	-
Scrapers	29	10 00	13	3 76	15	3 90	17	5 12	7	4 83	12	18 75
Points	13	4 48	7	2 02	9	2 34	3	0 90	3	2 07	-	-
Retouched flakes	46	15 86	50	14 45	17	4 42	15	4 52	13	8 97	-	-
Blade flakes	16	5 52	13	3 18	19	4 94	11	3 31	7	4 83	-	-
Flake blanks	36	12 41	31	8 96	23	5 97	27	8 13	17	11 72	9	14 062
Broken Hand axes	7	2 41	3	0 87	11	2 85	5	1 51	2	1 38	-	-
Cores and fragments	35	12 07	63	18 21	83	21 56	69	20 78	43	29 66	3	4 687
	290	99 99	346	99 43	385	100 00	332	100 00	145	99 95	64	100 00

TABLE-II

Hand axes			Cleavers			
Subtypes	No.	%	Butt shape	No.	%	
Pointed	14	28	Rounded	17	34	
Spatulated (Ficron)	19	30		Straight	14	28
Ovate	03	06		Convergent	19	38
Limande	02	04		----- 50	----- 100	
Prodrik (Pick like)	04	08				
Miniature	08	16	Edge Shape	No.	%	
	----- 50	----- 100	Straight	20	40	
			Convex	17	34	
Form Classification		No.	%	Transverse	13	26
Assymmetric		18	36		----- 50	----- 100
Coaxially symmetric		00	00			
Symmetric about B-axis		12	24	Blank shape	No.	%
Symmetric about T-axis		04	08	Flake made	29	58
Ri-axially symmetric		16	32	Fragment made	17	34
		----- 50	----- 100	Core made	04	08
					----- 50	----- 100
Blank types		No	%			
Core made		29	58			
Fragment made		15	30			
Flake made		06	12			
		----- 50	----- 100			

TABLE-III**Comparative Analysis of Handaxes**

	Area	Sample size	Weight gms	Length cms	Breadth cms	Thickness cms
1	Chirkì on Pravara, Maharashtra	88	M 539 23 SD 171 43 CV 31 78	13 30 3 70 26 80	7 60 0 30 3 94	4 88 1 26 25 81
2	Birach, Rajasthan	22	M - - - SD - - - CV - - -	11 63 2 15 18 48	8 05 1 74 21 61	3 91 1 09 27 87
3	Paleru valley Andhra Pradesh	172	M 216 84 SD 105 19 CV 48 51	9 80 1 74 17 75	6 88 1 06 15 38	3 06 0 66 21 56
4	Rajupalem, Krishna Valley Andhra Pradesh	55	M 293 60 SD 158 48 CV 54 08	10 78 3 38 22 07	7 64 1 55 20 28	3 50 0 90 25 71
5	Lankalapalem Sarada valley Andhra Pradesh	25	M 473 16 SD 210 47 CV 44 40	12 96 2 19 16 92	7 88 1 24 15 78	3 75 0 96 25 63
6	Naguleru valley Andhra Pradesh	50	M 354 51 SD 136 86 CV 38 60	12 44 2 09 16 87	7 20 1.47 20 50	4 45 0 87 19 68

JAKHERA - THE EARLIEST URBAN CENTRE OF THE GANGA VALLEY - AN EVALUATION OF THE ARCHAEOLOGICAL EVIDENCE OBTAINED FROM THE SITE

M.D.N. SAHI*

I

- 1.1 The value and importance of archaeological evidence for the study of the processes of urbanization in the Ganga valley has recently been recognised by the scholars Ghosh¹ and Sharma² held that urbanization in the Ganga valley took place around 600 B C , when the material culture of the region was characterised by the occurrence of the NBP ware. It is also believed that there is a wide gap of about one thousand years between the Harappan civilization and the urbanization of the Ganga valley so called as 'second urbanization'. But earlier excavations at sites such as Hastinapur and Ahichchhatra led Wheeler to designate the Painted Grey Ware culture of these sites as representing a civilization.³ Further excavations at Kaushambi, Ataranjikhara, Kampil and Jakhera indicate that the material culture associated with the PGW reflects an 'urban', 'semi-urban' or 'proto-urban' way of life.
- 1.2 The role of iron in the growth of urbanization has also been discussed by various scholars. Ghosh⁴ held the view that effect of iron was not significant and that the metal did not produce any spurt in material prosperity and that the introduction of iron did not immediately imply a march towards urbanism.

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Sharma⁵ ascribed the Magadhan power to the availability of iron in south Bihar around 600 B C. In his later work⁶ he states that the total picture of the PGW settlements does not warrant their characterisation as urban. He however, concedes that towards the end of the PGW period they 'can be called 'proto-urban'. Chakrabarti⁷ held that iron did make the already existing village structure economically more productive. But he is not prepared to ascribe any revolutionary change prior to 600 B C. He also does not consider iron as the causative factor in bringing about any change either in size category and settlement pattern or growth in agricultural production during the PGW period. Ray⁸ argues that there is no absolute case in regard to the assumption of extensive plough cultivation which could provide sufficient surplus for urbanization. Thakur⁹ holds that iron - aided extensive agriculture is a myth in the context of the economy of sixth-fifth centuries B C, and that apparently there is hardly any direct and perceptible connection between iron and the origins of towns.

- 1.3 The accumulating evidence now indicates that the Painted Grey Ware people were not the first users of iron in north India. The discovery of iron in the proto-PGW levels at Jakhera and pre-PGW levels at Noh¹⁰ and Kaushambi¹¹ has been reported. Iron in northern India is thus well attested even prior to the mature phase of the PGW. The number, variety and nature of iron objects reported from Ropar, Alamgirpur, Allahpur, Hastinapur, Ahichchhatra, Atranjikhara, Jakhera, Noh and Kaushambi and the stages of their manufacture presupposes a long established tradition.
- 1.4 We intend to examine the validity of the views cited above on the basis of evidence obtained from the excavations at Jakhera. A major research project entitled 'Jakhera Excavation Project' was undertaken with financial assistance from the University Grants Commission, Archaeological Survey of India and the Department of History, Aligarh Muslim University.

II

- 2.1 The site of Jakhera locally known as Kusak (27° 51'N and 78° 41' E) is situated on the left bank of the Kalinadi and is about 8 kms to the north-west of modern town Kasganj in district Etah. Excavation work done at the site so far has given the following cultural sequence of the site¹²
 - Period I Characterised by the occurrence of Ochre Coloured Pottery in a small number
 - Period II Characterised by the unpainted Black-and-Red, Black Slipped and Red Wares
 - Period IIIA This phase called as proto-PGW phase is marked by the introduction of iron and a tradition of black painting on every variety of pottery. The painted pottery is very small in number, but the bulk of the pottery continues to remain the same as is found in Period II
 - Period IIIB Mature PGW phase as is represented at Hastinapur II, and Atranjikhara III

III

PERIOD I

- 3 1 The deposit yielding OCP in very small numbers and sporadically, comprises hard Gangetic alluvium. It does not represent any occupational debris. This indicates that the actual OCP habitational area is more where in the close proximity. The sherds providing shapes are small in number but not as sturdy as the usual OCP on other sites. No antiquity was found from this deposit. However, it was from the Upper levels of this deposit that small sherds of black-slipped and black and red-ware were also recovered.

PERIOD II

- 3 2 The habitational debris of this period is found overlaid over the hard Ganga alluvium representing period I and is represented by the occurrence of Black-and-Red, Black slipped and Red wares. Thus actually the earliest settlement at various places on the site appears to have been a small village.
- 3 3 The excavations revealed oval and circular wattle-and-daub house-plans, with well laid compact and smooth floors, often with burnt patches and sloping towards the centre. On one of the floors an open hearth, oval in shape was found.
- 3 4 The antiquities recovered included tanged and barbed bone arrowheads bearing incised circlet designs, besides a bead of jasper and pottery discs. Similar bone arrowheads have been reported from Chalcolithic Koldihwa¹³ and Nagal.

PERIOD IIIA

- 3 5 This proto-PGW phase is marked by the introduction of iron and painted pottery tradition comprising black painting on various shades of Red, Black-and-Red and Black Slipped wares. Painted pottery is small in frequency, and the bulk of the pottery continues to remain the same as was found from the deposits of Period II. The painting which was done mostly in parallel linear patterns was also executed by rubbing off the black coloured band of slip with a dry brush when the slip was still wet. Similar paintings have been reported from the Chalcolithic levels at Koldihwa¹⁴ Narhan and Sohgauna. From Ahar also black painted Black-and-Red ware has been reported.
- 3 6 An important point to be noted here is that it is during this period that the area of the settlement has grown quite considerably. The other mound (JKH-2) was occupied for the first time during this period. Extension of settlement may probably signify an increase in population as compared to that of the earlier period.
- 3 7 Excavation have revealed oval and circular house-plans marked by post holes at the periphery. The floors, though well laid and smooth, were found sloping towards the centre. On one of the floors few bones, a terra-cotta geometrical object & pottery pieces were found in a ritualistic setting. In another area (JKH - 2) a 'U' shaped *chulha*/furnace was discovered. It has two narrow openings.

on the back and two circular pits on the front side. In another corresponding area a shallow pit, yielding large number of pottery including an unbaked one, was probably used as a pottery kiln. It has internally plastered surface.

- 3 8 Antiquities recovered from the proto-PGW levels indicate a much greater material prosperity than that of Period II. Metallic objects recovered are 14 of iron and 2 of copper. Iron objects comprised hoe, sickle, spearhead, ring, rod and lumps. Copper objects included a bangle piece and a small and thin rod. Paucity of copper objects was probably made up to a great extent by a large number and variety of bone objects. Bones were probably roasted before preparing the objects. The bone objects included combs, decorated and incised pendants, mirror handles with incised decoration and having fine polish, and numerous types of arrowheads and points. Beads of semi-precious stones like carnelian, jasper, quartz and agate and sandstone balls were found. Terra-cotta objects included *ghata* shaped beads, spindle-worls, gamesmen, balls, discs, and geometrical objects ¹⁵

PERIOD IIIB : (MATURE PGW PHASE)

- 3 9 This phase is characterised by fine PGW, plain grey ware, Black-and-Red, Black slipped and Red wares. This phase is comparable evenly with Atranjikhara III, Noh III, both in respect of ceramic tradition, and shapes and painted motifs. Continuity of ceramic complex from the earlier period is also attested.
- 3 10 There appears to have been further expansion in the settlement area extending almost to the present size of the site. A significant feature of this period is that a part of the settlement now appears to have been circumscribed by a low mud bund. Its extant basal width was 4.80 metre whereas its maximum height was found to be 1.20 metres. This feature was observed on the slope of the highest terrace of mound JKH - 1. On the southern and western side it appears to have been eroded. Probably this bund was circumscribing the residential area of the aristocratic class. This conclusion is based on the fact that maximum of sophisticated and luxury items were recovered from this area.
- 3 11 Against this on the southern and western slope of this mound was discovered a moat/water channel ¹⁶. The first stage of its digging goes back to the Proto-PGW levels.
- 3 12 There appears to be a separate area demarcated for ritualistic purposes, with many well laid floors studded with large number of circular/oval ritualistic or sacrificial pits full of ash. In one of these pits lower part of the forelimb of a goat with hoof intact was placed beside a hand made thick sun dried clay bowl. Another pit was lined finely with yellow sandy clay. Yet on the side of another pit large number of pottery discs were found studded together, as if they were just piled together without any binding material. Its ritualistic significance, however, cannot be denied.
- 3 13 Circular wattle-and-daub house plans belonging to this period and exposed in 1974 - 76 have already been reported ¹⁷. In the upper most deposits of

this period on JKH-2 were exposed three circular/oval house plans, just adjacent to each other. One of the above mentioned houses (No 1) had a diameter of 5.07 meter north-south and 4.95 meter east-west. Lower part of its wall was made up of mud. The occurrence of post holes on the top of this wall at regular intervals suggests that the super-structure was supported on logs and bamboos. Large number of mud clods with reeds and bamboo marks were found on the top of the uppermost floor. This wall was associated with at least five floors. The northern half of the lower floor of this house was exposed. It was found to have been studded with five ashy pits. It was on the side of one of these pits that a large number of pottery-discs were piled together. At the top of the central pit which was slightly bigger, a complete bowl of grey ware was found resting. The other (No 2) adjacent house measured 6.10 meter north-south and 5.40 meter east-west. This house was associated with 7 successive floors. In the centre of this house an open hearth was exposed in which flat tile like terra-cotta pieces were found placed obliquely. However, what is baffling here is that on the floors of none of these houses were found 'U' shaped *chulhas*, as they were found at Atranjikhhera, personally exposed by me. On the floors of the latter two houses were found hand made circular storage bins. One of them was provided with stunted legs and was made to rest on burnt bricks. Below and around these storage bins were found large quantity of sand. It appears that all the three houses formed part of one house-complex each serving the purpose of individual rooms.

- 3.14 In another partly exposed house-complex in the vicinity towards south at least three such storage bins were noticed. Occurrence of circular and squarish lids of storage bins indicates that these storage bins used to be of squarish and circular shape. In this area also sand is found below the base of the storage bins. Occurrence of several storage bins may substantiate our conclusion¹⁸ that there was surplus agricultural production.
- 3.15 The use of burnt bricks of varying sizes was not only confined to ritualistic purposes as believed earlier¹⁹ but they were also used at the base of the post holes of the structures and for the support of the storage bins.
- 3.16 *Iron objects* From the deposits of this period as many as 127 objects, besides many chunks of slags and bun shaped ingot-lumps were found. Iron objects may be classified as (a) weapons for warfare and hunting or fishing, such as, arrowheads, spearheads, daggers, lances and fish hooks, (b) house hold objects, like nails, pins, rods, needles, knives, clamps, rings and bangles, (c) craft tools-like adze, axe, chisels and borers & (d) agricultural tools comprising sickle, plough share, hoe and axes, besides many indeterminate objects.
- 3.17 *Copper objects* About 61 copper objects were recovered. Noteworthy copper objects are bangles, bracelets, needle with eye, fish hooks, toothpicks, antimony rods and antimony rod-cum-nail parers.
- 3.18 *Gold objects* These have special significance as none of the PGW sites have yielded gold objects so far. The objects recovered were flat spiral ring/nose-

ring, leaf shaped ornament piece, and wires of various thickness, one being of square cross-section. A small coil very thin and fine, signifies an advanced technology of wire drawing in gold.

- 3 19 *Bone objects* About 200 bone objects, besides 8 horn pieces with saw marks, were recovered from the PGW levels. The objects worth mentioning are various varieties of bone arrowheads, points, awls, beads, richly carved mirror handles and gamesmen.
- 3 20 *Ivory objects* A dagger-shaped richly decorated pendent and a comb were significant objects found in PGW levels.
- 3 21 *Terracotta objects* Among the terracotta objects, discs far out number. About more than 300 discs of various sizes having incised designs were found. Pottery discs were still found in much large numbers than even the discs. Among other notable terracotta objects were bangles, balls - some times also decorated, geometrical objects, beads, gamesmen, head of a bird, animal figurines, skin-rubbers, head-scratchers, net sinkers, dabbers, *roti takana*, bricks and unbaked pestle and querns studded with smooth stone chips. However, the most significant discovery not reported from any other PGW site is the occurrence of human figurines both male and female. The one with incised decoration in grey colour appears to be the precursor of archaic violin shaped figurines reported from NBP levels from Jakhera and other sites. Each one of them is unique in its own way having no parallels.
- 3 22 *Semi-precious stone objects* So far as many as 76 semi-precious stone objects were found. The stones used are chalcedony, carnelian, amethyst, agate, jasper and quartz. Objects are mainly various types of beads. Some carnelian beads are etched also. Lumps of quartz and jasper were also found, which were used as raw material.
- 3 23 *Glass* As many as 13 glass objects mainly bangles and beads, were found from the corresponding deposit.
- 3 24 Thus in the field of arts, science, technology and commerce as well, Jakhera has made significant contribution to our knowledge about the life of the PGW people.

PERIOD IV

- 3 25 This period is marked by the introduction of NBP ware, which overlaps with the PGW. This period of Jakhera may be equated with Shravasti Period I.
- 3 26 During the current series of excavation work very few floor levels of this period were exposed. An important discovery was that of bigger water channel running north-south below the western slope of JKH - 1. Its maximum depth is about 4.80 meter and width is about 10 meter. It was traced to a length of about 40 meter. Whether it was another moat of the NBP ware period or any erosional channel created by a massive flood, is yet to be determined.

- 3 27 From the deposits of this period about 133 iron objects and 38 of copper, 51 of SPS, 19 of glass, 62 of bones/antlers and roughly about 500 terracotta objects were found. Significant antiquities are beads of SPS, antimony rods, piece of a dish, rings and bangles of copper, violin shaped human figurine, and a ram with twisted horns having incised decorations on the body and holes in the legs. A similar ram has been reported from the PGW levels at Bhagwanpura²⁰
- 3 28 The settlement was subsequently deserted before the advent of late NBP Ware phase and shifted to a nearby area where over the ruins of which the village Jakhera of present day stands

IV

DISCUSSION

- 4 1 The deposit yielding OCP in a very small number does not represent any occupational debris. The habitational debris of Period II is found over the hard Gangetic alluvium yielding OCP and actually represents the earliest settlement at the site. It appears that this earliest settlement was perhaps a small village. Circular or oval wattle-and-daub houses with smooth floors and oval open hearth were attested. The antiquities recovered indicate paucity of cultural equipment. Metallic objects are conspicuously absent. Paucity of cultural equipments is also reflected at Noh, Jodhpura, Atranjikhhera, Pariar and Sringerpur from the corresponding levels. Their subsistence pattern reflects a self-sufficient economy with cultivation of rice and barley.
- 4 2 With the advent of iron in the proto-PGW levels (period III A) at Jakhera significant changes start taking place immediately. Numerous antiquities found from these levels reflect comparatively a greater material prosperity and industrial activity than in the earlier period. Significant objects found from this deposit have already been mentioned.
- 4 3 Another significant feature that may be noted here is that there is an expansion in the area of the settlement. This may signify an increase in the population of the settlement. It is interesting to note there that with the advent of iron there is not only an increase in the volume and variety of industrial production but also a growth in the population. Thus it is not at all justified to hold that iron was not a causative factor in the growth of production or population almost immediately when it came to be known. This may be considered as the first initial stage in the process of urbanization. A water channel was also dug during this period indicating community work. It is very difficult to dig the hard Ganga alluvium and harness water resources for irrigation without iron tools.
- 4 4 Second stage in the process of the growth towards urbanization is reached during the subsequent Period III B i.e. Mature PGW phase. Further proliferation in agricultural²¹ and industrial production²² is well attested during this phase. Among the important new crops cultivated during this period is

wheat Total yield of recovered objects from this level indicates further expansion in the volume and variety of industrial production Besides tools including those for agricultural operations, weapons, objects of house-hold needs, some exquisitely carved items of luxury and, ornaments including those of gold and ivory were found from this deposit Local manufacturing of various items is very well attested in almost all the spheres of industrial production The availability of raw material in the form of ores, slag, bun-shaped iron ingot and slags, copper crucibles, antlers of deer with saw marks, lumps of quartz and jasper not easily available in the Ganga Doab may further signify brisk trade with far flung areas involving commercial activities

- 4 5 In the field of science and arts Jakhera excavations have made important contributions to our knowledge about the PGW people Terracotta human figurines, boat shaped exquisitely carved toggle bead, decorated dagger-shaped of ivory, incised intersecting circles design on grey pottery, terracotta geometrical objects indicative of evolution of geometrical science and instrument, and gold objects are, however, some of the items which have not been reported from any other PGW site Wires of gold including the very fine and thin one signifies an advanced technology of wire drawing in gold
- 4 6 A significant feature of this period is that a part of the settlement appears to have been circumscribed by a low mud bund signifying the establishment of political authority Probably this bund was circumscribing the residential area of the aristocratic class of the society This conclusion is based on the fact that maximum number of sophisticated and luxury items were recovered from this area Another significant feature of the settlement is that on the southern and western slope of the mound a moat/water channel was discovered It could be traced to a length of about 40 metres Mud walls were also noticed There appears to have been further expansion in the size of the settlement area extending almost to the present size of the site
- 4 7 There appears to be a separate area demarcated for ritualistic purposes, with many well laid floors studded with large number of circular/oval pits full of ash Occurrence of storage bins in almost every house, sometimes more than one may indicate surplus agricultural production
- 4 8 With all these features noted above we may conclude that Jakhera during the PGW period was no longer a simple village settlement It can definitely be taken to have grown into a township Thus, we can further say that introduction of iron did produce a spurt in the material prosperity and social stratification²³ It also implied march towards urbanism immediately after its introduction and that the process of urbanization of the Ganga valley did take place much earlier by about 1100 - 1000 B C at least Before the settlement could further grow into a city, it was deserted due to a massive flood Thus the stage of urbanization of the Ganga valley generally considered as synchronising with the late phase of NBP ware may represent the next phase of urbanization Its designation as 'Second' may also now be qualified It may also be observed that iron did play an important role in ushering in urbanisation immediately after its inception in the Ganga Valley

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A UNIQUE CLAY SEAL FROM CHANDRAKETUGARH

GOURISANKAR DE*

I

- 1 1 Some inscribed seals and sealings found from different ancient sites of Bengal and preserved in several museums were known to scholars for a fairly long period. Some examples are - a clay seal from Bangarh (West Dinajpur District)¹, a round stone seal from Pandu-Rajar Dhibi (Burdwan District)², terracotta seals from Tamluk (Midnapore District)³, clay and ivory seals from Chandraketugarh (North 24-Parganas District)⁴ and Harinarayanpur (South 24-Parganas District)⁵ etc. But the legends on them remained undeciphered and the pictures and symbols enigmatic. Some scholars even described the scripts as 'unknown'.
- 1 2 The veil was lifted in the year 1989 when the present writer discovered and collected a large hoard of Kushana potteries, clay seals and sealings from Chandraketugarh⁶. B N Mukherjee deciphered the legends on the objects⁷. It was proved that the short inscriptions were written in the Kharostī and Kharostī - Brahmi scripts⁸. This was for the first time that the evidence of the regular use of Kharostī, outside its natural and well-known region, i.e. the ancient Gandhara, were detected and in southern Bengal, to speak precisely, at Tamluk (Tamralipta) and Chandraketugarh⁹.

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II

- 2 1 Among the objects mentioned above, a clay seal discovered by the present writer is indeed unique. It is a mini, cube-shaped one resembling a dice. It measures 1/2"x 1/2"x 1/2". The seal has been ascribed to the Kushana period¹⁰. Different pictures, along with some short legends, are engraved on four sides. The pictures are shown within different geometrical frames: oval, round, square and rectangular. The two other sides bear only legends. The pictures furnish different informations.
- 2 2 The six sides of the seal may be described thus:
- i) Standing Kartikeya. On his left side a banana tree.
The deity is holding Shakti with his right hand. No legend.
 - ii) A *yupa* symbol (a royal symbol). The accompanying legend runs:
K K B B B K (K=Kharosthi, B=Brahmi)
The S M N M S (Trasamanam ?). This is a personal name.
 - iii) A man is sitting on an elevated seat or structure.
The inscription consists of three letters:
K K K
Dha Me Sha
(Thhamesha)
meaning 'Lord of the House'.
 - iv) A tree. On its two sides two horses trying to jump over the fence. A man, wearing coat and trousers, is seated on a horse (r). This is evident that the horse is undergoing training. The accompanying legend reads:
K K K
Dhe si Dho = Deshita (trained in this country)
The trainer is a foreigner as it appears from the dress.
 - v) A short legend. It reads:
K K K
Kra Sa Mi. The meaning of the word is not clear. No picture.
 - vi) Two letters in Kharosthi:
K K
Je thha (the chief caravan leader).

III

3 1 From the legends on the seals and potteries, Mukherjee has come to the conclusion that in the early centuries A D a certain community or several communities migrated from the Zone of Kharostī and North-Western Prakrit to some areas of Lower Gangetic Bengal, particularly Tamralipta and Chandraketugarh¹¹ These people settled at Chandraketugarh, set up big agricultural farms, captured political power, accepted Brahminism and local faith and introduced Kharostī and Brahmi-Kharostī scripts¹² They were engaged in overseas trade, particularly of corn, pottery and horse as the legends of the seals, their pictures and some terracotta plaques, tell us¹³ The present seal, under discussion, confirms the opinion of Mukherjee¹⁴ It throws light on the economic activity of ancient Bengal, particularly overseas trade in horse for which there was a great demand in the south-East Asian countries The flora of Lower Gangetic Bengal is represented by the banana tree That Brahmanical faith was dominant in the area is evident from the image of Kartikeya and the yupa symbol A foreign name appears A caravan leader is mentioned A specimen of ancient architecture is suggested Probably, the most important information furnished by one of the pictures is that the horses which were imported from the North-West India were trained in Bengal and then shipped to the south-East Asian countries The seal is a priceless document It is important palaeographically and is a specimen of miniature art The clay seal from Chandraketugarh is indeed a unique piece

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THE BIHAR STONE INSCRIPTION OF THE GUPTAS :

SOME OBSERVATIONS

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I

- 1 1 In 1839, Ravenshaw noticed a stone pillar lying in front of the northern gate of the ancient fort of Bihar¹ or Bihar Sharif which was formerly called Udantapur or Srinagar, and, it had lost its bottom part while falling down. Now this column is in the Patna museum, and, there we examined it. The pillar, erected as the sacrificial post, its upper half is square in form, while its lower half is shaped into eight faces, and, of the latter, the width of the four sides, being made at the corners, is less. The purposefully fashioned lower half bears two Gupta inscriptions in the Brahmi script of the eastern style, written by separate hands on distinct occasions, although the size of their letters is similar. Unfortunately, both the records had peeled off to a greater extent, and, moreover the bottom part of the second epigraph had disappeared in the missing fragment of the pillar. Their extant portions contain 13 and 20 lines, and, in the reproduced texts, the earlier record represents the first 13 lines, and the later one, 14 to 33 lines.

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II

- 2 1 Of these transcripts, three facsimiles have been published so far (i) 1866, by Mitra² from a backed clay impression made by Hollings (C), (ii) in 1871, by Cunningham³ from his own imprint, and, (iii) in 1888 by Fleet⁴, but without the last eight lines of the earlier lithographs as they, at the time of his examination of the records, were completely hidden by a wooden structure, which was placed on the top of this column, i e the proper bottom, being set up inversely Cunningham rightly distinguishes the writing of the pillar into two separate records but Fleet considers them as two parts of a single document Most of the scholars follow the latter⁵, but they differ on the question of its authorship, it is assigned by Fleet to Skandagupta, Majumdar to Kumaragupta⁶ II, Sircar, Sinha and Agarwal to Purugupta⁷, and Sohoni to Narasimhagupta⁸
- 2 2 Notably, between the lines 13 and 14, there are two horizontal lines which were intended to disunite these two inscriptions, but erroneously, they are also considered as the lines for bifurcating the same record Notwithstanding, the occurrence of such phenomenon in this alleged simple deed, one has to bring out its reason Leaving this aside, significantly, the writing of the first document was extended over four sides of the column while that of the second covers its three faces However, Sohoni⁹ explains this trait by suggesting the possibility that the part II was 'engraved first, and so it, being situated lower on the pillar', covers only three fourths of the circular surface whereas the part I was recorded later, utilising for that purpose, the limited space on the upper reaches of the pillar, and, therefore, it was inscribed all around the pillar' But can this novel suggestion of engraving of the earlier part above and the latter part below, which creates a peculiar pattern in the art of the ancient writing, be accepted? Here the question also arises, why was the earlier part not extended all around, if both the epigraphs were the portions of the same document and thus contained a long text?
- 2 3 Fleet, reading the extant portion of the place name, mentioned in the line 11 of the first deed, as *ndaguptabata*, supplies the syllable *Ska* before, though with a mark of interrogation No doubt, the passages of the second record, which have disappeared in the first nine lines (14 to 22 lines of the reproduced text), are correctly restored on the basis of the genealogical text of the Bhitari inscription of Skandagupta, and, thus they reveal the names of Kumaragupta I and his ancestors However, remarkably, the line 23 of this inscription, as it discloses the name of the successor of Kumaragupta I without its initial letter, the above scholar also puts the syllable *Ska* there Again, as the line 24, presents the sectarian epithet *Parambhagavata* and its end, he sets the name of Skandagupta alongwith the honorific *Sri* and the title *maharajadhiraja* in the missing part of the line 25 Thus in view of these readings and restorations, he holds that both the records belonged to the time of Kumaragupta I's son and successor Skandagupta Indeed, the place-name of the first epigraph and the last part of the genealogy referring to the names of the successors of Kumaragupta I have significant bearings on the question of the authorship of

both the records and hence they are often discussed. Nevertheless, their detailed review, in regard to their certain disputed readings, is still needed to resolve the issues which emerge out.

- 2 4 Fleet restores the line 23 of the second record as (*paramabhagavata maharajadhiraja - Sri - Ska*)*ndaguptah*. Contrarily, Majumdar reads the first survived letter as *ru*, in view of the absence of the loop which is the distinct mark of the character *na*, and its dissimilarity with the first letter of the line 11 which undoubtedly contains *na* as the earlier part of the conjunct. He also notices u-ending of the previous letter. Thus he recognizes the name of Purugupta. In support of this rendering, he recollects the decipherment of this word by Mitra as *ptrugupta*, the stroke for u seems to have misguided him for the latter part of the conjunct. Majumdar also points out that, according to the restoration put forward by Fleet¹ there is no mention of the name of the queen-mother as we find in the cases of the previous kings, and, further, this line has only 19 letters whereas the number of the letters in lines 17 to 22, as to the conventional genealogical phraseology, are 27, 31, 26, 25, 26 and 33, respectively. Therefore, following the pattern of these lines, he suggests the restoration of this line as follows (*Mahadevyam = Anantadevyam = utpannah paramabhagavato Maharajadhiraja-Sri*) Puruguptah.
- 2 5 Some scholars simply accept this rectification of the king's name and not to the restoration of the legend referring to the queen-mother. Even Sarma does not see any 'justification to correct the original reading'. He also opines that the line 23 like line 16, is the shortest line, and so it did not include more than 19 letters. He further adds that 'the mother's name of the monarch has apparently been omitted from the genealogy, as in the Bhitari record of Skandagupta' and, this non-mention of the name and admirably close genealogical text of this record with Bhitari, upto this line would doubly confirm that line 23 contained the name of the king Skandagupta and not Purugupta'. Although Agrawal argues in favour of the amendment yet he too holds that the line 23 is shorter. But most important is, that the editors of the revised corpus of the Gupta inscriptions adhere to the reading proposed by Fleet.
- 2 6 Notwithstanding, the first extent alphabet, by no means, resembles with the second letter of the word *Skanda* written in line 9. It clearly has a vertical with the hook, facing to left, at its bottom, and, we know that *da* forms its shape by turning to right. Therefore, this letter must be read as *ru*. Besides, this character is preceded by a vertical having the bent to left, and, in the absence of the horizontal bar, this can not be identified as the syllable *Ska*. Evidently, this represents to the u-ending and the alphabet's right arm. Thus, these letters-urugupta, among the sons of Kumaragupta I, tally only with the name of Purugupta.

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[For plate see B Ch Chhabra and G S Gai, eds , *CII*, III
(Revised, 1981), Pl XLI facing p 347]

IDENTIFICATION OF SHILABHANJADEVA OF THE MADRAS MUSEUM PLATES OF NARENDRADHAVALA

SUBRATA KUMAR ACHARYA*

I

- 1.1 The Madras museum plates of Narendradhavalā is well known to the students of Indian epigraphy as a sale-deed of early medieval India. D C Sircar edited the plates from the original in the *Epigraphia India*, vol. XXVIII, pp 44-50ff. The inscription refers to one *Shri* Shilabhanjadeva. In lines 4-5 it is said that a person named Seda purchased a village called Tadeshvaragrama from the illustrious Silabhanjadeva, as a *kṛaya-shasana*, paying some *rupyaka*, i.e. silver or money. D C Sircar, the editor of the plates, is of the opinion that Shilabhanja of the plates is no other than Shilabhanja I Angaddi, the founder of the Bhanja royal family of *Khinjalimandala* ruling from Dhritipura and Vanjulvaka.¹ But the identification of *Shri* Shilabhanjadeva of the record under discussion still remains a subject of controversy. The problem with regard to his identification is that in the Bhanja genealogy there are at least three rulers bearing the same name. Besides, the recent discoveries of a number of copper plate grants belonging to Ranabhanja and Narendradhavalā disprove the above contention of Sircar and tempt us to make a fresh investigation into the problem.
- 1.2 D C Sircar made the following observations in support of his argument. First of all, he accepted the synchronism of Padmanabha, the engraver of the

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Madras museum plates with Padmanabha, the engraver of the Sonepur plates of *ranaka* Ranabhanja,² who was the son of Shatrubhanja and the grandson of Silabhanja I Angaddi Secondly, he fixes the date of Shilabhanja and Ranabhanja in the first quarter and in the middle or the third quarter of the tenth century respectively on the basis of the Mandasa plates of Shaka 917³ (A D 995) and the Santabommali plates of Ganga-Kadamva era 520⁴ (A D 1018) which supply the information that Dharmakhedi of the above inscriptions was the son of Bhimakhedi and the grandson of Niyarnava Vijaya-mahadevi, the wife of Ranabhanja was the daughter of this Kadamba king Niyarnava Moreover, he points out that the reference to Gandhatapati as the resident of the engraver Padmanabha in the record seems to presuppose the rule of Shilabhanja's son Shatrubhanja Gandhata and as Padmanabha had served under Shilabhanja's grandson Ranabhanja Narendradhavala's Madras museum plates might be ascribed to the age of the Bhanja kings Satrubhanja and Ranabhanja of *Khinjali-mandala*

- 1 3 Since Sircar published this set of plates, a few copper plate grants of Ranabhanja and a dated charter of Narendradhavala have come to light which throw sufficient light on the problem of identifying Shilabhanja of the Madras museum plates of Narendradhavala The Orissa museum plates of Narendradhavala⁵ is dated in year 189 of an unspecified era The era in question probably refers to the Bhauma era, the initial year of which has been fixed at A D 736 and therefore it seems to be clear that Narendradhavala ruled over the territory of *Khidirashringa-mandala* in A D 925 There is no denying of the fact that Narendradhavala of the Madras and Orissa museum plates are identical While the former refers to him only as *Shri*, in the latter he is called as *maharaja* This was the time when the Svetaka Ganga dynasty came to an end and in our opinion it was Narendradhavala who sometime before A D 925 put an end to the dynasty and assumed the title of *maharaja* but prior to that he had only the nominal title of *Shri* It, therefore, goes without doubt that his Madras museum plates were issued before the Orissa museum plates and very likely he ruled in the early decades of the tenth century
- 1 4 There is an important clue in the Madras museum plates of the king in order to ascertain the identification of Shilabhanja Padmanabha, the son of the *vanik* Pandi was the engraver of the grant and he was a resident of Gandhatapati This person seems to be identical with *vanik-suvarnnakara* Padmanabha, son of Pandi and the engraver of the Sonepur⁶ and the undated Baudh⁷ plates of Ranabhanja who was the son of Satrubhanja Gandhata and the grandson of Shilabhanja I Angaddi The sonepur grant is dated in the regnal year *namame* of the ruler B C Mazumdar while editing the places corrected it into *navame* and accordingly fixed the date in year 9 of the ruler It is interesting to note here that the date of the Aida⁸ and the Phulbani⁹ plates of the same king are also dated in the same manner Had there been any mistake, it would not have been repeated in all the three inscriptions Similar expression of the date portions of all these grants make us believe that there is some significance attached to the word *namame* There is every possibility that the grants are dated in the *Katapayadi* system as prevalent in South India

in which case the expression *namame* would represent 50-me or *panchashattame*. This seems to be more probable as records of this king upto his 28th regnal year¹⁰ describe him as a *paramavaishnava* while the (Sambalpur) University museum plates¹¹ dated in his 52nd year describe him as a *paramamaheshvara* as the three grants bearing the date *namame* do. Thus the expression *namame* should mean 50 and not 9, which also solves the controversy regarding the faith of the king. Ranabhanja was a *Vaishnava* king throughout his early career and became a *Shaiva* sometime before his 50th regnal year. The Baud plates¹² of the kind is the last known record dated in year 58 and it is apparent that he ruled nearly 60 years.

- 1 5 Coming to our problem we have seen that Padmanabha of the Madras museum plates of Narendradhavala is identical with the person of the same name found mentioned in the Sonepur and the Baud plates of Ranabhanja. Since the Sonepur plates are dated in the 50th year of the ruler it is fairly certain that Padmanabha served as an engraver towards the last part of the reign of king Ranabhanja. But afterwards he served in the same capacity in the court of Narendradhavala. It seems to be quite probable that the rule of Ranabhanja and Narendradhavala are not far removed in point of time and the latter might have flourished only after the death of the former. However, Padmanabha was a resident of Gandhatapati. It is interesting to note here that Shatrubhanja, the father of Ranabhanja, was also known as Gandhata¹³ and was very likely the founder of Gandhatapati. If we assign 20 years to each of the predecessors of ranabhanja, such as Shatrubhanja Gandhata and Shilabhanja I Angaddi then we find there is a gap of more than a century between Shilabhanja I Angaddi and *Shri* Shilabhanja of the Madras museum plates of Narendradhavala. Sircar's presumption, therefore, appears to be untenable.
- 1 6 In the genealogy of the Bhanja kings of Khinjali-*mandala* there is another king bearing the name of Shilabhanja, who was the son of Dishabhanja and the grandson of Ranabhanja referred to above. This Shilabhanja had another name known as Tribhuvanakalasha and he can be called as Shilabhanja II Tribhuvanakalasha. He issued a set of copper plates¹⁴ from Vanjulvaka in his second regnal year. Since we do not come across any record of Dishabhanja and as Ranabhanja after a long rule was succeeded by his another son Nettabhanja alias Kalyanakalash it appears that Dishabhanja predeceased his father and Shilabhanja ascended to the throne of the Bhanjas sometime after the death of his paternal uncle Nettabhanja and ruled for a very short period. He did not use any high sounding title rather he was obliged to have the nominal title of *Shri*. The Madras museum plates also refers to him as *Shri*. Moreover, as has been discussed above, Padmanabha, the engraver who served under Ranabhanja in his 50th regnal year also caused to have engraved the plates under review issued sometime before A D 925, the date of the Orissa museum plates of Narendradhavala. As such Narendradhavala was a contemporary of Shilabhanja II. Thus there is every reason to believe that *Sri* Shilabhanja II alias Tribhuvanakalasa, the son of Dishabhanja and the grandson of Ranabhanja, who made the grant of a village in his second regnal year.

NOTES AND REFERENCES

- 1 *EI*, XXVIII, p 46
- 2 *JBORS*, VI, pp 481-86
- 3 *Ibid*, XVII, p 184
- 4 *JAHS*, III, pp 178ff
- 5 *EI*, XLI, pp 148-53
- 6 *JBORS*, VI, p 483
- 7 *Ibid*, XX, pp 147-52
- 8 *EI*, XXXVII, pp 257-63
- 9 The plates are not yet edited They are now under the possession of Dr K S Behera, Professor of History, Utkal University, Bhubaneswar
- 10 The date of the Kankala plates of Ranabhanja Vide *OHRJ*, XXIV, XXV & XXVI, (single issue), pp 45-50
- 11 *New Aspects of History of Orissa*, II, pp 5-13
- 12 *IHQ*, X, pp 473-77
- 13 *EI*, XII, pp 321-25, *I H Q*, X, pp 473-77
- 14 *EI*, XXVIII, pp 272-78ff

NOTES ON hBRUG-PA MONASTERY, NAKO: ARCHITECTURE, SCULPTURE AND MURAL RECONSIDERED

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I

- 1 1 Nako is situated at a height of 3,500m above sea level in Kinnaur district, off the national highway no 22, on the left side of the Spiti river. There are three old and new Buddhist temples and a number of inscribed stone slabs in Tibetan.¹ The present paper analyses the hBrug-pa monastery from an architectural and sculptural point of view along with a detailed discussion on the murals which adorned the clay-plastered walls of the chapels within the monastery precincts. The people usually call it the Lo-tsa-bahi lha khan, i.e., the temple of the translator. Tradition attributes this monastery to Rin-chen-bsan-po (A.D. 958-1055), the great teacher of Buddhism who translated an enormous number of Sanskrit texts into Tibetan. To what extent the validity of the tradition is correct has been tested with the help of the available archaeological remains at Nako.
- 1 2 The monastery was first surveyed by A.H. Francke² in 1909 but his analysis needs several corrections and modifications. Giuseppe Tucci resurveyed it in 1933 and devoted a full chapter of his *Indo-Tibetica* vol III, pt 1 to the antiquities of Nako.³ The present study stems from the author's two field-trips to parts of Kinnaur and Lahaul-Spiti during 1988 and 1989.⁴

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II

THE ARCHITECTURAL SETTING

- 2 1 Francke did not prepare its plan. He briefly mentioned it and left the task unfinished for the future investigators. A rough plan of this monastery was prepared by Captain Eugenio Ghersi, who accompanied Tucci in his western Himalayan scientific mission, but without scale. The entire complex is approached by a 140cm-wide entrance from the south. Within the enclosure are four chapels⁵ and a *stupa* (mchod-rten). Recently an additional building has been added on the northern end which bulges beyond the external walls of the Lo-tsa-bahi-lha-khan (no 2) and gTsug-lag-khan (no 3). The single-storeyed empty halls in front of temple no 1 are covered with a single flat-roof which consists of a compact layer of shifted earth mixed with water. These structures do not figure in Francke's work,⁶ but Tucci noticed them in 1933. It is possible that they do not form a part of the original plan and have been added between 1909 and 1933.
- 2 2 Before singling out individual characteristics it would be worthing discussing some common features. The walls of all temples consist of quarry stones filled in with mortar and are plastered with clay and painted white. The width of the walls varies from 75cm to 105cm. The corners of the chapels are heavily protected by way of putting locally available pebbles in a pyramidal order on either side of the four corners. This method certainly resists the pressure of heavy snowfall during the severe winter months. Wood has been used to the minimum, only in pillars and doors and also in providing lathing to the ceilings. The roofs of all temples, with the exception of Lo-tsa-lha-khan, are flat. The latter's roof is slanting and covered with corrugated iron sheet. The individual temples are discussed below scientifically and systematically with accurate measurements.⁷
- 2 3 Temple no 1 does not fit in the schematic plan but has been constructed on the southern end. This shrine is attributed to Purgyul, the local god of Nako. Captain Ghersi, who prepared the plan for Tucci did not plot it accurately. It does not equally share its western wall with the Lo-tsa-bahi-lha-khan, but goes 350cm beyond the western wall of temple no 2.⁸ The thickness of its walls vary considerably. The 83cm-wide wooden door faces east. The measurement of the sanctum walls varies from 410cm to 440cm (perhaps originally the sanctum was square). In the middle of the central wall is a 70cm by 80 pedestal. Originally some deity had occupied the throne. The decaying poplar-wooden ceiling is supported by two square wooden pillars. Almost crumbling walls show traces of murals, Shakyamuni in the centre, Amitabha on the left and an eleven-headed Avalokiteshvara on the right.
- 2 4 The Lo-tsa-bahi lha-khan is of great historic and artistic importance.⁹ It is the largest temple measuring externally 1280cm by 1075cm. The assembly hall which measures 800cm by 820cm is approached by an entrance from the

east The sanctum measures 432cm by 280cm High up in the central wall (230cm from the floor level) have been fixed three clay sculptures Vairochana flanked by Ratnasambhava to his right and Amitabha to the left Similarly, two side walls have Amoghasiddhi to the right of Ratnasambhava and Akshobhya¹⁰ to the left of Amitabha Also on the south wall of the hall has been placed the statue of Prajnaparamita Below it a small room has been constructed in the wall (the possibility of such a room on the other side is quite likely) At the entrance of the cella has been constructed a stone wall and adjacent to it is an altar adorned with clay sculptures and two miniature *stupas* of silver and copper The ceiling is supported by six columns (four square across 22cm, and two round) The murals of numerous gods and goddesses of the Buddhist pantheon are painted on the walls The roof has been renovated recently with corrugated iron sheets

- 2 5 Temple no 3 stands on the opposite side The exact name perhaps has been lost, as Francke called it lha-khan gon-ma and Tucci gTsug-lag-khan The square sanctum (across 550cm) is entered through a door (155cm by 100cm) which faces west The thickness of its four walls vary from 75cm to 170cm The statue of yellow Tara (sGrol-gser) has been fixed on the central wall in an elaborately carved wooden *Garuda-makara* frame¹¹ On both sides of yellow Tara, four on each side, appear eight Bhaisajyaguru (medicine Buddhas) Two side walls show faint traces of *mandalas* The ceiling rests on four wooden pillars (two square basement across 30cm, pillar's shaft across 18cm)
- 2 6 Temple no 4 has lost its precise name but presently it is known as rGya-dpag-pahi-lha-khan The inner walls of the sanctum are not straight but little twisted towards the north For this reason the measurement of the walls varies (the west wall is 470cm, east 455cm, north 480cm and the south 455cm respectively) No clay statue has been placed in the hall The wooden ceiling rests on two square pillars (across 22cm) All the walls are painted with frescoes showing Shakyamuni, Vajradhara and Amitayus as mentioned in a separate section on murals discussed below

III

THE DECAYING SCULPTURAL WEALTH

- 3 1 Excluding some sculptures, placed on the altar of the Lo-tsa-bahi lha-khan, our study concentrates on fifteen sculptures noticed by us in two chapels They can be classified into two groups to the first group belong six statues fixed on the walls of the Lo-tsa-bahi lha-khan, and the second group consists of nine also fixed on the central wall of the gTsug-lag-khan The identification of the first group follows as such Vairochana, Ratnasambhava, Amitabha, Amoghasiddhi and Akshobhya Prajnaparamita appears independently on the adjacent wall The table given below would illustrate the exact position of the deities, their colour, *mudras* and vehicles, if any

no	deity	colour	mudra	vehicle
1	Vairochana	white	<i>dharmachakra</i>	lion (s)
2	Ratnasambhava	yellow	<i>varada</i>	missing
3	Amitabha	red	<i>dhyana</i>	"
4	Amoghasiddhi	green	<i>abhaya</i>	"
5	Akshobhya	blue	<i>bhumisparsha</i>	"

Francke wrongly identified Akshobhya as Vajrasattva (rd-rjesems-dpa) The symbols of all sculptures are lost, so is the case with the vehicles (only Vairocana's vehicle survives) The placement of Prajnaparamita on the wall of the hall appears inexplicable It is quite likely that a statue of similar dimension of some deity was once placed on the right wall Francke wrongly identified this figure, as he remarks 'Rin-chen-byung-lan is represented once more on the same wall with a dragon frame similar to that of the principal figure' ¹² The caption of his plate XIIIa needs to be corrected where he further explains the same sculpture to be that of the rNam-par-snan-mdzad (i.e. Vairocana) Neither identification is acceptable She is painted yellow and her hands are in vyakhyana-mudra She is seated on a lotus throne in *vajraparyanka* posture This form of the goddess can be precisely identified as Pitaprajnaparamita with two hands explained in the *Sadhanamala* ¹³ All sculptures belong to the same period because their jewellery, crowns and facial expressions bear common features

- 3.2 Nine sculptures are in the sanctum of the so-called gTsug-lag-khan yellow Tara surrounded by eight medicine Buddhas (Bhaishajyagurus) The art and iconography of these images is much inferior to those mentioned above Most of them have substantially been re-made Traces of alterations and renovations are clearly discernible The round halo behind each of them (with the exception of upper medicine Buddha on the nearer row and that of a Tara) remained unaltered Decorations on the halo are much nearer to those of Tabo (rTa-pho) sculptures In our estimate these statues, including that of the yellow Tara, have been retouched and even in some cases hands, (in some cases mudra altered), arms, heads and ushnisha are made anew Tucci expressed doubt regarding the presence of Tara in this chapel He writes 'the connection between Mara (*sic*) and Bhaishajyaguru/Sman-bla does not appear to be confirmed by any figurative monument and by any literary tradition The central figure of Tara would lead us to suppose a series of secondary divinities or subsidiary manifestations of the cycle of the same goddess, while eight gods of medicine would seem to indicate Amitayus as the central deity, or Shakyamuni' ¹⁴ Sometimes no association can be established between the artistic expressions and the mystic or ritualistic rules given in the texts The precise identification of each of the medicine Buddha is quite difficult

IV

THE VANISHING FRESCOES

- 4.1 All temples possess frescoes on the clay-plastered walls. Those on the walls of Purgyal have vanished to the extent that no study can be made on them. The best preserved are two huge *mandalas* painted on the right and left walls of the Lo-tsa-bahi lha-khan. *Mandalas* are dedicated to Sarvavid Vairocana (Tib. Kun-rig rNam-par-snan-mdzad). What interests us here is that both *mandalas* follow a different scheme of decoration. The cycle on the right shows four-headed Vairocana with two hands in *samadhi-mudra* (mna-bzag), however, the other on the left side is in *dharmacakra mudra* having eight arms. The method of depicting their *parivara* (entourage or family) on each cycle also varies. They belong to the *tathagata* family and thus may be assigned to the pictorial cycle representing Vajradhatu *mahamandala* of Vairocana.
- 4.2 The third *mandala* of the same theme appears on the left wall of gTsug-lag-khan. Series of deities in circles appear in the same hall below the clay statue of yellow Tara. Three frescoes have survived in the rGyad-pag-pahi lha-khan. The central wall has a life-size mural of Shakyamuni flanked by two disciples. On the left appear Vajradhara with crossed arms holding *vajras in both hands, seating on a lotus throne in vajrahunkaramudra*. On the other side is painted Amitayus. Two of his four hands carry a pot (ambrosia vase) a symbol of eternal life. He is surrounded by eight medicine Buddhas which complete the cycle of Amitayus. Above the door has been painted the figure of Gesar (Kesar), a popular figure of Tibetan epic who is considered the king of gLin. He rides an ass (rkyan), white in colour, and is surrounded by several protective deities.

V

AN ART-HISTORICAL ANALYSIS AND A TENTATIVE CHRONOLOGY

- 5.1 Francke clearly stated that the monastery at Nako was built during the reign of the king Ye-shes-hod in A.D. 1025¹⁵ without any cogent evidence, either epigraphic or comparative art analysis. Tucci, however, did not suggest any date, but expressed doubt whether the Nako monastery be associated with the first dynasty of the kings of Guge. He concluded 'that the monastery of Nako even if it cannot be attributed *entirely* (emphasis mine) to the age of Rin-chen-bzan-po, is without doubt ancient, whose period cannot be made more precise due to the lack of chronicles or epigraphic document.'¹⁶ The question arises whether the monastery at Nako belongs to the period of Rin-chen-bzan-po or not? In the absence of any epigraphic evidence the art treasures of Nako can be compared with those of Tabo which was founded by Rin-chen-bzan-po in A.D. 996. Substantial renovations and additions were made to the Tabo chos-hkhor by Byan-chub-hod in A.D. 1042, and also in the subsequent

centuries Many clay sculptures and murals on the walls of the gTsug-lag-khan at Tabo belong to A D 996 and 1042¹⁷ It, thus, enables us to make a comparative study with those of Nako

- 5 2 The *Biography*¹⁸ of Rin-chen-bzan-po does not make any reference to Nako but Tabo has been referred to as one of the twenty-one places where temples were built and complete sets of ceremonial articles provided The style and art of Nako sculptures and murals also provide important clues regarding its period The crowns of Tabo sculptures differ from those of Nako In the former case the design consists of triple crescent which is marked by its absence at Nako The lotus thrones at Tabo (especially in the hDu-khan) have double-petaled design while those of Nako have single petal The round halo painted behind each deity at both places makes an interesting study Sharing many common features, the halo (*prabhamandala*) at Tabo has a flamed circle which is conspicuous by its absence at Nako
- 5 3 Our analysis shows that the art treasures at Nako are not contemporaneous with those of Tabo, at least up to the period when repairs were made in A D 1042 It can be assigned to post-1042 A D It was during that period when Atisa also visited Tibet and missionary activities gained a new momentum This resulted in the convening of the religious council at Tabo in A D 1076 (me-pho-hbrug year) by the king rTse-lde¹⁹ Many Tripitakadharas (sDe-snod-hzin-pa) of dBu, gTsan and Khams participated in this congregation and each of them set in motion the Wheel of the Doctrine In an atmosphere of renewed missionary activities many monastic centres came up and Nako was perhaps one of them The dedication of a particular hall or chapel to Rin-chen-bzan-po (Lo-tsa-ba's temple or lha-khan) at Nako, Pooh and Alchi meant a great veneration and honour to a scholar who devoted his entire life for propagating the religion of the Buddha He died in A D 1055 Thus all those complexes, including Nako, were constructed after that date The renovations, alterations and additions remained a permanent feature of all western Himalayan monasteries Nako monastery was no exception The valuable surviving Buddhist art treasures need to be preserved both from natural and man-made disasters They are the only documents of the ancient art of the Guge kingdom

NOTES AND REFERENCES

- 1 The study of Tibetan inscription found in the districts of Kinnaur and Lahaul-Spiti is in progress
- 2 *Antiquities of Indian Tibet*, pt I, ASI NIS, (rpt), New Delhi, 1972
- 3 *The Temples of Western Tibet and their Artistic Symbolism Indo-Tibetica* III, pt 1 (*The Monasteries of Spiti and Kunavar*) Eng tr by Uma Marina Vesci, ed by Lokesh Chandra, (rpt), New Delhi, 1988
- 4 The study forms a part of the larger work devoted to the art of the early Buddhist monasteries situated on the trans-Himalayan trade routes
- 5 Temple no 2 (Tucci, *op cit*, p 144) be read no 3 on fig 3 (p 143) and temple no 3 (pp 168-71) be read as no 4 on the same fig

- 6 Francke, *op cit*, pl xiib
- 7 These measurements are taken for the first time by the present author. Neither Francke nor Tucci measured them.
- 8 Perhaps the stone wall constructed between the two shrines misled Captain Ghera.
- 9 The Translator's temples also exist at Pooh (sPu) and Alchi (A-lci).
- 10 Relying on the researches of A H Francke the present author in an earlier article incorrectly identified Akshobhya as Vajrasattva. Cf, 'The Buddhist Monuments of Himachal Pradesh from the tenth to the twelfth century A D' in Devendra Handa and Ashvini Agrawal (eds) *Ratnachandrika Shri R C Agrawala Festschrift*, New Delhi, 1989, p 328.
- 11 Such wooden-frames around the chief deities of the Buddhist pantheon were in the ancient kingdom of Guge. Some of the surviving examples are those at Tabo, Tsaparang and Lhalun.
- 12 Francke, *op cit*, p 32.
- 13 *Sadhanamala*, ed by B Bhattacharya, GOS XXVI, XLI, 2nd ed Baroda, 1968, vol I, sadhana 158, p 321.
- 14 Tucci, *op cit*, p 169.
- 15 Francke, *op cit*, p 32.
- 16 Tucci, *op cit*, p 142.
- 17 For a tentative chronology of Tabo chos-hkhor see Laxman S Thakur, 'The Buddhist monument', *op cit*, pp 329-34.
- 18 For English translation, see David L Snellgrove and Tadeusz Skorupski, *The Cultural Heritage of Ladakh* vol 2, New Delhi, 1980, pp 83-116.
- 19 This event has been recorded in *Deb-ther snon-po* see George No Roerich, *The Blue Annals* (Parts I and II bound in one) Delhi, 1988, p 70.

ARDHANARI IN EARLY SOUTH INDIAN CULT AND ART

RAJU KALIDOS*

I

STATEMENT OF THE PROBLEM

- 1.1 Ardhanarishvara, the Androgyne, is one among the *panchavimshti* (twenty five) *lilamurtis* (sportive lords) of Shiva according to the *Karanagama*, quoted in *Shrītatvanidhi*.¹ Iconographically Ardhanarishvara is said to be *chaturbhūja* and *trinetra*. The right half of the body is Shivarupa (i.e., masculine) and the left half Umadevirupa (i.e., feminine). The right forehead is marked with a half-eye. The right ear wears a *kundala* and the left a *karna patra*. The hands exhibit the *tanka* and *abhaya mudra*. The hands exhibit the *nilotphala* and *varada mudra*. The chest of the left half is fitted with an attractive breast. The dress consists of a tiger skin on the right & a colourful cloth on the left respectively. The right leg is *kunchita* while the left wears *padacharam* (anklet). The right half is coral red and the left green (i.e., dark coloured) in colour.
- 1.2 Solid evidences of Ardhanarishvara appear in Indian art since the early medieval period. The cave and structural temples have a record of 22 images from out of 541 sculptures.² Most of these sculptures are from the Chalukyan zone of art around Badami. In the Upper Deccan and the Far South the distribution is very little. But, it is in the Far South that we find an image of Ardhanari housed in the *garbha griha*. In Upper Deccan and Lower Deccan no

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such representation is found Among these works of early medieval art, the masterpieces found in the Elephanta cave temple and the Tirupparankunram south cave are unique

- 1 3 The canonical sanction for an image of Ardhanari is to be found in a pre-medieval Tamil epic called *Shilappatikaram* (5th century A D) Later Adi Shankara, borrows the idea and views Shakti as a goddess par excellence in his *Saundaryalahari* A review of the early medieval representation of Ardhanari in art against the backdrop of the literary works like *Shilappatikaram* and *Saundaryalahari* is of some interest

II

LITERARY MOTIFS

- 2 1 The *Shilappatikaram* of Ilankovadikal narrates the story of a chaste woman of the Chola country, called Kannaki (one with beautiful eyes?), who due to the extravagance of her husband, Kovalan (Skt Gopala?), loses all wealth to a courtesan Both migrated to Madurai, the metropolis of the Pandya country, to earn their living There, Kovalan is beheaded due to the suspicion that he stole the anklet of the Pandyan queen Kannaki proves her husband's guiltlessness, burns Madurai and sets off to the Chera country from where she ascends the heaven Later, her worship was instituted at the initiatives taken by the Chera king, Shenkuttuvan
- 2 2 The *Shilappatikaram* offers several clues for the *ardhanari* (half-woman) concept It seems to be the earliest solid evidence of Ardhanarishvara in Indian religious history To begin with Kannaki herself as deified by Shenkuttuvan is a one-breasted goddess Because at the time when she wanted to destroy Madurai, she is said to have tore her left breast (note left) and cast it on the city which was burnt down to ashes due to a conflagration Now, Kannagi remains one-breasted with the right alone and it is in such a form that her images were likely to have been cast She, thus, became the Pattinidevi 'Goddess of Chastity' (*orumalai kuraitta tirumapattini*, vide , *Shilappatikaram*, *Katturaikati*, l 14) (cf para 4 1)
- 2 3 The equivocation of Kannaki with a goddess is hinted by Ilanko even before she destroyed Madurai She appears at the doorstep of the Pandayan palace to seek justice from the king after her husband had been executed The door-keeper rushes to the king and says "My Lord (a girl has come) She is not the Goddess of victory, Korraivai, who stands on the decapitated head of a buffalo from which blood still oozes! She is not the youngest among the six sisters (Chamunda among Sapta Matrikas)! She is not the one who challenges Shiva for a dancing competition! She is not Kali who inhabits the forest region! and she is not even the Goddess who killed the demon, Taruka " (*Shilappatikaram Valakkuraikatai* 11, 34-40) The poet's approach here is negative in an allegorical sense and so even though he says "she is not" the contextual meaning "she is" holds good

- 2.4 Having resolved to destroy Madurai and thus avenge the injustice meted out to her husband, Kannaki summons Agni, the God of Fire, and Maduradevi, the Guardian Goddess of the city, to her presence. Both have no objection and they along with Mamakal (the Great Goddess, i.e., Uma), Namakal (Skt Vakdevi, i.e., Sarasvati) and Koakal (Lakshmi) bear witness to Kannaki's resolution to wreck vengeance. At this junction, Ilanko attempts an iconographical description of Maduradevi which is very striking in the context of our problem. It is interesting to see that she is viewed in Ardhanari form. She is one who bears the Crescent (an emblem of Shiva-Chandrashekhara) on head. Her eyes are dark. She has a shining face. The lips are red. The left half of the body is dark like a blue gem and right half shining like gold.³ She holds the *malu (tanka)* in right and a lotus in left hands. She wears a *kalai* (meant for men) and *chilambu* (meant for women) as anklets. Needles to add, Maduradevi is viewed in *ardhanari* form by Ilanko.
- 2.5 The epic describes the Tamil Goddess, Korravai (presiding deity of *palai* 'barren tract', the waterless inferno), in another context. This description is very interesting. The deity is called the 'Goddess of Victory'. Her mounts are the antelope and the decapitated head of a buffalo (Skt *mahisha*). She wears the Crescent on head. Her garment consists of the hides of an elephant and a tiger (both emblems of Shiva). She wears the *kalai* and *chilampu* (cf. Maduradevi). Her eyes are burning, lips red hued like coral, teeth shining with whiteness and the neck black in colour for having consumed the deadly poison (and so *nila-kantha*, an epithet of Shiva). Her breast-band consists of a snake. She holds the *Shula* in a hand. She was the one who bent the Meru into a bow and tied the snake (Vasuki) to its string. She is one whom the *nanmarai (Chaturvedas)* could not discover. The great gods, the brahmanical Trinity (Shiva, Vishnu and Brahma), keep her in their mind's eye. The cosmic one, it was she who slayed Mayitan (Mahishasura). Shiva occupies her half and in a hermaphrodite form her vehicle is the bull (Nandi). She may also hold the *shankha* and *chakra* and appear on lion vehicle.
- 2.6 Adi Shankara's perspective of Devi strikingly agrees with Ilanko's. The similarities are so pointed that it is likely to have been inspired by Ilanko's earlier version of the perspective of Devi. At the commencement of his work itself Shankara is very outspoken in declaring the vital part played by Devi in Cosmic activities. Shiva is but a *shava* without Shakti.⁴ Later, Devi occupies half of Shiva and it is she who gives a place for the latter within her system and pervades through the whole fabric.⁵ The *Saundaryalahari* views Devi in her Virat form.⁶ The perspective of Shankara is such that in all probability he views Shiva as the left half of Ardhanari.

III

ICONOGRAPHICAL SETTING

- 3.1 Among the iconographical illustrations of the early medieval period the specimen in the Elephanta main cave, Badami Cave I and Tirupparankunram

south cave are significant. The iconographical contents and their placement within the organisation of the cave offer clues to single out the unique character.

- 3.2 The Ardhanari of Elephanta is set against the presence of a huge bull. The Lord is attended by Vishnu, the *dikpalakas* and a host of other attendant deities. These are new thematic elements which fail to appear in case of other sculptures of the type. In explaining these idioms, we refer to the background set by Ilanko earlier (cf. para 2.4).
- 3.3 The specimen in Badami Cave I is another masterpiece, noted for thematic novelty. The main figure of Ardhanarishvara is subjoined by one of Devi within the same frame. In other words, there is an icon of Devi by the side of which Ardhanari appears. Is it to suggest the manifestation or emergence (*sambhava*) of Ardhanari from the core Devi as it has been viewed in the *Anandalahari*?
- 3.4 Perhaps, the most outstanding among the early medieval representations of Ardhanari is in Tirupparankunram south cave, called *Umai-andavar* (*Umai = nari*, *andavar = Ishvara*, the equivocation being Ardhanarishvara). What is unique is that the image appears within the cella. There is no Linga. Ardhanari appears within the cella. There is no Linga. Ardhanari appears on the back wall of the cave. He is accompanied by Nandi. Though there are 22 specimens on the subject from among the early medieval temples, Tirupparankunram, close to Madurai, is the only evidence of an image housed in *garbhagriha*. This proves beyond doubt the cult value attached to this form.
- 3.5 Among sculptural evidences of a later period, a remarkable piece is found in the Vasistheshvar temple at Karandai (close to Thanjavur). This early Chola temple of the late 10th century A.D. houses an image of Ardhanarishvara in its left *koshtha* on the wall section. The uniqueness of the image is that the nari half appears in the right side, perhaps the only one of its type in Indian iconographical tradition (see plate).

IV

INTERPRETATIONS

- 4.1 The motifs forthcoming from early Indian, particularly Tamil, literature and art may not be just casual. There may be deeper implications if the factors leading to such a synthesis could be further examined. On a theoretical base, it may be found that there was an ancient tradition of one-breasted goddess (*oru mulai arutta tiruma vanni*)⁷ in the earliest stratum of Tamil literature. By about the fifth century A.D. she is identified with (1) Kannaki, a popular literary heroine (cf. para 2.2), (2) Korravai, a regional Goddess of a geophysical region (*tinai*) and (3) Uma, the wife of Shiva. At the final stage she outwits Shiva himself and emerges as the Cosmic Principle, may be the primordial Goddess of the Shakta creed.

- 4 2 The root of the one-breasted Goddess, which in iconographical illustrations and a sophisticated culture becomes Ardhanari, gets back to the early centuries of the Christian era in Tamil tradition. By leaps and bounds this folk deity progresses and is crystallised by about the fifth century A.D. through Kannaki, Korraivi and Ardhanarishvara. At the final stage of its metamorphosis, this Devi relegates Shiva to the background and emerges victoriously as a superior Goddess (cf. Ilanko's epithet, *Verriverratakkai* Korraivi 'the Victorious Goddess' or the 'Goddess of Victory', she being Korraivi). The breastless half becomes Shivarupa (cf. *Karanagama*). Shankara states that it was Devi who gave her half to Shiva and by virtue of this quality, she claims to be the Mother Superior.
- 4 3 The *Shilappatikaram* associates a number of idioms, characteristic of Shiva, with Devi. This is to point out the process of appropriation of qualities of male deities like Shiva by Devi. Few such motifs are (a) the Crescent, (b) *nilakantha*, (c) killing the demon Taruka (later attributed to Tamil Murukan, i.e., Skanda), (d) *trinetra* (three eyes), (e) basically black (or blue or green, i.e., dark) in colour (the Dravidian insignia), she appropriates the golden colour of Shiva for half her body, (f) the weapon *malu* or *tanka*, (g) the bull vehicle of Shiva, (h) the male anklet called *kalai*, (i) garments made of elephant and tiger hides and (j) the qualities of Tripurantaka who makes a bow out of Meru and Vasuki, *shankha* and *chakra*, emblems of Vishnu, are also adopted by her.
- 4 4 Logically speaking, it is a female deity who gives her half to a male or and accommodates the Male Principle within Herself to make out a composite Hermaphrodite or Androgyne. So, the assumption of *agamis* texts like the *Karanagama* in viewing Ardhanarishvara as a male form is basically wrong. Thus, the Karandai iconograph, assigning the right half to Devi and the *vamachara* status to Shiva is perfectly in tune with the ancient mode of thought. Again, according to Ilanko, Kannaki cuts only her left breast and not the right. When the left is removed, the right remains as the storage of feminine energy (*Shakti*). This way we may also explain the uniqueness of the Elephanta and Badami pieces which subordinate the Masculine Principle to the Feminine.
- 4 5 The earliest note regarding the one-breasted Goddess and its evolution through the ages being found in Tamil, it is not faulty to suggest that the Ardhanari tradition in Indian art and literature have their roots in Tamil. The cult also got stabilised here as it has been proved by the Tirupparankunram south cave. In the history of Ardhanari, Madurai gets a memorable place as a fountain head where the concept has its genesis.
- 4 6 It may also be added here that Ilankovadigal, author of *Shilappatikaram*, and Adi Shankara, believed to be author of *Saundaryalahari*, belonging to the Cera country (modern Kerala). The first to institute the Pattini cult was Cheran Shenkuttuvan, a king of Kerala, assigned to the early Christian era. All these coincidences are tempting to hypothesise that the matriarchal ideology, very popular with the Keralite tradition through the ages, could have been a

motivating factor behind the exaltation of the Mother Superior concept. But the one-breast Goddess tradition seems to have had a deep root in the Pandya country. We hear an echo of this motif of removing or cutting one of the breasts in *Tiruvilaiyadal Puranam*, a late medieval *sthalapurana* of Madurai, which endows three breasts to its heroine, Tatatakal, one of which disappears later. In this case too the spouse of Tatatakal is supposed to be Shiva Orumulaiaruttatirumavunni, Orumulaikuraittatirumapattini (Kannaki) and Tatatakal are likely to be folk deities who later merge within the pantheon of the higher religion, Shivaism.

NOTES AND REFERENCES

- 1 K S Subrahmanya Sastri, (ed and Trans) *Shrītatvanidhi*, III, Thanjavur, 1964-66, I 3 36
- 2 Raju Kalidos, *Iconography of Early Medieval South India*, II (Shaiva) UGC Major Project (unpublished), Thanjavur, 1988, pp 389-91
- 3 K S Subrahmanya Sastri, *op cit*, I 3 36
- 4 A A Baker, 'Appropriation of Shiva's Attributes by Devi', *BSOAS*, X, London, 1939-42, p 512
- 5 *Anandalahari* of Adi Shankara, part of *Saundaryalahari*, Verses, 1 and 23
- 6 Raju Kalidos, *Iconography of Early Medieval South India*, III (Shakti Goddess), UGC Major Project (unpublished), Thanjavur, 1990, pp 69-70
- 7 Kalaham (ed) *Narainai*, Madras, 1967, p 216



ALAI MINAR : PRINCIPLES OF CONSTRUCTION AND A CONJECTURAL RECONSTRUCTION VIS A VIS THE QUTB MINAR

PRACHEE WADHAWAN*

I

- 1 1 The canons of architecture are determined by varied influences - the construction material, climate, domestic needs, religious habits and the desire to harmonize with the surrounding landscape but art, though at times, and in places, crystallises into distinctive styles and becomes panned in water-tight compartments, is a universal heritage, whose treasures are capable of exchange and its tendencies susceptible to interaction¹

II

- 2 1 The archaeological remains of lesser known buildings and ruins situated in Mehrauli area are the remains of those which were reconstructed in Lal Kot of Tomar and Quila Rai Pithora of the Chauhan Rajputs. The invasions being more military religious than socio-economic in nature, hurried construction took place, with the central building being the Quwwat-ut-Islam Mosque. This original complex was enlarged by the Sultans by and by. Within this complex stands the Qutb Minar, a unique example of conception and execution. The

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world possesses in this tower the proof of a wonderful feat of oriental engineering in the 13th century had a monument no less bold and original in design and exquisite in its detailed workmanship In the Qutb complex itself, 135 meter north of the Qutb Minar stands the unfinished Alai Minar, and as story goes, it was originally intended to be double the size of the Qutb Minar which is also proved by the words of Amir Khusrau the King,

“thought of constructing a replica to the pillar of the mosque which was unique in the world”²

It was built in A H 711/A D 1311, and began on a circumference of 90 metres The minar has been described by Amir Khusrau as

“A monument to the vanity of human ambition”³

and he has given a graphic description of the activities of the Sultan regarding the minar, along with a picturesque idea of what it was originally intended to look like

“He first ordered a vast space to be enclosed in the court so that the throne of the faithful which, by the grace of God, finds the world too narrow for itself may get ample place in it, and commanded that the circumference of the new pillar be twice that of the old one and its top be proportionately high so that the top of the old one may look like the central gallery of the new one”⁴

Amir Khusrau mentions that stones were brought from far and near, from quarries and demolished Hindu temples and,

“the stone carvers of Hind who shamed even Farhad with their skill in stone work, rendered the faces of the stones so smooth that imagination itself would slip on them The masons of Delhi who considered even Numan-i-Mundhir⁵ to be a mere block-head in the art of building joined stone with stone in such a manner that the fancy of a Rhazes⁶ could not penetrate their joints ”⁷

Unfortunately, this description no longer holds good for the minar now stands in the Qutb complex, ruined and in a state of utter desolation It is planned on a military fashion, the entrance being given on the western core of rubble, divided into 32 faces, each face being 24 metre The minar has a slight batter As we enter into the minar from the western side, another stump like solid structure is observed within the minar, which was evidently to serve as the staircase for the minar

- 2 2 The inside of the minar has a number of niches, arranged in two levels. There is one niche each on the north, south and east side. The other level of niche is higher than this one, the arrangement being one niche between the South side and the entrance, and another between the eastern and the southern side. This niche is now broken.
- 2 3 Apparently the structure is quite incomplete in as much as that part of the first storey of it could not be provided with the spiral steps for which a circular pole was already raised by the builders to support the steps. The entire structure now gives the impression of being incongruous and it is evident that the architect intended to face the present exposed core with dressed stone or other better finished material. Tradition says, that it was to have been encased in marble and that the unused materials were later used in the tomb of Ghias-ud-Din Tughluq. From the existing Qutb Minar we must go back to make a conjectural drawing to ascertain the base on which such a magnificent edifice might have been constructed. Qutb Minar had undergone the test of time and therefore a replica of this was desired. But before we go into the details of the Alai Minar and its proportions it would be correct to look into the basic principles of construction of the Qutb Minar, the use of astronomy and geometry.

III

- 3 1 For purposes of construction it is essential to first determine the proportion between the base and the height so as to ascertain that the minar thus erected will remain on the perfect centre of gravity. After an intricate study of the existing remains it seems that the following standard was accepted in principle while designing this edifice.

TABLE - A

	Diameter at base	Height	Ratio
Below ground level	55'	110 ft	1 2
Ground level	51'	102 ft	1 2
1st floor	33'	49 6	11½
2nd floor	28'3"	42 ft	11½
3rd floor	17'	25'4"	11½
4th floor	15'	22'6"	1.1½

Thus bringing the total height to 242 ft as recorded by Fergusson⁸. The same ratio and proportion can also be derived at by converting the feet into the *Hasta*,⁹ the then prevalent system of measurement, in all the Hindu temples.

TABLE - B

	Diameter at base	Height	Ratio
Below ground level	36 hasta	72 hasta	1 2
Ground level	24 hasta	68 hasta	1 2
1st floor	22 hasta	33 hasta	1 1½
2nd floor	18 hasta	27 hasta	1 1½
3rd floor	11 5 (12) hasta	17 (18) hasta	1 1½
4th floor	10 hasta	15 hasta	1 1½

Following these standards, if, there exist in the actual measurements few fractional deviation, they can be explained as such discrepancies are quite possible in such historical buildings due to structural movements and periodical restorations being carried out from time to time, which is more often than not, not in conformity with the original principle of construction of the said building. This is also true in the case of the Qutb Minar on which is more often than not, not in conformity with the original principle of construction of the said building. This is also true in the case of the Qutb Minar on which extensive repairs were carried out in the period of Firuz Tughluq and then Lord Curzon.

- 3 3 It is known that by the 12th century the Indians had mastered the calculations and the science of astrology, astronomy and trigonometry and therefore art and architecture started taking the shape of scientific instruments, of which the Qutb Minar can be cited as a live example.
- 3 4 The cross section of the Qutb, it will be observed, is a square on which with the use of geometrical principles after joining the two diagonals a circle has been developed. There are theories which revolve around the idea that the construction of the Qutb Minar was not merely to portray the might of Islam but also to calculate the planetary position and the movement of the sun, moon and stars. The circle which comprises of 360° was further divided into 30 parts and can obviously be linked with the movement of the moon - 12° per day. Each division introduced on the elevation of the Qutb Minar corresponds to one month's movement of the moon. This is corroborated by the fact that from full moon day onwards the Siography falls on a particular position, corresponding to the position of the earth vis a vis the moon.
- 3 5 It can safely be said that in every inch of the building the material applied has some sense of declination, corresponding to the co-ordinates of the city¹⁰, and each angle and curve such introduced has more to be accepted in the Qutb Minar. To corroborate this, even the direction of winds can be taken in accordance with the position of the planets also accepted in Greek and Roman astrology¹¹ (fig 1). It is noteworthy that after developing and drawing the various cross - sections and plans for the various storeys of the Qutb Minar,

(Fig 2) the perspective mysteriously reflects some links and similarities with the *yantras* of the *Hindu Tantra Shastra*. The *yantras* being based on the science of geometry for the purposes of construction, linked to the belief that a building constructed on the principles of a particular *yantra* at a particular site would have an effect on the longevity and durability of the same fig 3

- 3 6 It can be assumed that the site of the Qutb Minar, the particular zone in the city layout must have been the focal point of both religious and strategic centres. Since this was a developed city, conjecturally we presume that the Public buildings including the neighbouring important social structures can be defined by taking the city centre in view and correspondingly each part such carved out in the Qutb Minar must have defined the position of an individual important structure around the Qutb Minar - since it is on record that 27 Hindu temples were demolished for the hurried construction of this complex and the material reused ¹²
- 3 7 With the coming of the Khaljis the city boundaries expanded and Ala-au-Din's megalomaniac propensities urged him to attempt the enlargement of the Quwwat-ul-Islam Mosque and the construction of the Alai-Minar twice the size of its original. With a circumference of 90 metres had this minar been completed, its weight would have been approximately 38,000,000 kilograms as the weight of the existing Qutb Minar according to the present measurements is 19,999,000 kilograms ¹³. On the basis of Qutb Minar we have attempted a conjectural drawing of the Alai Minar since the principle applied must have been the same fig 4

IV

- 4 1 The following data would have been applied to derive the height of the building at various stations and junctions at 482 feet or roughly 500 ft

TABLE - C

	Diameter at base	Height	Ratio
Below ground level	110 ft	220 ft	1 2
Ground level	102 ft	204 ft	1 2
1st floor	66 8 ft	101 2 ft	11½
2nd floor	56 6 ft	84 ft	11½
3rd floor	34 ft	50 8 ft	11½
4th floor	30 ft	45 2 ft	11½

However if we take into accordance the measurements by the Islamic standard of gaz, we get the following dimensions

TABLE-D

	QUTB MINAR		ALAI MINAR		
	Diameter	Height	Diameter	Height	Ratio
Below ground level	17 gaz	34 gaz	34 gaz	68 gaz	1 2
Ground level	16 gaz	32 gaz	32 gaz	64 gaz	1 2
1st floor	10 gaz	15 gaz	20 gaz	30 gaz	1 1 1/2
2nd floor	8 gaz	12 gaz	16 gaz	24 gaz	1 1 1/2
3rd floor	6 gaz	9 gaz	12 gaz	18 gaz	1 1 1/2
4th floor	5 gaz	7 1/2 gaz	10 gaz	15 gaz	1 1 1/2
5th floor	3 gaz	4 1/2 gaz	6 gaz	9 gaz	1 1 1/2

Though this principle would have been adopted for the construction to derive correct heights which may differ marginally, because, the measurements given in the chart are based nearer to the heights recorded at various places but without pin-pointing the stations. It is, therefore, accepted in this formula that these heights can be considered as centre to centre in the cross section of each floor.

- 4.2 In addition to this it is not out of place to mention that the principle of designing a spiral staircase can obviously prove the principle adopted in construction both in drawing as well as in building which may justify even the existing position of the steps, provided and placed, projected outside the central shaft.
- 4.3 It can not be denied that the finished structure would have been different but the basic geometry applied would have produced similar results where cross sections and inter crossings of the squares and the circles overlapping each other and cutting at various parts, mark the angle of curve and construction.

NOTES AND REFERENCES

- 1 To quote a memorable passage of Fergusson "Nothing could be more brilliant, and at the same time more characteristic than the commencement of the architectural career of these Pathans in India. So soon as they felt themselves at all sure of their conquest, they set to work to erect two great mosques in their two principal capitals of Ajmer and Delhi, of such magnificence as should redound to the glory of their religion and mark their triumph over the idolators", James Fergusson *History of Indian and Eastern Architecture*, (John Murray, 1891), p. 499.
- 2 Wahid Mirza, *The Life and Works of Amir Khusrau*, Delhi, 1935, p. 97.
- 3 *Ibid*
- 4 *Ibid*
- 5 Numan bin Mundhir, the King of Hira in Mesopotamia who built the famous castle of Khawarnaq, mentioned as a master-piece of architectural skill in Pre-Islamic Arab poetry.

- 6 Ar-Razi, Abu Bkr Muhammad bin Zakariyya, the famous alchemist and physician
- 7 Wahid Mirza, *op cit*, p 97
- 8 James Fergusson, *Indian Saracenic Architecture*, Chapter 3, p 205
- 9 One hasta = 18 inches
- 10 Delhi is on a latitude of 28°37', longitude 77°3'5" east of Graenwich, with a height above sea level 695', and a local time of 12°12 Sec after standard time+ The Qutb Minar was therefore made on an angle of inclination 7 2°
- 11 Morris Hicky Morgon *Vitruvius The Ten Books on Architecture* (Tr) 1914, p 29
- 12 General A Cunningham, *Archaeological Reports*, 1, p 176
- 13 Height x Average Diameter, Minus the cavity of the staircase x 2 π r

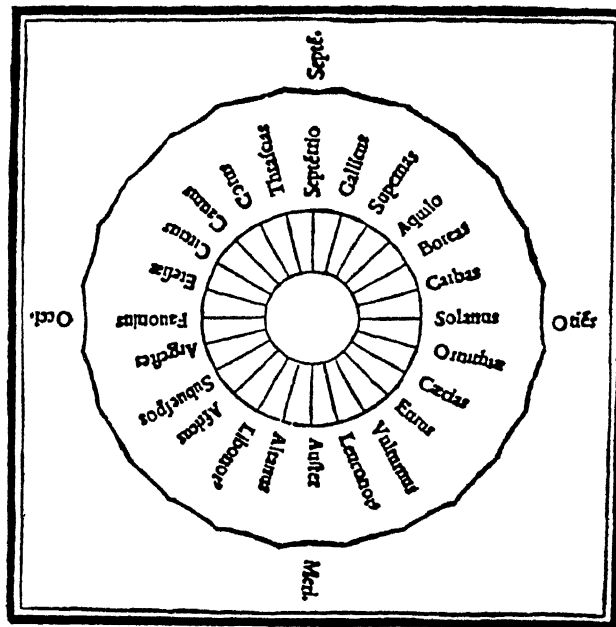


DIAGRAM OF THE WINDS

Fig 1

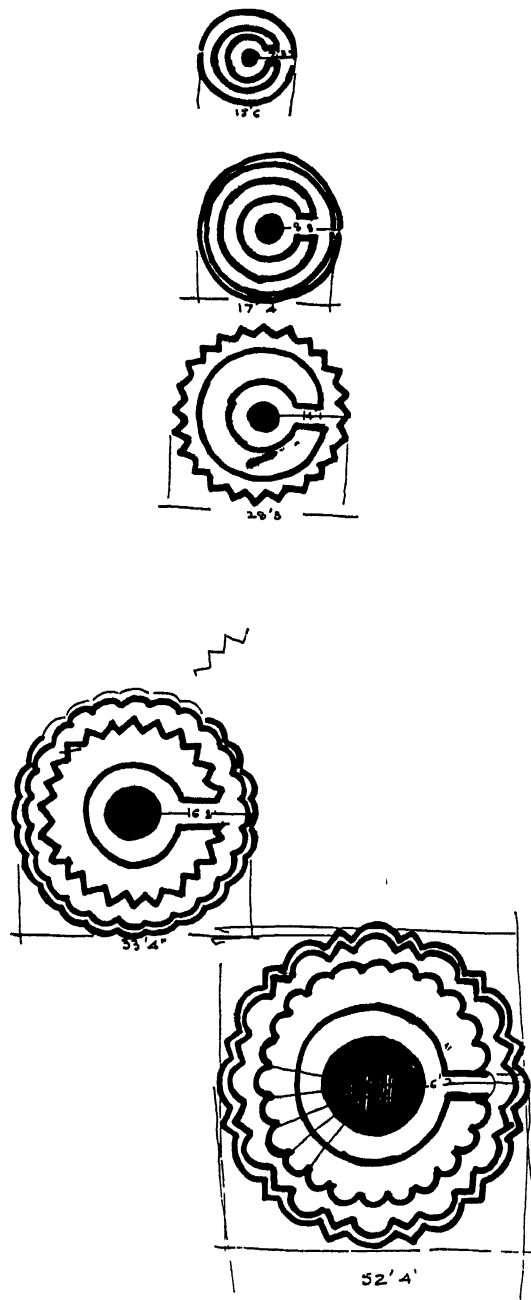


Fig 2

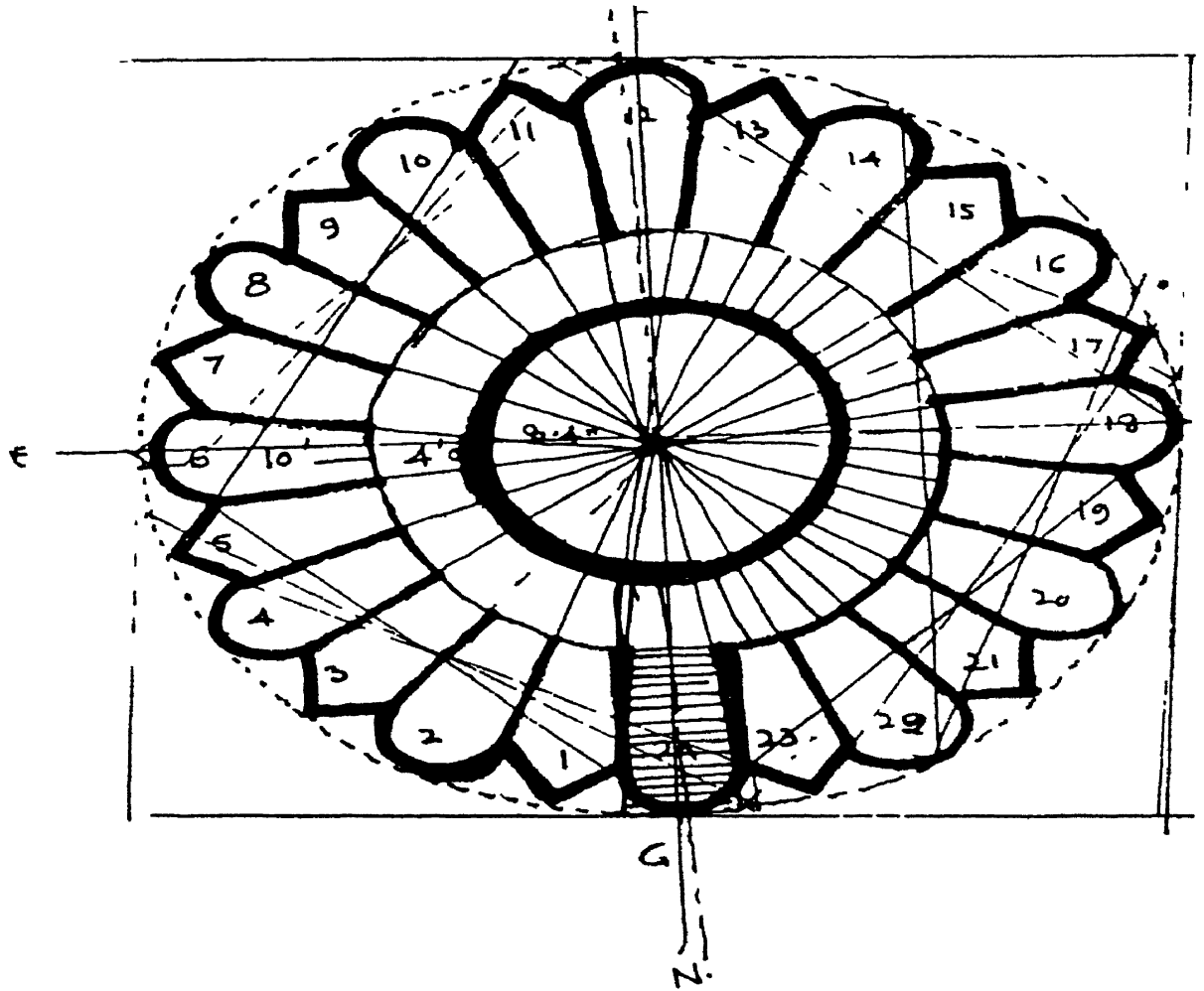


Fig 3

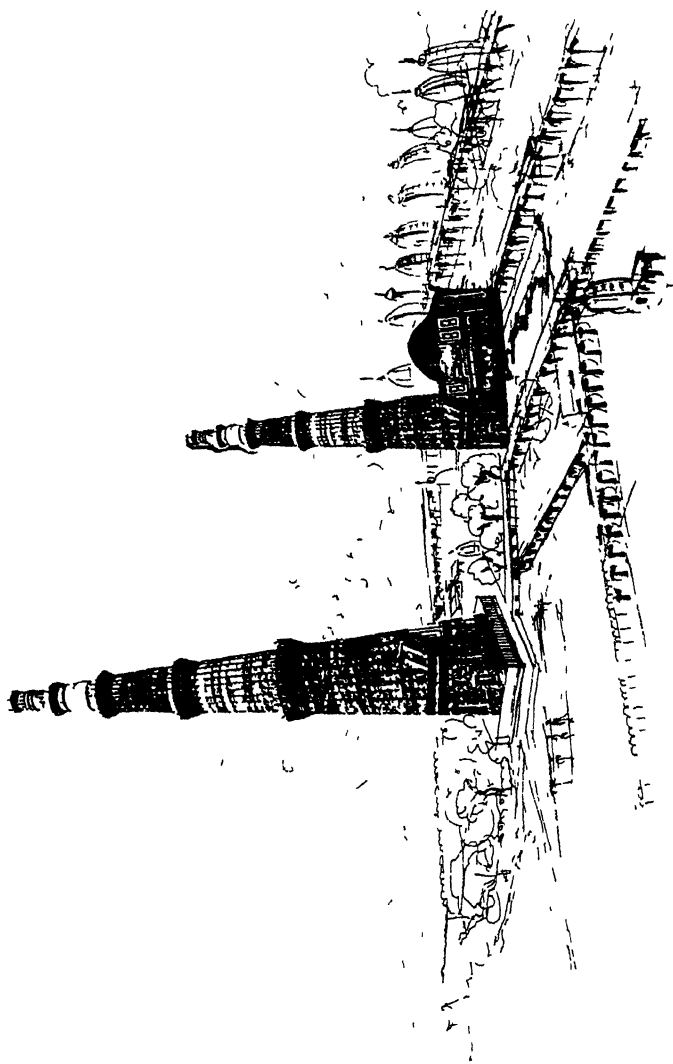


Fig 4

**CONTRIBUTION OF THE TEMPLE
ACCOUNTANTS TO
THE TIRUMALA TIRUPATI TEMPLES
(VIJAYANAGARA PERIOD)**

SUMMARY

P.N. NAIDU*

I

- 1 1 In the present paper, an attempt is made to study in detail the contributions of the temple accountants to the Tirumala Tirupati temples during the Vijayanagara period. The Sri Venkateswara temple of Tirumala and Sri Govindaraja temple of Tirupati contain 640 and 340 inscriptions respectively. These inscriptions reveal that the Tirumala Tirupati temples enjoyed the devoted attention and the liberal patronage of the Pallava, Chola, Pandya, Yadavaraya, Telugu Chola and the Vijayanagara dynasties. We learn from the Vijayanagara inscriptions that the Tirumala Tirupati temples came in for greater patronage during the rule of the four dynasties of Vijayanagara. We also learn from the Vijayanagara inscriptions that some of the accountants of the temple of Sri Venkateswara have also made their endowments to the Tirumala Tirupati temples. With a view to throw light on the contributions of the temple accountants of Tirumala, a list is arranged according to the date of the inscription of the temple accountant and the period to which they belonged.

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- 1 2 The inscriptions of Tirumala temple register that the accountants of the Sri Venkateswara temple were the residents of Tirumala. The inscriptions in Tamil describe the accountants as *Tirumalaiyil Koyilkanakku Tiruninrayurudaiyars*. The accountants were greatly devoted to Sri Venkateswara of Tirumala and Sri Govindaraja of Tirupati. They deposited *panam* and *narpanam* into the temple treasury, for making certain *prasadam* (food) offerings to Sri Venkateswara, Sri Govindaraja, their divine consorts and the Alvars. They have constructed *mantapas* and shrines at their own cost, prepared the divine image and installed them in the shrines built by them. They also deposited *panam* into the temple treasure, for the purpose of conducting festivals such as *Vasantotsavam*, *Kaisikapuranam*, *Adi-Ayanam* or *Anivarai-Asthanam*, etc., in the temples at Tirumala and in Tirupati. Further, the accountants have instituted certain new festivals like the hunting festival, *Gajendramoksham* festival in the Tirumala Tirupati temples. Provision was also made by them for the conduct of *Sahasranama-puja* i.e., the daily worship with the recitation of 1000 appellations of the God as their charity.
- 1 3 This study provides us information about the accountants of Tirumala and their contributions to the Tirupati temples during the Vijayanagar period. It is clear from this study that the Tirumala temple had good patronage during the Vijayanagar period and because of it there was a need for the services of the accountants. So the Tirumala temple employed a few accountants within it. The accountants, while serving as accountants in the Tirumala temple, demonstrated their devotion to Sri Venkateswara and Sri Govindaraja by making endowments, constructing shrines and mantapas, preparing and installing the divine images and instituting certain new festivals. In making these charities the accountants were greatly influenced by the costly gifts and donations made by the royal families of their time. This study also reveals that the accountants were pious people with a lot of devotion to God.

ICONOGRAPHIC DETAILS OF MATSYA, KURMA AND VARAHA IMAGES IN GUJARAT

SUMMARY

HARIPRIYA RANGARAJAN*

I

- 1.1 The Gujarat region is rich with temples built at different times dedicated to Vishnu and his incarnations. In these temples the iconic representations corresponding to the mythologies of the various incarnations of Vishnu are found on the pillars, in the *prabhavalis*, in the niches on the walls and in the shrines. The *prabhavalis* of Vishnu images in stone gave the artists the greatest scope for exhibiting their artistry as well as their knowledge of the iconographic details. A sign or a symbol or an attribute very often suggested a whole mythology.
- 1.2 In this paper an attempt has been made to show how the representations of the first three incarnations of Vishnu, i.e., Matsya, Kurma and Varaha have been treated by the artists. These images include both zoomorphic and zoo-anthropomorphic forms and belong to the period between the sixth and 13th centuries A.D. In zoomorphic forms of Matsya and Kurma, the images are shown with one or two attributes, whereas in zoo-anthropomorphic form they

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are shown as half-Matsya and half-human or half-Kurma and half-human with either two or four hands holding the attributes of Vishnu. The images of Varaha which was also the insignia of Chaulukyas of South Gujarat, are found in abundance throughout Gujarat. In zoomorphic form the image is called Adivaraha. On the bodies of the images of Adivaraha many incidents relating to the incarnations of Vishnu are depicted. In zoo-anthropomorphic form the image is represented with human body and a Varaha (Boar) face. In this form it is called Nrivaraha and Bhavaraha. In the Nrivaraha form the image is shown without Bhudevi. In the case of Bhavaraha, the earth goddess is shown along with the deity.

NRITTA GANAPATI IN INDIA AND BEYOND ITS FRONTIERS

SUMMARY

SUDHA MALAIYA*

I

- 1 1 Ganesha achieved a very exalted position in the hierarchy of gods in a very short span of time and by the time of the Guptas his identity as an independent diety to be worshipped was established. He was also borrowed by other religious systems such as Buddhism and his worship spread almost all over Asia where Buddhism and other brahmanical sects became living faiths. He became associated with Nataraja, the 'Lord of Dancers' as his son. Unlike his father Nataraja, who is directly associated with the dance as its creator, Ganapati's association with dance is uncertain and obscure. We do not come across any legend where Ganesha has actually danced. Yet his dance has been fancifully described in literature and epigraphic records and picturesquely portrayed in art.
- 1 2 In the literary texts and southern Shaiva literature, the symbolic, spiritual and aesthetic significance given to the dance of Ganesha is not less than his father's. Nritta ganapati either represents the cosmic dance of Shiva the supreme and indivisible one or the dance of *ganas* who are said to be the representation of *bhutas* and *bhutanashas* or *tattva* and *tattvamshas*. Someshwara and Vasukalpa have graphically described in *Kathasantsagara* and *Subhashita Ratnakosha* respectively, Ganeshvara's dance.

* Nilgiri Tower (3rd Floor), South Tuko Ganj, Indore, Madhya Pradesh

- 1 3 According to the *Agamas*, the image of *Nritta-Ganapati* should have eight hands and one head. But examples of four, six, eight, ten, twelve, sixteen and eighteen-armed images with two, three, four, or five heads also occur frequently. In Bombay a two-headed image called *Ganesha-Jayanti* is locally being worshipped at festivals. *Ganesha* with three or four heads (Japan and Indo-China) and four or five heads (Nepal) is found only outside India. He is ornamented with *sarpayajnopavita* over head snake, *keyura*, *kankana*, *karandamukuta*, *prabhamandala* and *ekamukta valihara*, with arms carrying his usual attributes—axe, *modaka*, *kuthara*, *jambu* (apple) radish, stylus, a bowl of capes, *shula* (lassie), *ankusha*, book, sword, pot, snake and one tusk, etc. The radish found in Nepal, Tibet and Japan might be the misinterpretation of tusk. It is noteworthy that in Bengal, *Ganesha* is known as the one with ears like fan and teeth like radish. Sometimes instead of *yajnopavita* he wears snake girdle. Alongwith the iconographic texts the *Nritta-Ganapati* images were carved on the basis of dance postures as discussed in the *Natyashastra*.
- 1 4 The two armed elephant headed *gana* like dancing figure from Bhumra might as well be taken as the *nritta-Ganapati* image. However, the most important early example is from Rajivalochana temple, Rajim. In few examples he is quite close to *katisama-karana* where he is shown with one hand on *udvahita kati*. In a number of examples his one foot is in *kunchita* (only toes touching the ground and heel raised) and the other in *samapada* (normal foot position). Occuring very frequently throughout in the art of India from the 5th to 13th centuries is the pose identified as *lalita karana* with right *vivartita* and left *karihasta* and a *kuttita pada*. This is being represented by both *Nataraja* and *ganas*. The examples of *Gajavakra* depicting one leg uplifted and knee facing side ways and representing the *parshvajanu karana* are no less. The examples of *Ganapati* dancing amidst *Virabhadra* and *saptamatrikas* who are the feminine counterparts of seven great brahmana gods created in *Andhakasura* battle and *Virabhadra* are many and found at various places. The examples of *Vighnantaka* dancing in the company of *navagrahas* as seen in Southern and Eastern art, are conspicuously absent in North and Central India. A sculptural representation of *Ganesha* playing a flute is found at *Mallikarjuna* temple, Sri Sailam (Andhra Pradesh).
- 1 5 The *swastika-pada* or cross legged feet position represented frequently in the Gupta period through the *Natarajas* is not seen in *gana* and *Ganapati* figures. The *vrishchika-pada* and *lalatatilaka* or *urdhavatandava*, a pose so frequently depicted in the art of south India and represented by only the *ganas* of the Gupta period in North India, remained unrepresented by *nritta-Ganapati* images. The tradition of dancing *Shiva* on bull is also imitated by *Ganesha* who can be seen dancing on the rat, though occasionally, *ekadanta* has also adopted *Chandrashekhara's ardha-chandra* on his head, justifying the name *Bhalachandra*. *Karandamukuta* is strikingly absent in many examples, not in Indian ones. Similarly the conch shell which is seen in the examples from Indo-China is also absent here.

II

BEYOND INDIA

- 2 1 In Khotan, Mangolia and Afghanistan Ganesha images are found with Indian as well as typical features of Chinese Turkestan, but *nritta-Ganapati* is altogether absent. In Mangolia the dancing form of Ganesha is even listed among the 'Five Hundred gods of Nar-than', with left foot kept on rat and the right leg bent and the four hands holding axe, radish, sweets and trident (seldom carried by him).
- 2 2 In Nepal, independent dancing Ganesha sculptures are absent. At the same time as Buddhist god Vinayaka, he had to be depicted ten-armed in his dancing attitude surrounded by four dancing Vinayakas - rakta, chandra, siddhi and asoka. In Nepal a Buddhist temple dedicated to five Ganapatis is found. In a number of Uma-Maheshvara images found in Nepal he is represented as four armed dancing Ganesha in the lower tier with the *ganas*. Though no panel of Ganesha dancing with seven mothers is discovered from Nepal but in the temple at Kirtipur, eight devis are represented. The eighth possibly is looked upon as the Shakti of Ganesha. No dancing image of Ganesha has so far been traced in Tibet.
- 2 3 Ganesha became popular with the Buddhists as with the brahmanas. But again no dancing Ganesha image is found in Ayuthian (Ayodhya) art of Burma, Central Siam. The cult of Shiva penetrated into Cambodia from Funan, where Brahmanism was practised at a very early date. There are many temples of Shiva and Ganesha dedicated to them (Prasat Bak, 10th century temple). However, Khmer representations of Ganesha, also known as Prah Kenes, contains rare independent dancing examples. The dancing Ganesha accompanying the 'Lord of Dancers' are available in the temples of Shrivijaya, Banteaisrei (9th century A D), Phnom Chisor, and Baset.
- 2 4 Images of Ganesha started appearing in great numbers as early as the fifth century in Indonesia. But there is no existing evidence of Ganesha temples or prevalence of ancient Ganesha cult. No images have so far been recovered in Indonesia of our interest except for one exception from Ardmelijo, near Singasari (Java) reported by Dhakya. Here in a triad of three deities, Ganesha is in a slightly dancing pose.
- 2 5 Despite the fact that the earliest dated image of Ganesha is found in China referring him as the 'Spirit King of Elephants' there exists no *nritta-Ganapati* image. One of the two forms of Ganesha known in China and Japan, the single form is known as Vinayaka. The other double one called kangiten, is connected with dance.

APPENDICES

APPENDIX : 1

INDIAN HISTORY CONGRESS 52ND SESSION, 1991-92

MINUTES OF THE ANNUAL BUSINESS MEETING

The Annual General Body meeting of the IHC was held at 3 30 p m in Vajpai Hall, Bharatiyam Gram on 23rd February, 1992 The following members were present

1	Kunwar Bahadur Kaushik	22	M V R Krishnam Raju
2	Ajay Kumar Pandey	23	R P Rana
3	D P Singh	24	U De
4	Rajawant Rao	25	F Habib
5	Banka Behari Chakravarty	26	Shamita Sarkar
6	V K Thakur	27	Lalita vati
7	John Akkidas	28	Aruna Awasthi
8	G P Sarkar	29	Kamlesh Mathur
9	B K Verma	30	Jugal Kishore Mathur
10	Shombu Sharan Srivastava	31	Han Singh
11	Nagendra Kumar	32	Dawood Bhunj
12	S P Gupta	33	Sadiq Naqvi
13	Nagendra Nath Gupta	34	Iftikhar Khan
14	Subrata Kumar Acharya	35	Firdaus Anwar
15	S H Mishra	36	Rajeev Bargoti
16	Shabi Ahmed	37	Sayed Jabir Reza
17	Elizabeth, V S	38	Ishrat Alam
18	P K Shukla	39	Sayed Ali Nadeem Rezavi
19	A S Singh	40	Manohar Singh Ranawat
20	N B Vyas	41	Deepinder Singh Loomba
21	N Ahmad	42	J N Sinha

43	Fatima Zahira Bilgrami	90	Lajpat Verma
44	Gulfishan Khan	91	Tripta Verma
45	Abha Singh	92	R Champaklakshmi
46	M Afzal Khan	93	M Hasan
47	D S Siwach	94	Suranjan Das
48	R C Thakran	95	A Shanker
49	H K Mishra	96	V Jha
50	Anita Prakash	97	KI Thirumali
51	Makhan Lal	98	I Lakshmi
52	Irfan Habib	99	S Sharma
53	A R Khan	100	K Venkateswarlu
54	M S Ahluwalia	101	M S Rathaur
55	T R Sareen	102	Laxman S Thakur
56	Nishat Manzar	103	G P Upadhyay
57	A R Kulkarni	104	N K Mishra
58	R S Sharma	105	V Lalita
59	V Ramakrishna	106	Manju Chottopadhyay
60	T K Venkatasubramanian	107	Amit Kumar Gupta
61	H L Gupta	108	Sukhbir Singh
62	Tara Sharan Sinha	109	Khilendra Pal
63	K S S Seshan	110	Muzaffar Alam
64	P Bhatia	111	Muralidharan M
65	A J Syed	112	Rakesh Kumar
66	M Vatts	113	Nirmal Kumar
67	R K Chadha	114	A P Sharma
68	V Tyagi	115	Usha Sharma
69	Inder Singh Bharadwaj	116	L N Rana
70	G Narayan	117	A R Khan
71	Mohammad Arif	118	Afzal Hussain
72	G L Adhya	119	K K Trivedi
73	R S Narayanaswami	120	Mohammed Umar
74	K V Ramakrishna Rao	121	S Hasan Mahmud
75	Chet Ram	122	Ravinder Kumar
76	Dharm Singh	123	Jagir Mohammed
77	Y Singh	124	R P Bahuguna
78	B Kesavanarayana	125	Ajay Mahurkar
79	R K Chauhan	126	V Balambal
80	Balkrishna Kurvey	127	M J Thanki
81	Viyay V Hambarde	128	U P Malavan
82	Y B Singh	129	Salil Misra
83	B D Chattopadhyaya	130	V K Vashishth
84	Suvira Jaiswal	131	Neelima Vashishtha
85	M D N Sahi	132	Mohinder Singh
86	Nikhileswar Sengupta	133	Rajiv Kumar
87	V K Bawa	134	Sunita Zaidi
88	V S Pandya	135	Pushpa Prasad
89	Z Siddiqi	136	Amrita Grover

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137	R P Dua	184	Atul Saklani
138	A V Ramdas	185	Lal Bahadur Verma
138	Sunil Kumar	186	Sushil Srivastava
139	Sumit Sarkar	187	G P Sharma
141	Iqtidar Alam Khan	188	O P Jaiswal
142	Sukhdev Singh Sohal	189	Anil Chauhan
143	Kulwinder Singh Bajwa	190	Md M Raheman
144	K K Kahirasagar	191	Devendra Kumar
145	C Parchure	192	S M Jha
146	Sanghmitra	193	B D Mishra
147	I K Thakkar	194	S C Mishra
148	Maganbhu R Patel	195	G Khurana
149	Reba Bagchi	196	I H Siddiqi
150	P Faijpurkar	197	Z U Malik
151	G S Bhat	198	Dinesh C Varshney
152	Dharam Pal	199	Virendra Kr Jha
153	P Kumar	200	Prakash Narayan
154	S R Giri	201	B K Pandeya
155	CS Jain	202	V C Gautam
156	S K Srivastava	203	Dr Meena Gautam
157	A Q Rafiqi	204	Amarjeeva Lochan
158	Amit Jha	205	Rajiv Verma
159	Anupam Purohit	206	Vijaya Laxmi Singh
160	Sanjay Kumar	207	G P Singh
161	K Janaki	208	Sharad Prakash
162	K Dutta Roy	209	R Ramakrishnan
163	Gautam Chattopadhyay	210	T V Deshmukh
164	Soma Marik	211	Vinod Kumar Singh
165	Kunal Chattopadhyay	212	M Siraj Anwar
166	Rajesh Kumar	213	J Ramu Krishna Sarma
167	G V Goswami	214	Madan Mohan
168	D P Kukde	215	Anil Kumar
169	R Singh	216	H C Satyarthi
170	Kamlesh Mohan	217	Ruqia Kazmi Hussain
171	Bipan Chandra	218	Farhat Hasan
172	Barun De	219	S Faruqi
173	S Sen	220	Seema Singh
174	Sandip Basu Sarbadhikary	221	S H Khan
175	B C Giri	222	Sudha Malaiya
176	Sunil Kr Dasgupta	223	Shireen Moosvi
177	Y Sudershan Rao	224	Indu Banga
178	A Bobbili	225	J S Grewal
179	K Gopalankutty	226	Reeta Grewal
180	Asit Kumar Samanta	227	Harish Sharma
181	T Raveendran	228	Jyotsna Tewathia
182	K A M Anwar	229	Indira Gupta
183	Y Mohendra Singh	230	Sneh Mahajan

231	Smriti Kr Sarkar	278	Ali Athar
232	Nikhiles Guha	279	Murali A
233	Y Sriramamurty	280	K L Tuteja
234	Kaushal Kishore Sharma	281	Surinder Singh
235	S R Singh	282	N Singh
236	Satish Chandra	283	A K Singh
237	M Athar Ali	284	Sah, Dalip Kumar
238	Anjali Chatterjee	285	Sukeshna Pd Singh
239	Ranjit Sen	286	Soma Mukhopadhyay
240	Gautam Neogi	287	Nirmal Kr Badhyopadhyay
241	S N Chakrabarti	288	Deepali Barve
242	Pranab Kumar	289	Swarna Lata Barua
243	J Chatterjee	290	Rashupati Singh
244	Kanai Lal Chattopadhyay	291	P N Jha
245	M Krishnakumari	292	S.D Goswami
246	K Narotham Reddy	293	A Hussain
247	L D Golatkar	294	Gajendra Adhikari
248	B Surendra Rao	295	Panchanan Barwe
249	Kesavan Valuthat	296	Amar Nath Jha
250	M G S Narayanan	297	J R Singh
251	C J Nirmal	298	Mariam Dossal
252	V Menon	299	Sushil Chaudhary
253	A Thomas	300	Bhaskar Chakrabarty
254	Hassan Imam	301	Kunal Chakrabarti
255	M Zameerudin Siddiqi	302	Sekhar Badyopadhyay
256	Pankaj K Roy	303	A K Singh
257	Maksud Ahmed	304	R K Sinha
258	Iqbal Ghani Khan	305	Sharad Hebalker
259	Arun Dev	306	Balram Verma
260	Indira Arjun Dev	307	B Ram
261	Sucheta Mahajan	308	L N Raut
262	Aditya Mukherjee	309	K G Sharma
263	Mridula Mukherjee	310	J B Bhattacharjee
264	D N Jha	311	Ranju Bezbaruah
265	K M Shrimali	312	J N Phukan
266	K K Mahawar	313	I P Gupta
267	A K Patnaik	314	R C Sharma
268	Y Subbarayalu	315	V K Jain
269	R L Shukla	316	R Vajpeyi
270	C P N Sinha	317	G D Gulati
271	Shweta Sinha	318	H C Verma
272	L B Kenny	319	M L Bhatia
273	Refaquat M Khan	320	P Sudhir
274	D N Roy	321	M K Dhavalikar
275	D K Singh	322	S D Goswami
276	R K Sinha	323	S K Basu
277	Shivaji Koyal	324	Devendra Swarup

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325	M Haq	342	Harekrishna Bera
326	J Mangamma	343	S Mukhopadhyay
327	R Kumar	344	Nirmal Kumar Bandyopadhyay
328	Kuldip Singh	345	Depali Barua
329	Balraj Sharma	346	S L Baruah
330	S Z H Jafri	347	Pashupati Singh
331	V N Datta	348	Pratap Narain Jha
332	B M Lall	349	K Raghavachary
333	Zahoor Akhbar	350	Mrs Vijaya Kulkarni
334	Iqbal Hussain	351	J V Naik
335	S N H Rizvi	352	A G Ganachari
336	B L Bhadani	353	R K Rai
337	S A A Tirmizi	354	S K Verma
338	Syed Jamaluddin	355	Bhagat Harish Chandra
339	Bina Rani Bera	356	Prasad Satya Narayan
340	Malavika Bera	357	Jai Prakash Sahu
341	Somnath Bera	358	R B Chaudhary

- 1 The meeting began with the following Condolence Resolution moved by the Chair

"The meeting of the Executive Committee of the Indian History Congress deeply mourns the death of Professor Jagdish Narayan Sarkar, past President of Indian History Congress, Professor Diptendra Banerjee, Member, Executive Committee, Indian History Congress and former Local Secretary and Sectional President, Professor B S Shastri, former Local Secretary, and Professor Upendra Thakur, former Local Secretary and Sectional President. The Congress pays homage to their hallowed memory and shares the grief of the bereaved."
- 2 The minutes of the meeting of the Annual Body meeting held at the Salt Lake Stadium, Calcutta on 30 December, 1990 was circulated and confirmed (vide *Proceedings* pp 857-64)
- 3 The Report of the Secretary for the year 1991 was presented and adopted after discussion and voting. The Secretary's Report contained matters relating to the organisation and the amendments to be effected in the Constitution as recommended by the earlier EC meetings. Resolved that the Report be accepted
- 4 The Report of the Treasurer for the year 1991-92 was presented along with the statements of
 - (a) Receipts and payments from 1st April, 1991 to 31st Jan 1992
 - (b) Budget estimates for the period 1st February 1992 to 31st March, 1992
 - (c) Budget estimates for the financial year 1992 to 1993
 - (d) Auditor's report for the Secretary's Office for the year 1990-91These were adopted after discussion

- 5 The Report of the Joint Secretary and Incharge Permanent Office for the year 1991-92 was presented alongwith the statements of
- (a) Receipts and payments from 1st April 1991 to 31st Jan 1992
 - (b) Budget estimates for the period 1st February 1992 to 31st March 1992
 - (c) Budget estimates for the financial year 1992 to 1993
 - (d) Auditor's Report for the Permanent Office 1991

Resolved that the Report be accepted

- 6 It was resolved to appoint M/s Ramamurthi (N) and Co , Chartered Accounts, Hyderabad, as the auditors of the Office of the Secretary and Treasurer, M/s Mehta & Associates, 13, Ashok Chambers, Pusa Road, New Delhi-110005 as the Auditors for the Permanent Office of the IHC for the financial year 1991-92
- 7 The Secretary reported that there were tentative offers from Mysore University, Mysore, Kakatiya University, Warangal and Viswabharati University, Santiniketan, for holding the next session The proposals were discussed The Secretary was authorised to explore the proposals and take an appropriate decision about the venue and dates for the 53rd session
- 8 The theme for the symposium for the 53rd session (1992) was decided to be "Frontiers in Indian History "
- 9 The Report of the Secretary, Editorial Board, Comprehensive History of India was presented and adopted after discussion
- 10 (a) The Annual Business meeting elected the following Office bearers for the year 1992
- | | |
|-------------------|--------------------------------------|
| Vice-Presidents | Professor Hiralal Gupta (Fatehpur) |
| | Professor Satish Chandra (New Delhi) |
| Secretary | Professor K M Shrimali (Delhi) |
| Joint Secretaries | 1 Dr Kesavan Veluthat (Mangalore) |
| | 2 Dr Vijay Kumar Thakur (Patna) |
| Treasurer | Dr Raghavendra Vajpeyi (Delhi) |
- 10 (b) The Annual Business meeting elected the following as the General President and Sectional Presidents for the 53rd Session
- | | |
|----------------------|---|
| General President | Professor B N S Yadava (Allahabad) |
| Sectional Presidents | |
| Ancient India | Professor B S L Hanumantha Rao (Guntur) |

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Medieval India	Professor Aniruddha ray (Calcutta)
Modern India	Professor A P Sharma (Ranchi)
Countries other than India	Professor J V Naik (Bombay)
Historical Archaeology, Epigraphy & Numismatics	Professor M L K Murthy, Hyderabad

Resolved that the Elections be recorded

- 11 The EC's recommendations on the Constitutional amendments were considered and the following amendments were unanimously passed and approved

Clause 4 (A)

Add "Who apply under Clause 24" after words "Ordinary Members"

Clause 5

Delete Nos I & II and substitute it with (a) and (b) Insert proviso italicised to (a) and add new paras (c) and (d) Read Clause 5 (a) + (c) as follows

- (a) Ordinary members and Life Members shall be entitled to submit papers, to take part in the discussion and be eligible for various offices of the Association Every member shall be entitled to receive free of charge a copy of the abstract of papers and proceedings of the Congress *provided that the Proceedings Volume may be made available to members free of charge only at the next following Session Members who do not collect the copies in person at the session may have to pay postal charges only*
- (c) Membership shall be for the Calendar year and annual subscription should be paid within that year Initial membership should be remitted at least two months before the scheduled date of the annual session
- (d) The acceptance of application for initial membership shall be further subject to such conditions as the Executive Committee may prescribe from time to time, and which shall come up for review at the next Annual Business meeting

Clause 6

Delete Rs 500/- and substitute Rs 10,000/-

Clause 9 (d) to read "two Joint Secretaries "

(f) to read "Sixteen other members "

Clause 11

"The quorum for a meeting of the Executive Committee shall be seven *Decisions at meetings shall be by majority of those members, with the President (or in his absence the Chairman of the Meeting) having the casting vote in addition to his own vote* During the interval between the two sessions of the Congress, the Executive Committee may transact all kinds of business through circulation of papers and decisions may be taken by 3/5 majority of votes

Clause 18

"The Joint Secretary" to read 'Joint Secretaries '

Clause 22

Add proviso italicised and read as follows

- (a) The Executive Committee shall consider the amendments and make such recommendations to the Association as it may deem desirable and shall place them at the Business meeting of the Association for final decision, *provided that conditions (a) and (b) would not apply when an amendment is considered relating to the amount of fees and subscription specified in Clause 4*

Clause 24 (a)

Add proviso italicised after "shall" and delete "Ordinarily" and read as follows

- (a) *Application for membership of the Association shall be made on the form prescribed by the Executive Committee and be made to the Secretary* and shall be accompanied by the prescribed fee Each name shall be duly proposed and seconded by such members of the Congress as are eligible to hold office and participate in the Business Meeting under Clause 5 (b)

Clause 25

Add "Editor or" after the words "for this purpose an "

- 12 The Annual Business meeting passed the following resolution thanking the hosts unanimously

"The Executive Committee of the IHC wishes to place on record its grateful appreciation of the hospitality extended by the five Universities, namely Delhi University, Indira Gandhi National Open University, Jamia Hamdard, Jamia Millia Islamia, and Jawaharlal Nehru University which enabled us to conduct an extremely useful and effective session of the Indian History Congress

"We are especially thankful to the Vice-Chancellors of the Universities and their colleagues and staff for undertaking the onerous task of hosting the

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Congress at such short notice and facilitating the smooth functioning of the various programmes of the Indian History Congress

"While it would be difficult to name all the numerous individuals without whose untiring zeal and enthusiastic help, it would have been impossible to run the session, we think it necessary to place on record our deep appreciation of the able assistance and help rendered by Professor K M Shrimali, Professor Pratipal Bhatia, Professor R Champakalakshmi, Professor Kapil Kumar, Professor Rafiqat Ali, Professor H C Verma, Professor R L Shukla Dr B P Sahu, Dr P K Shukla, as also Shri S N Mishra and Shri Shabi Ahmed. The many students who have tirelessly worked for several weeks, often without sleep, have immensely contributed to the success of the session, and our thanks go to them. We would like to record our gratitude also to the numerous drivers, cleaners, and the catering staff, who helped us to hold the Congress.

"The Committee records its gratitude to the authorities of the Bhartiya Gram and the New Horizon School who facilitated the conduct of the 52nd Session of the Indian History Congress."

- 13 The Committee passed a resolution expressing its deep sense of gratitude to the outgoing office bearers for their services to the Indian History Congress
- 14 The meeting concluded with a vote of thanks to the Chair

Sd/-
A R Kulkarni
President

Sd/-
V Ramakrishna
Secretary

APPENDIX : 2

INDIAN HISTORY CONGRESS 52ND SESSION, 1991-92

MINUTES OF THE EXECUTIVE COMMITTEE MEETING

A meeting of the Executive Committee of the Indian History Congress was held at the Gandhi Peace Foundation, New Delhi, on Saturday, 22nd February 1992, at 9 00 p m. The following members were present

- 1 Professor A R Kulkarni (Chairman)
- 2 Professor M Athar Ali (Vice-President)
- 3 Professor V Ramakrishna (Secretary)
- 4 Dr T K Venkatasubramanian (Joint Secretary)
- 5 Dr T S Sinha (Joint Secretary)
- 6 Dr K S S Seshan (Treasurer)
- 7 Professor Irfan Habib (Member)
- 8 Professor A Q Rafiqi (Member)
- 9 Professor C P N Sinha (Member)
- 10 Professor R Champakalakshmi (Member)
- 11 Professor Y Subbarayalu (Member)
- 12 Dr K L Tuteja (Member)
- 13 Professor L B Verma (Member)

- 14 Professor B Surendra Rao (Member)
- 15 Professor Shireen Moosvi (Member)
- 16 Professor D N Jha (Member)
- 17 Professor Barun De (Member)
- 18 Professor Rajan Gurukkal (Member)
- 19 Professor Bhaskar Chakraborti (Member)
- 1 The meeting began with the following condolence resolution moved by the Chair

"This meeting of the Executive Committee of the Indian History Congress deeply mourns the death of Professor Jagdish Narayan Sarkar, past President of the Indian History Congress, Professor Diptendra Banerjee, Member, Executive Committee, Indian History Congress, and former Local Secretary and Sectional President, Professor B S Shastri former Local Secretary, and Professor Upendra Thakur, former Local Secretary and Sectional President. The Congress pays homage to their hallowed memory and shares the grief of the bereaved."
- 2 The minutes of the meeting of the Executive Committee held at the Salt Lake Stadium Complex, Calcutta on Saturday, 29th December 1990 were circulated and confirmed (vide *Proceedings*, pp 865-69)
- 3 The Report of the Secretary for the year 1991 was presented and adopted unanimously after discussion. The Secretary in his Report mentioned matters relating to the organization and the amendments to be effected in the Constitution as finalised by the earlier EC meetings
- 4 The Report of the Treasurer for the year 1991-92 was presented along with the statements of
 - (a) Receipts and payments from 1st April 1991 to 31 Jan 1992
 - (b) Budget estimates for the period 1st Feb 1992 to 31st March
 - (c) Budget estimates for the financial year 1992 to 1993
 - (d) Auditor's Report for year 1990-91These were adopted after discussion
- 5 The Report of the Joint-Secretary and Incharge, Permanent Office for the year 1991-92 was presented along with the statements of
 - (a) Receipts and payments from 1st April 1991 to 31 January 1992
 - (b) Budget estimate for the period 1st Feb 1992 to 31st March 1992
 - (c) Budget estimates for the financial year 1992 to 1993
 - (d) Auditor's Report for the Permanent Office 1991

- 6 It was resolved to appoint M/s Ramamurthi (N) and Co, Chartered Accountants, Hyderabad, as the Auditors of the Office of the Secretary and Treasurer, M/s Mehta & Associates, 13 Ashok Chambers, Pusa Road, New Delhi 110 005 as the Auditors for the Permanent Office of the IHC for the financial year 1991-92
- 7 The Secretary reported that there were tentative offers from Mysore University, Mysore, Kakatiya University, Warangal and Viswabharati University, Santiniketan, for holding the next session. The proposals were discussed. The Secretary was authorised to explore the proposals and take an appropriate decision about the venue and dates for the next Session.
- 8 The theme for the Symposium for the 53rd Session (1992) was decided to be "Frontiers in Indian History"
- 9 The Report of the Secretary, Editorial Board, *Comprehensive History of India* was presented and adopted after discussion. The letter sent by the Secretary regarding the decision of the Publication Committee to convert the Comprehensive History of India Project into a registered society under the Societies Registration Act in order to apply for exemption for payment of Income Tax under the Income Tax Law was discussed. It was resolved that the Secretary of the project will be requested to send the draft of the proposal for the consideration of the Executive Committee of the IHC.
- 10 Appointment of Expert Committee for Professor H K Barpujari award for the year 1993 was deferred.
- 11 The Committee considered the offer of Professor H L Gupta to institute an award out of the interest on Rs 50,000/- and resolved to reconsider it at a later date.
- 12 (a) The Executive Committee elected the following office bearers for the year 1992

Vice - Presidents	Professor Hiralal Gupta (Fatehpur)
	Professor Satish Chandra (New Delhi)
Secretary	Professor K M Shrimali (Delhi)
Joint-Secretaries	1 Dr Kesavan Veluthat (Mangalore)
	2 Dr Vijay Kumar Thakur (Patna)
Treasurer	Dr Raghavendra Vajpeyi (Delhi)
- (b) The Executive Committee elected the following as the General President and Sectional Presidents for the 53rd Session

General President	Professor B N S Yadava (Allahabad)
-------------------	------------------------------------

Sectional Presidents

- 1 Ancient India Prof B S L Hanumantha Rao, Guntur
- 2 Medieval India Prof Aniruddha Ray, Calcutta
- 3 Modern India Professor A P Sharma (Ranchi)
- 4 Countries other than India Prof J V Naik (Bombay)
- 5 Historical Archaeology,
Epigraphy & Numismatics Prof M L K Murthy, (Hyderabad)

- 13 The Executive Committee considered the report of the Sub-Committee to amend the Constitution and unanimously resolved to recommend the following amendments for adoption by the Annual Business Meeting

Clause 4(a)

Add "Who apply under Clause 24" after the words "Ordinary Members"

Clause 5

Delete Nos I & II and substitute it with (a) and (b) Insert proviso italicised to (a) and add new paras (c) and (d) Read Clause 5 (a) + (c) as follows

- (a) Ordinary members and Life members shall be entitled to submit papers, to take part in the discussion and be eligible for various offices of the Association Every member shall be entitled to receive free of charge a copy of the abstract of papers and proceedings of the Congress *provided that the Proceedings Volume may be made available to members free of charge only at the next following Session Members who do not collect the copies in person at the Session may have to pay a price prescribed by the Executive Committee plus postal charges wherever applicable*
- (c) *Membership shall be for the Calendar year and annual subscription should be paid within that year Initial membership should be remitted at least two months before the scheduled date of the annual session*
- (d) The acceptance of application for membership of all categories shall be further subject to such conditions as the Executive Committee may prescribe from time to time

Clause 6 Delete 'Rs 500/-' and substitute 'Rs 10,000/-

Clause 9 (d) to read "Joint Secretaries"

(f) to read "Sixteen other members"

Clause 11 "The quorum for a meeting of the Executive Committee shall be seven *Decisions at meetings shall be by majority of those members, with the president (or in his absence the Chairman of the Meeting) shall have the casting vote in addition to his own vote During the interval*

between the two sessions of the Congress, the Executive Committee may transact all kinds of business through circulation of papers and decisions may be taken by 3/5 majority of votes

Clause 18 'The Joint Secretary' to read 'Joint Secretaries'

Clause 22 Add proviso italicised and read as follows

- (c) The Executive Committee shall consider the amendments and make such recommendations to the Association as it may deem desirable and shall place them at the Business meeting of the Association for final discussion, *provided that conditions (a) and (b) would not apply when an amendment is considered relating to the amount of fees and subscription specified in Clause 4*

Clause 24 (a) . Add proviso italicised after "shall" and delete "Ordinarily" and read as follows

- (a) *Applications for membership of the Association shall be made on the form prescribed by the Executive Committee and be made to the Secretary* and shall be accompanied by the prescribed fee Each name shall be duly proposed and seconded by such members of the Congress as are eligible to hold office and participate in the Business Meeting under Clause 5(b)

Clause 25 Add "Editor or" after the words "for this purpose an"

- 14 The Committee considered the resolutions suggested by some members of the Congress and expressed its inability to recommend them to be placed before the Annual Business Meeting
- 15 (a) The Committee passed the following resolution thanking the hosts unanimously

"The Executive Committee of the Indian History Congress wishes to place on record its grateful appreciation of the hospitality extended by the five Universities, namely Delhi University, Indira Gandhi National Open University, Jamia Hamdard, Jamia Millia Islamia, and Jawaharlal Nehru University, which enabled us to conduct an extremely useful and effective session of the Indian History Congress

"We are especially thankful to the Vice-Chancellors of the above Universities and their colleagues and staff for undertaking the onerous task of hosting the Congress at such short notice and facilitating the smooth functioning of the various programmes of the Indian History Congress

"While it would be difficult to name all the numerous individuals without whose untiring zeal and enthusiastic help, it would have been impossible to run the session, we think it necessary to place on record our deep appreciation of the able assistance and help rendered by Professor K M Shrimali, Professor Pratipal Bhatia, Professor R Champakalakshmi,

Appendix 2 LC (February 1992) Minutes

Professor Kapil Kumar, Professor Rafaqat Ali, Professor H C Verma, Professor R L Shukla, Dr B P Sahu, Dr P K Shukla, as also Shri S N Mishra and Shri Shabi Ahmed The many students who have tirelessly worked for several weeks, often without sleep, have immensely contributed to the success of the session, and our thanks go to them We would like to record our gratitude also to the numerous drivers, cleaners, and the catering staff, who helped us to hold the Congress

"The Committee records its gratitude to the authorities of the Bhartiya Gram and the New Horizon School who facilitated the conduct of the 52nd Session of the Indian History Congress "

- 15 (b) The Committee passed a resolution expressing its deep sense of gratitude to the out-going office bearers for their services rendered to the Indian History Congress

- 15 (c) The Committee unanimously passed the following resolution

"It is resolved that Professor K M Shrimali, the Secretary elect, and Dr Raghavendra Vajpeyi the Treasurer elect, shall operate S/B Account No 1676, w e f First April, 1992 They shall also operate all assets standing in the name of he Indian History Congress in Syndicate Bank, St Stephen's College, Delhi 110 007, w e f First April, 1992 "

- 16 The meeting concluded with a vote of thanks to the Chair

Sd/-
A R Kulkarni
President

Sd/-
V Ramakrishna
Secretary

APPENDIX : 3

INDIAN HISTORY CONGRESS 52ND SESSION, 1991-1992

REPORT OF THE SECRETARY

Mr President and Fellow Members,

It is after more than three decades that the Annual Session of the Indian History Congress is being held at Delhi. Though we could not hold the Session at Ujjain due to some unavoidable circumstances I am happy that the five universities, namely, Jawaharlal Nehru University, Delhi University, Jamia Millia, Hamdard University and IGNOU have come forward to sponsor the Session along with the IHC. I convey my deep sense of gratitude to all the Vice-Chancellors of these five universities for giving us all support to organise this Session. Though the Local Secretary, Dr T K Venkatasubramanian, is a part of the organisation it is my pleasant duty to thank him for accepting to be the Local Secretary. I am further happy to acknowledge the willing cooperation, in the efforts of the Local Secretary, of all the Heads of the Departments of History of the five Universities and also the teachers of these departments, the teachers of various colleges in Delhi and some of the staff members of the ICHR who have come forward to help us.

About 1000 out-station and 400 local delegates are attending this session. The members enrolled so far are 936 for this session. Out of whom 110 are Life and twelve are Institutional members. This is about ten percent less than last year's membership. However, 400 research papers are being presented during this session which reflects an increase of 10% compared to the last session.

The Sub-Committee constituted in 1987 and re-constituted in 1989 by the Executive Committee and placed before the Annual Business Meeting in 1990 to look into the organisational matters and constitutional amendments met and made

Appendix 3 Report of the Secretary

a few recommendations. These relate to the routine organisational matters and they were discussed and approved by the Executive Committee and now brought before the business meeting for consideration and approval. I thank the members of the Sub-Committee.

Details of income and expenditure for the year 1990-91 and the budget estimates for 1991-92 are being presented by the Treasurer. The Joint-Secretary and Incharge of the Permanent Office will present the budget of the Permanent Office. The financial position of the Congress is somewhat sound. It was suggested by us last year that the Life Members' fee income should be deposited as a Corpus fund. We would like to do so this year, if the EC permits. The expenditure incurred on the proceedings Volume has exceeded Rs. 1.00 lakh this year. I am happy that the volume looks elegant and that it is well brought out in terms of quality. I thank my colleagues Dr. Venkatasubramanian and Dr. Bhairabi Prasad Sahu for this. It will not be out of context, if I request the members to promote the sale of back volumes.

The committee on the H.K. Barpujari Award for the year 1989 had finalised the decision and it is already presented. The Congress congratulates the winner of the award, Prof. R.S. Sharma.

We are grateful to the Human Resources Development Ministry for sanctioning Rs. 3.00 lakhs which facilitated us to hold the Session at Delhi. Our thanks to the Indian Council of Historical Research for making a substantial publication grant to bring out the Proceedings. The ICHR as per its usual practice from 1989 granted Rs. 30,000 for holding the Session of the Congress.

It is my pleasant duty to thank Professor Hiralal Gupta, Professor A.R. Kulkarni, Professor Barun De, Professor Irfan Habib, Professor M.G.S. Narayanan, Professor D.N. Jha, Professor Champakalakshmi, Dr. Kesavan Veluthat, for their constant guidance and help in the discharge of my responsibilities. I take this opportunity to thank Dr. T.K. Venkatasubramanian and his colleagues Messrs Bhairabi Prasad Sahu, R.K. Gupta and Mahanth Mahato for looking after the permanent Office at Delhi.

I am extremely grateful to the Treasurer, Dr. K.S.S. Seshan for his able handling of the finances. It has been indeed a great pleasure to work with him during the past three years. I am thankful to my esteemed colleagues Dr. P. Sudhir and Dr. A. Murali for their help and cooperation and to our research scholars Messrs Anthony, Raju, Varada Rao, Saidulu, Mustafa and Sundar, Sudha, Meera, Swarupa and Padma, Rohini, Siva Ram Mohan, Kistanna, Dass and others who extended their help.

The organization of the 52nd Session at Delhi was facilitated by several institutions who have liberally donated to the Congress through their advertisements in the souvenir. We express our gratitude to them. In addition to all the Vice-Chancellors of the five Universities in Delhi to whom I have already conveyed my deep sense of gratitude, a large number of our friends in Delhi University, JNU, Jamia Millia and other places helped us. It is difficult to name all of them as they

are innumerable. However, I would like to thank Professor K M Shrimali, Professor P Bhatia, Professor Kapil Kumar, Professor Rifaqat Ali of Jamia Millia, Professor H C Verma, Professor R L Shukla and from the ICHR, Dr P K Shukla, Shri Mishra and Shri Shabi Ahmed and other friends working in the Council. The Convenors of the various Committees, student volunteers and others worked tirelessly for the success of the session. They richly deserve our profound thanks.

In conclusion, I cannot help reflecting that today when history as a discipline is engaging the attention for all, it has become vitally necessary for the IHC to reaffirm its commitment to the scientific and secular approach to the study of the past.

Friends, I will be laying down my office with this Session. I thank you all once again for giving me this opportunity to serve the History Congress and cooperating with me in my endeavours to live up to the confidence you reposed in me.

Bharatiyam Gram
Delhi
22nd February, 1992

Sd/-
V Ramakrishna
Secretary

APPENDIX : 4

INDIAN HISTORY CONGRESS PERMANENT OFFICE, DEPARTMENT OF HISTORY, UNIVERSITY OF DELHI

REPORT OF THE JOINT-SECRETARY AND INCHARGE

Mr President and Fellow Delegates,

I have the privilege in presenting

- 1 The statement of details of actual income and expenditure for the period 1st April 1991 to 31st January 1992 (Annexure A)
- 2 Budgeted income and expenditure for the remaining period of the current financial year i.e 1st February 1992 to 31st March 1992 (Annexure B)
- 3 Budgeted estimate for the financial year 1992-3 (Annexure C)

(Note The details represent income and expenditure of Permanent office only)

On April 1, 1991 the office started with an opening balance of Rs 33,223 29 (Thirty three thousand two hundred twenty three and paise twenty-nine only) The total income of the current financial year till 31st January is 1,72,431 00 (one lakh seventy two thousand four hundred thirty one only), while the expenditure till that date has been 1,96,572 75 (One lakh ninety six thousand five hundred seventy two and paise seventy-five only) Even after a transfer of Rs 40,000 from the membership fee received at Hyderabad there is a deficit of 24,141 75 (Twenty four thousand one hundred forty-one and paise seventy-five only) The report of the auditors for the year 1990-91 (Annexure D) is also placed before the house and attention is particularly drawn to the following

Out of a total of Rs 11,055 60 (Eleven thousand and fifty-five and paise sixty only) shown as amount receivable against sale of proceedings Rs 9,975 60 (Nine thousand nine hundred and seventy five and paise sixty only), and correspondence is on for the realisation of the remaining amount i.e. 1080/- (One thousand eighty only)

Regarding the liabilities, proof reading editing and publication charges of 50th session proceeding have already been defrayed. The excess of Rs 62/- received against sale of proceedings is yet to be returned.

We are happy to present the *Proceedings* of the 51st session held at Calcutta. We acknowledge the generous help extended by the Indian Council of Historical Research.

We gratefully acknowledge the invaluable assistance rendered by Dr B P Sahu, our colleague, without whose assistance it would have been impossible for us to run the office and bring the *Proceedings* volume on time. We also thank Messrs Shailendra Mohan Jha, R K Gupta and Mahanth Mahato for their services. We wish to acknowledge the support of Prof V Ramakrishna and Dr K S S Seshan in discharging my duties to the best of my ability. We record our sincere thanks to the Executive and Annual Business Meetings of 1985, 1986, 1987, 1988, 1989 and 1990 for giving us an opportunity to serve as Treasurer and Joint-Secretary of this great organisation.

Sd/-

T K Venkatasubramanian
Joint Secretary & Incharge
Permanent Office

Delhi
22 February, 1992

INDIAN HISTORY CONGRESS- DELHI
STATEMENT OF RECEIPTS & PAYMENTS OF PERMANENT OFFICE, DEPARTMENT OF HISTORY,
FOR THE PERIOD 1 4 1991 to 31 1 1992

ANNEXURE A

PAYMENTS		AMOUNT	RECEIPTS	AMOUNT
By Expenses				
Establishment		15450 00	To Opening Balance	
Stationery & Printing		3396 00	a) Cash in Hand	1905 85
Postage		2092 40	b) Syndicate Bank	31317 44
Travelling & Conveyance		5526 55		33,223 29
Office Expenses		917 00	To Publication Grant from ICHR	
Bank Charges		118 00	For Printing PIHC 50th (Partial)	25,000 00
Photostat & Typing Charges		1858 00	Residual Grant PIHC 49th	5000 00
Repairs & Maintenance		479 35	Residual Grant PIHC 50th	5000 00
Staff Welfare & Refreshment		903 45	For Printing 51st PIHC	47500 00
Miscellaneous Expenses		50 00		82,500 00
Packing Material		147 00	To Transfer from Hyderabad office	40,000 00
Proof Reading & Editing of 50th PIHC		3000 00	To Interest Accrued on	
Proof Reading of Editing of 51st PIHC		3000 00	Barpujari Fund	9,080 00
Organisation of 52nd Session		13049 20	To Interest Received from	
Publication of PIHC 50th Session		8185 00	S B A/c No 1676	4,448 00
Publication of PIHC 51st Session		110000 00	To Interest from Term Deposit	16,380 00
H K. Barpujari Award Expenses			To postage received	1,330 00
1989 Award	25,000 00		To sale of Thematic Volumes	408 00
1991 Award Expenses	3,400 00	28400 00		
By Closing Balance			To sale of proceedings	
Cash in hand	3,643 10		1990-91	9645 00
Syndicate Bank, New Delhi	5,438 44	9,102 14	1991-92	8640 00
				18,285 00
		<u>2,05,654 29</u>		<u>2,05,654 29</u>

ANNEXURE B

BUDGET ESTIMATE FOR THE PERIOD 1 2 1992 to 31 3 1992

Proceedings, IHC

INDIAN HISTORY CONGRESS

BUDGET ESTIMATE FOR THE PERIOD 1 4.1992 to 31 3 1993

Appendix 1 Report of the Joint-Secretary & Incharge P O

INCOME		EXPENDITURE	
By Printing PIHC of 52nd session	50,000 00	To Establishment	15,000 00
By Interest from S/B A/c 1676	4,000 00	To Conveyance	3,000 00
By Interest from Barpujari term deposit	12,000 00	To Postage & Telegrams	5,000 00
By Postal charges	3,000 00	To Stationery, Printing and typing	3,000 00
By Sale of thematic vols	2,000 00	To Packing Material	300 00
By Sale of Proceedings	25,000 00	To Organisation of 53rd session	18,000 00
	<u>96,000 00</u>	To Photocopying	1,000 00
		To Maintenance & Repairs of	
		Office equipment	300 00
Excess of Expenditure over Income	1,10,600 00	To Entertainment and staff welfare	1,000 00
	<u>2,06,600 00</u>	To PIHC 52nd session	1,25,000 00
		To Editing & Proof Reading	4,000 00
		To Auditing	3,000 00
		To H K Barpujari Award & Expenses	28,000 00
			<u>2,06,600 00</u>

ANNEXURE D AUDITOR'S REPORT

MEHTA ASSOCIATES

13, Ashoka Chambers
(Opp Rachna Cinema)
5-B Rajendra Park
Pusa Road, New Delhi 110 060
Phone 589992, 5722849

Chartered Accountants
Dt 11 December, 1991

To
The Members
Indian History Congress
Delhi

Ladies/Gentlemen,

We feel pleasure in enclosing Audited Statement of Accounts for the year ended 31st March, 1991 of Permanent Office of your association and comment as below

1 Balance in Hand

a) Cash in hand	1,905 85
b) Syndicate Bank, New Delhi	31,317 44
c) Term Deposit with Syndicate Bank, Delhi (H K Barpujari Endowment Fund)	1,25,000 00
d) Term Deposit with Syndicate Bank, Delhi as Vikas Cash Certificates	75,000 00

Sub Total (a)	2,33,223 29
---------------	-------------

2 Add. Amount Receivable

Amount Receivable against sale of
Proceedings

1989-90	330 60
1990-91	10,725 00

11,055 60

Publication Grant From ICHR

for Printing PIHC 50th Session	25,000 00
Residual Grant 50th Session	5,000 00
Residual Grant 49th Session	5,000 00

35,000 00

Sub Total (b)	2,79,278 89
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Appendix 4 Report of the Joint-Secretary & Incharge, P O

B/F 2,79,278 89

3 **Add Value of Fixed Assets**

Written down value of		
Furniture	6,023 00	
Pedestal Fan	482 00	
Typewriter	3,007 00	
Utensils & Books	1,132 00	
Book shelves & Racks	1,163 00	
Almirah	2,008 00	13,815 00
	<hr/>	

(These do not include value of proceedings
in hand as on the closing date of the year)

Total value of assets 2,93,093 89

Less Liabilities Payable on account of		
Proof Reading Charges of 50th Session	1,000 00	
Editing charges of 50th session	2,500 00	
Publication charges of PIHC 50th Session	8,185 00	
Excess Received against sale of proceedings	62 00	11,747 00
	<hr/>	<hr/>

Net Value of Assets 2,81,346 89

In the light of the above observation we report that we have found the Annexed Income & Expenditure Account and Receipts & Payments Account for the year ending 31st March, 1991 correct and in accordance with the Books of Account and vouchers produced and information supplied to us

We are thankful to the Officers in particular the Joint Secretary & Incharge for the cooperation and assistance extended to us during the course of audit

Thanking you,

Yours Sincerely,

SEAL

Sd/- (D K Mehta)

ANNEXURE D
INDIAN HISTORY CONGRESS: NEW DELHI
STATEMENT OF RECEIPTS & PAYMENTS OF PERMANENT OFFICE, DEPT. OF HISTORY, DELHI UNIVERSITY, DELHI
FOR THE YEAR ENDED 31st MARCH, 1991

RECEIPTS	AMOUNT	PAYMENTS	AMOUNT
<u>Opening Balances</u>		By Expenses :	
a) Cash in hand	4,250 13	Establishment	15,100 00
b) Syndicate Bank, New Delhi	87,082 53	Stationery & Printing	2,144 60
		Postage	7,147 30
<u>Publication Grant from ICHR</u>		Travelling & Conveyance	1,769 00
For Printing PIHC		Bank Charges	43 50
50th Session (partial)	20,000 00	Auditing & Accounting	2,000 00
For Organising 50th Session	28,500 00	Photostat & Typing Charges	651 40
	48,500 00	Repairs & Maintenance	229 50
<u>Sale of Proceedings</u>		Staff Welfare & Refreshment	1,170 50
1988-89	680 50	Miscellaneous Expenses	260 50
1989-90	180 00	Packing Material	724 60
1990-91	15,234.87	Affiliation Fee to Oriental Research Institute	3,530 00
<u>Sale of Thematic Volumes</u>		Proof Reading charges 49th session	1,000 00
1990-91	2,640 00	Organisation of 51st Session	13,211 00
Interest Received on H K Barpujari Endowment Fund	47,265 94	ICHR Grant Transferred to Hyderabad Office	28,500 00
Interest from S B A/c No 1676	1,519 10	Publication of PIHC 49th Session	31,296 00
		Publication of PIHC 50th Session	85,954 00

Contd

Appendix 4 Report of the Joint-Secretary & Incharge, P O

Postal charges recovered			
Refund from Railways	2,584 00	H K Barpujari Award Expenses	
Amount Transferred from Hyderabad office	735 00	1987 Award Expenses (Plaque)	3,000 00
	50,000 00	1989 Award Expenses	4,716 88
		H K Barpujari Award 1987	25,000 00
		By Closing Balances	
		Cash in hand	1,905 85
		Syndicate Bank, New Delhi	3,1317 44
			33,223 29
Total Rs	<u>2,60,672 07</u>	Total	<u>Rs 2,60,672 07</u>

13 Ashoka Chambers,
B-5, Rajendra Park,
Pusa Road, New Delhi-60

INDIAN HISTORY CONGRESS: NEW DELHI
STATEMENT OF INCOME & EXPENDITURE FOR THE YEAR ENDED 31ST MARCH, 1991

EXPENDITURE	AMOUNT	INCOME	AMOUNT
Establishment	15,100 00	For Printing PIHC 50th Session (Partial)	20,000 00
Stationery & Printing	2,144 60		
Postage	7,147 30	For Printing PIHC 50th Session (2nd Instalment)	25,000 00
Travelling & Conveyance	1,769 00	Residual Grant 50th Session	5,000 00
Bank Charges	43 50	Residual Grant 49th Session	55,000 00
Auditing & Accounting	2,000 00		
Photostat & Typing Charges	651 40		
Repairs & Maintenance	229 50	By Sale of Proceedings 1990-91	
Staff Welfare & Refreshment	1,170 50	By Sale of Thematic Volumes 1990-91	25,897 87
Miscellaneous Expenses	260 50		2,640 00
Packing Material	724 60		47,265 94
Affiliation Fee to Oriental Research Institute	3,530 00	By Interest Received on H K Barpujari Endowment Fund	1,519 10
Organisation of 51st Session	13,211 00	By Interest from S B A/c No 1676	2,584 10
Publication of PIHC 50th Session	94,139 00	By Postal Charges Recovered	735 00
H K Barpujari Award 1987	25,000 00	By Refund from Railways	50,000 00
H.K. Barpujari Award Expenses		By Transfer from Hyderabad Office	
1987 Award (Plaque)	3,000 00	By Amount written off for excess adjustment in last year against proof reading charges	1,000 00
1989 Award	4,716 88		
Editing of PIHC 50th Session	_____		
Proof Reading of PIHC 50th Session	1,000 00		
			Contd

**Unrecoverable Amount of Sale
of Proceedings Adjusted:**

1986-87	585 00	
1987-88	225 00	810 00

Depreciation:

Furniture	669 00	
Utensils & Books	54 00	
Typewriter	334 00	
Pedestal Fan	126 00	
Book Shelves	129 00	
Almirahs	223 00	1,535 00

Net Surplus	Excess of Income	
	over Expenditure	5,959 13

Total Rs	1,86,641 91
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Total Rs	1,86,641 91
----------	-------------

13 Ashoka Chambers,
B-5, Rajendra Park,
Pusa Road, New Delhi-60

Sd Jt Secretary & Incharge,
IHC, P O

Subject to our separate report by
even date

11 December, 1991

Delhi

Seal

Sd/-
for Mehta Associates
CA

APPENDIX : 5

INDIAN HISTORY CONGRESS, 52ND SESSION, 1991-1992, NEW DELHI.

REPORT OF THE TREASURER

Mr President and esteemed delegates,

I have great pleasure in presenting to you

- a) The Statement of Income and Expenditure for the period, 1 April 1991 to 31 January 1992
(Annexure-A)
- b) Budgeted Income and Expenditure for the remaining period of the current financial year, i.e. 1st February 1992 to 31st March 1992
(Annexure-B)
- c) Budgeted Estimates for the next financial year, i.e. 1992-1993
(Annexure-C)

The details represent the consolidated account of the offices of the Secretary and Treasurer of the I H C , University of Hyderabad. On 1st April 1991 the office of the Secretary and Treasurer started functioning with an opening balance of Rs 75,421 95 (Seventy five thousand four hundred and twenty-one and paise ninety-five only). The total income of the current financial year till 31st January 1992 is Rs 4,44,447 95 (Rupees four Lakhs forty four thousand four hundred and forty seven and paise ninety-five only).

The expenditure till that date has been Rs 3,10,792 30 (Three lakhs ten thousand seven hundred ninety two and paise thirty only). This includes the return of money sent with irregular applications, amounting to Rs 1,86,570 00 (Rupees one lakh eighty six thousand five hundred and seventy only). The net credit balance is

Appendix 5 Report of the Treasurer

Rs 1,33,655 65 (one lakh thirty three thousand six hundred and fifty five and paise sixty five only)

I am glad to inform you that we have transferred an amount of Rs 40,000 00 to the permanent office from the membership amount. We have as per the decision of the Executive Council paid an amount of Rs 10,000/- (Rupees ten thousand only) to Prof Pratima Asthana, the Local Secretary of the 50th Session, held at Gorakhpur in 1989.

The report of the Auditors for the year 1990-91 (Annexure - D) is also placed before you and attention is particularly drawn to the net balance in the Bank, Rs 75,421 95, as on 31 March 1991.

I thank Prof V Ramakrishna, the Secretary, for his constant help, advice and co-operation which made my task as Treasurer always a pleasant one. My thanks are due to Dr T K Venkatasubramanian, the Joint-Secretary, incharge of the permanent office, for the constant help rendered. I thank my colleagues, Dr P Sudhir and Dr A Murali for all the help they extended. My thanks are due to Messrs K H S S Sundar, Md Mustafa, A Varada Rao, K Raju, Ch Anthony, R Saidulu and a number of other research scholars and students of the Department of History, University of Hyderabad, for their untiring services extended to us throughout the period of our tenure. I also thank Messrs Y Siva Ram Mohan, Ms Rohini Titus, A Kistanna and N Dass for their services.

New Delhi, 21 Feb 1992

Sd/-
K S S Seshan
Treasurer

ANNEXURE-A

INDIAN HISTORY CONGRESS DEPARTMENT OF HISTORY, UNIVERSITY OF HYDERABAD, HYDERABAD

STATEMENT OF EXPENDITURE & INCOME FOR THE PERIOD 1.4 1991 To 31.1.1992

EXPENDITURE	AMOUNT	INCOME	AMOUNT
Establishment	5,000 00	By opening Balance cash on Hand	71 65
Stationery	927 00		
Printing	8,300 00	S B A/c 68 SBI	75,350 30
Local Conveyance	392 00		
Postage	11,556 00		75,421 95
Organisation of 52nd Session	35,499 00		
Travel	6,158 00	Grant from ICHR	
Staff Welfare	624 80	Proviso VII-3	58,500 00
D D Charges	125 00		
Telephone & Telegrams	2,840 50	Membership fee	3,09,840 00
Return of money sent with irregular applications	1,86,570 00	Bank Charges	590 00
Bank Collection Charges	2,800 00		
Prathima Asthana, Local Sec 50th Session	10,000 00	Sale of guidelines	96 00
Permanent Office by transfer	40,000 00		
	<u>3,10,792 30</u>		
Closing balance cash on hand	450 00		
SB A/c No 68	1,33,205 00		
	<u>4,44,447 95</u>		<u>4,44,447 95</u>

ANNEXURE-B

INDIAN HISTORY CONGRESS DEPARTMENT OF HISTORY, UNIVERSITY OF HYDERABAD, HYDERABAD

BUDGET ESTIMATE FOR THE PERIOD 1 FEB. 1992 TO 31ST MARCH, 1992

EXPENDITURE	AMOUNT	INCOME	AMOUNT
Establishment (Salaries)	1,500 00	Membership fee sale of guidelines	15,000 00
Stationery & Printing	1,000 00	Bank Charges	200 00
Conveyance	500 00	Residual grant of 52nd session from ICHR	1,500 00
Organisation of 52nd Session	10,000 00		
Postage	3,000 00		
Staff Welfare	500 00		
Telephone Charges	1,000 00		
Bank Charges	400 00		
Audit Fee	1,500 00		
Local Secretary, Symposium expenses and Sectional Presidents of the 52nd session	10,000 00		
	29,400 00		
Excess of Expenditure over income	(—) 12,620 00		
	16,780 00		

Appendix 5 Report of the Treasurer

INDIAN HISTORY CONGRESS
DEPARTMENT OF HISTORY, UNIVERSITY OF HYDERABAD, HYDERABAD

Proceedings, IHC 52nd Session, 1991-92

1098

ANNEXURE-D

AUDIT REPORT

Ramamurthy (N) & Co ,
Chartered Accountants

Tel 232515
"Gulshan Manzil",
4-1-1229, Bogukunta,
Hyderabad 500 001

We have audited the annexed Balance Sheet and the Income and Expenditure account of INDIAN HISTORY CONGRESS, Hyderabad for the year ended 31st March, 1991 and report that

We have obtained all the information and explanations which to the best of our knowledge and belief were necessary for the purpose of our audit

The balance sheet and the Income & Expenditure account dealt with by this report are in agreement with the books of account

In our opinion and to the best of information and according to the explanations give to us

- a the Balance Sheet gives a true and fair view of the state of affairs of the association as at 31st March, 1991

and

- b the Income & Expenditure account gives a true and fair view of the excess of Income over Expenditure for the year ended 31st March, 1991

Place Hyderabad

Date 10 2 92

SEAL

for RAMAMOORTHY (N) & CO
CHARTERED ACCOUNTANTS
Sd/-
(A N MURALI KRISHNA)
PARTNER

BALANCE SHEET OF INDIAN HISTORY CONGRESS

AS AT 31ST MARCH, 1991

LIABILITIES		AMOUNT Rs Ps	ASSETS	AMOUNT Rs Ps
<u>INCOME & EXPENDITURE A/C</u>				
As per last balance sheet	29,904 00	1,03,171 95	Central Office Account	30,000 00
Add during the year	73,267 05		Cash on hand	71 65
			Cash at Bank	75,350 30
<u>OUTSTANDING EXPENSES</u>				
Audit fee	1,500 00			
Other expenses	750 00	2,250 00		
		<u>1,05,421 95</u>		<u>1,05,421 95</u>

for RAMAMOORTHY (N) & CO
CHARTERED ACCOUNTANTS

Sd/-

(A N MURALIKRISHNA)
PARTNER

SEAL

INDIAN HISTORY CONGRESS

INCOME AND EXPENDITURE ACCOUNT FOR THE YEAR ENDED 31.3.1991

EXPENDITURE	AMOUNT		INCOME		AMOUNT	
	Rs Ps				Rs Ps	
Establishment expenses	4,500	00	By Membership subscription for			
Stationery & Printing	13,315	10	51st session			1,00,367 00
Conveyance	400	40	By Sale of Guidelines			120 00
Organisational expenses for						
51st Session	25,043	00	By Railway fare refund			294 00
Postage	10,102	00				
Audit Fee	1,500	00	By Grant from ICHR			28,500 00
Telephone charges	2,411	50	By Interest			2,119 05
Bank Charges	1,861	00				
Excess of Income over expenditure	73,267	05				
Total	Rs	1,31,400 05				1,31,400 05

Appendix 5 Report of the Treasurer

SEAL

for RAMAMOORTHY (N) & CO
 CHARTERED ACCOUNTANTS
 Sd/-
 (A N MURALIKRISHNA)
 PARTNER

INDIAN HISTORY CONGRESS

RECEIPTS AND PAYMENTS ACCOUNT FOR THE YEAR ENDED 31.3.1991

RECEIPTS		AMOUNT Rs Ps	PAYMENTS	AMOUNT Rs Ps
Cash on hand		87 40	By Stationery & Printing	13,315 10
Cash at Bank		7,317 50	" Postage	10,102 00
Bank charges		390 00	" Bank Charges	1,251 00
Grant from ICHR		28,500 00	" Salaries (Establishment)	4,500 00
Central office		45,000 00	" Conveyance	400 40
Interest		2,119 05	" Organisational expenses for 51st Session	25,043 00
Membership fee		1,03,547 00	" Telephone expenses	2,411 50
Sale of guidelines		120 00	" Outstanding expenses	
Refund of railway fare		294 00	Others	250 00
			Audit fee	1,500 00
			" Delegate fee refund	1,750 00
			" Central Office	3,180 00
			" Cash on hand	50,000 00
			" Cash at bank	71 65
				75,350 30
				<hr/>
				1,87,374 95

for RAMAMOORTHY (N) & CO
CHARTERED ACCOUNTANTS
Sd/-
(A N MURALIKRISHNA)
PARTNER

**for RAMAMOORTHY (N) & CO
CHARTERED ACCOUNTANTS**

**Sd/-
(A N MURALIKRISHNA)
PARTNER**

SEAL

APPENDIX : 6

COMPREHENSIVE HISTORY OF INDIA (INDIAN HISTORY CONGRESS)

PROGRESS REPORT, 1991

I am happy to report that Volume IV, Part I "The Cholas, Chalukyas and the Rajputs c 965-1205" jointly edited by Professors R S Sharma and K M Shrimali has now been printed. If everything goes well, I hope that a copy of the volume would be in the hands of the members at the time of the Indian History Congress session. Part II of Volume IV is in an advanced state of preparation and is expected to be sent to the press by the middle of 1992.

Satisfactory progress has been made in the preparation of Volume VI "Social Economic and Cultural History of India (1206-1526)" being edited by Professor Qeyamuddin Ahmad, Volume X, Part I "The Foundation of British Dominion in India (1772-1818)" being edited jointly by Professors Barun De and Aniruddha Ray is being re-cast since many of the chapters had been written a long time back and need revision.

Volume V "The Delhi Sultanat AD 1206-1526" which is out of print is being updated and is expected to be printed in 1992. Progress continues to be made in the other volumes on the basis of a phased programme.

The audited statement of accounts for the year 1990-91 is appended.

New Delhi
Dated 3 2 1992

SATISH CHANDRA
Secretary
EDITORIAL BOARD
COMPREHENSIVE HISTORY OF INDIA

VVS CHHABRA & CO, CHARTERED ACCOUNTANTS
NEW DELHI-110 006

Proceedings, IHC 52nd Session, 1991-92

RECEIPTS	AMOUNT	PAYMENTS	AMOUNT
<i>Opening Balance as on 1 4 90</i>		Establishment	77,200 00
Terms Deposit with		Remuneration to	
State Bank of India	1,20,000 00	Contributors	2,200 00
State Bank of India, JNU	7,034 00	Preparation of Volume	3,340 00
State Bank of India,		Auditors fee	750 00
Parliament Street	5,380 99	Travelling Exp	5,656 00
SAIL	50,000 00	Postage, Stationery and	
Bond of REC & ITI	74,256 00	Reprography	
Cash in hand	84 91	Misc Expenses	2,749 85
<i>Royalty Income</i>	2,56,755 90	<i>Closing Balances</i>	1,399 85
Received from People's		State Bank of India, JNU	7,594 84
Publishing House	11,231 24	State Bank of India,	
<i>Interest on Bonds</i>		Parliament Street	3,223 99
		Term Deposit	1,40,000 00
REC	5,600 00	SAIL	50,000 00
SAIL	4,200 00	Bonds of REC & ITI	74,256 00
<i>Interest on FDR</i>		Cash in hand	1,315 61
JNU	7,905 00		
Parliament Street	11,025 00		2,76,390 44
	2,99,686 14		2,99,686 14

AUDITOR'S REPORT

Certified that we have audited the above statement of Receipts & Payment A/c of the Indian History Congress (Comprehensive History of India) for the year ending 31 3 91. It is further certified that the same is correct to the best of our knowledge, information and belief and according to the books and documents, etc produced and explanation give to us

For V S CHHABRA & CO
(CHARTERED ACCOUNTANTS)

Place	Delhi	Sd/- (SATISH CHANDRA) Secretary Editorial Board	Sd/- (V S CHHABRA) Prop
Date	25th Nov 1991		

APPENDIX : 7

INDIAN HISTORY CONGRESS

MINUTES OF THE EXECUTIVE COMMITTEE MEETING (JULY, 1992)

A meeting of the Executive Committee of the Indian History Congress was held in Room No 22, Arts Faculty Main Building, University of Delhi on Wednesday 8 July 1992 at 11 00 a m with the following Agenda

- 1 Condolences
- 2 Confirmation of the Minutes of the Executive Committee meeting held at Delhi on 22 February, 1992
- 3 Matters arising
- 4 Venue for the 53rd Session
- 5 Consideration of action to be taken under Clause 5 (d) of IHC Constitution
"The acceptance of application for initial membership shall be further subject to such conditions as the Executive Committee may prescribe from time to time and which shall come up for review at the next Annual Business Meeting"
- 6 Consideration of the reorganisation of the academic programme during annual sessions of the Congress
- 7 Consideration of proposals for (i)* the composition and functioning of the Executive Committee and (ii) the mobilisation of financial resources
- 8 Reconsideration of the proposal for instituting Professor H L Gupta Award
- 9 Appointment of experts for Barpujari Awards, 1991 & 1993

- 10 Consideration of requests for regularisation of membership remissions for the 52nd session (1991)
- 11 Any other matter with the permission of the Chair

MEMBERS PRESENT

- 1 Professor A R Kulkarni (Chairman)
- 2 Professor Hira Lal Gupta (Vice-President)
- 3 Professor Satish Chandra (Vice-President)
- 4 Professor K M Shrimali (Secretary)
- 5 Dr Kesavan Veluthat (Jt Secretary)
- 6 Dr Vijay Kumar Thakur (Jt Secretary)
- 7 Dr Raghavendra Vajpeyi (Treasurer)
- 8 Professor J B Bhattacharjee (Member)
- 9 Professor Lal Bahadur Verma (Member)
- 10 Professor V Ramakrishna (Member)
- 11 Professor Rajan Gurukkal (Member)
- 12 Professor Irfan Habib (Member),
- 13 Professor O P Jaiswal (Member)
- 14 Professor Kapil Kumar (Member)
- 15 Professor C J Nirmal (Member)
- 16 Professor Sushila Pant (Member)
- 17 Professor C P N Sinha (Member)
- 18 Dr K L Tuteja (Member)
- 19 Dr Ramakrishna Chatterjee (Member)

Apologies were received from Professor Indu Banga, Professor R Champakalakshmi, Dr Bhaskar Chakraborty and Dr Sebastian Joseph

Item 1

The meeting began with the following resolution moved by the Chair

"This meeting of the Executive Committee of the Indian History Congress learnt with shock the sad and sudden demise of Professor K D Bajpai, former

President (Section I Ancient India, 33rd Session, 1972), Professor K K Sinha, former President (Section V Historical Archaeology, Epigraphy and Numismatics, 46th session, 1985), and renowned historian Gunther D Sontheimer The Congress pays homage to their hallowed memory and shares the grief of the bereaved"

Item 2

The minutes of the meeting of the Executive Committee held at the Gandhi Peace Foundation, New Delhi, on Saturday, 22nd February 1992 during the 52nd Session (1991-92) were circulated and confirmed (Cf App 2 in this volume)

Item 3

The Secretary reported that the Bank Resolution passed by the previous E C (vide item 15-C of the Minutes) was found by the concerned bank to be insufficient and therefore S B Account No 1676 was being operated by him singly

Item 4

It was reported by the Secretary that after a prolonged correspondence with the authorities of Universities at Mysore, Santiniketan, Dibrugarh and Warangal, a formal invitation has been received from the Vice-Chancellor of the Kakatiya University, Warangal The Committee gratefully accepted the invitation of the Vice-Chancellor It was decided to help the hosts in mobilising financial resources through appeals to governmental and non-governmental agencies and by raising the delegates' fee

Item 5

The Committee passed the following Resolution

"An application for initial membership (Annual/Life) shall be accepted if the applicant holds at least a post-graduate degree in History or is undertaking research leading to M Phil/Ph D degrees in an allied field

OR

"has published a book or an academic paper on a historical theme (full references to be provided)

"Provided that the Secretary is authorised to reject an application if none of the above criteria is met, and an appeal for review of his decision may be made by the applicant to the Executive Committee, which may consider it either at its next meeting or by correspondence "

"Further resolved that an application for initial membership shall have to conform to the following procedure

- "(i) Application for the initial membership shall be made on a form prescribed by the Executive Committee and to be supplied free by the Secretary
- "(ii) Each application form must be accompanied with
 - (a) Self-attested copies of document/s in support of the eligibility conditions, which are to be spelt out on the Form, and
 - (b) two self-attested photographs (passport-size) of the applicant, one of which is to be pasted on the form
- "(iii) The name of each applicant is to be proposed and seconded by existing members. Only such members of the Association as are eligible for holding office and participating in the Business Meeting of the Association under Clause 5 (b) of the Constitution can propose or second. However, this will not apply to the Representatives nominated by the Governments, Universities and other Institutions recognised by the Congress
- "(iv) The application for initial membership must reach the Secretary's office at least two months before the scheduled date of the annual session [as per Clause 5 (c)]
- "(v) Incomplete application shall be rejected by the Secretary "

Item 6

The members discussed further ways for the improvement of the academic programme during the annual sessions. It was decided that the following steps may be taken

- (a) No paper/summary should be accepted after 1st December
- (b) Scrutiny of papers/summaries must be undertaken before they are allowed to be presented
- (c) All papers must follow the IHC style-guide
- (d) The General President and Sectional Presidents may kindly be requested to keep their Addresses within reasonable limits
- (e) Addresses of Sectional Presidents should be presented in respective sections
- (f) Sectional Presidents be requested to prepare a short resume of the discussions on papers which would form part of the *Proceedings*
- (g) Manuscripts of symposia papers must be received and these could be priced publications, preferably available at the time of the presentation
- (h) Fifteen offprints of each paper published in the *Proceedings* should be given free to the concerned author

- (i) "Archives" should be included as part of the existing Section V (Historical Archaeology, Epigraphy and Numismatics)
- (j) The network for the sale and the distribution of the *Proceedings* should be widened

In addition to these, the Secretary was authorised to explore the feasibility of symposium/Section on historical methods / historiography

Item 7 (i)

It was decided to make the functioning of the Executive Committee more effective through (a) regular correspondence, (b) a greater coordination with History Congress/Associations functioning at regional levels and (c) by enlisting greater involvement of members at local levels

Item 7 (ii)

The Treasurer reported that the prospects of shifting the present premises of the Permanent Office would entail considerable financial outlay for both personnel and space. The Committee was also apprised of the rising costs of almost every approved head of expenditure - specially the publication of the Annual Proceedings. The Committee unanimously approved the following

- [illegible]

There will not be any change in the discount being given to bonafide members of the IHC, Libraries and Institutions

- (c) **Membership Fee**

Annual Member	Rs 100/- p a
Life Member	Rs 1000/-
Institutional Member	Rs 500/- p a (No reduced charges for four Years)

An amendment to this effect is to be moved before the next E C under clause 22(c)

- (d) Keeping in view the great difficulty in mobilising resources for hosting annual sessions, the Secretary was authorised to fix the delegate fee up to 75% of the overall cost per delegate

Item 8

The proposal (Annexure A) was circulated and the Committee gratefully accepted the generous offer. The Secretary was authorised to work out the modalities of the Award keeping in view the pattern of the Barpujari Biennial Award.

Item 9

The Secretary reported that Professor Amalendu Guha (one of the three experts for the 1991 Award) had been out of country and therefore the Committee could not meet. It was decided to contact him again, failing which Professor Amiya Bagchi is to be requested.

The expert Committee for the 1993 Award would consist of

1 Professor D N Jha

OR

Professor B N S Yadava

2 Professor Qeyamuddin Ahmad

OR

Professor Y Subbarayalu

3 Professor Kumar Suresh Singh

OR

Professor Sabyasachi Bhattacharya

Item 10

The Secretary reported that a suit has been filed in the Court of Guwahati challenging the cancellation of membership at the time of the 52nd session. Similarly, legal notices were received from many other members which sought reconsideration of the earlier decision. The following decisions were taken:

- (a) Applications rejected under Clause 24(a) are not to be accepted
- (b) If any such member satisfies the Secretary that he/she had been the member of the IHC prior to 1991, he/she shall be enrolled on payment of full fee
- (c) Membership fee refunded on account of the cancellation, may be put under suspense fund if it was not encashed by the concerned person

Item 11

- (a) The Secretary reported the steps being taken to computerise members' Record

- (b) The Committee's attention was drawn to the controversies over the use of historical structures such as at Bodh Gaya and Ayodhya which can ignite communal passions. The Committee called upon historians to continue to defend the secular and national approach to such questions.
- (c) The Committee deprecated the tendency to call for administrative action over differences of opinion, as has been unfortunately witnessed at Khuda Bakhsh Library (Patna).

The meeting closed with a Vote of Thanks to the Chair

Sd/-
A R Kulkarni
President

Sd/-
K M Shrimali
Secretary

ANNEXURE 'A'

Date 9 6 92

True copy of the resolution No 4 passed by Shri Ram Charan Ram Nath Education Society, Fatehpur, at its last annual meeting held on 26th January, 1992

"Resolved that out of the amount of money pledged by Prof Hira Lal Gupta as an endowment fund for establishing a Girls' Degree College at Fatehpur a biennial award of Rs 10,000/- to a lady scholar for her outstanding published research work in book form in history be instituted and named as Prof Hira Lal Gupta Research Award The award be made in accordance with the rules to be framed for the purpose A fund of Rs 50,000/- be created and transferred to the Indian History Congress organisation for operating the award out of its interest This amount shall be subject to annual audit and shall not be used for any other purpose

The proposed award will be subject to acceptance by the concerned organisation "

Sd/-
Prof Hira Lal Gupta
President of the Society

APPENDIX : 8

INDIAN HISTORY CONGRESS ASSOCIATION CONSTITUTION

[AS LAST AMENDED AT THE 52ND SESSION (1991-92), DELHI]

NAME AND OBJECTS

- 1 The name of the Association shall be the Indian History Congress Association
- 2 The objects of the Association shall be
 - (a) Promotion and encouragement of the scientific study of Indian History,
 - (b) Holding of Congresses and publishing of the Proceedings, Bulletins, Memoirs, Journals and other works,
 - (c) Co-operation with other organisations in India and abroad holding similar objects,
 - (d) Encouragement to the formation of State organisation affiliated to the central body,
 - (e) The securing, management and disposal of funds, property and endowments for the purposes stated above,
 - (f) Performance of all other acts conducive to the fulfilment of the objects of the Association

MEMBERSHIP

- 3 The membership of the Association shall be open to all persons, interested in the study of history, who accept the objects of the Association and are not below 21 years of age

- 4 (a) Membership shall be of two kind

Ordinary Members and Life Members

Ordinary members who apply under clause 24 shall pay an Admission Fee of Rs 5/- at the time of enrolment as a member, and an annual fee of Rs 60/- If however, there is a break in the continuity of membership, the Admission Fee will have to be paid again Members paying Rs 600/- shall become Life members of the Association

- (b) Academic Institutions and learned bodies may be recognised by the Executive Committee as Institutional Member on payment of an annual subscription of Rs 300/- Every Institutional Member shall be entitled to send one representative to the Annual Session of the Congress and such representative shall enjoy the privileges of an Ordinary Member

- 5(a) Ordinary members and Life Members shall be entitled to submit papers, take part in the discussion and be eligible for various offices of the Association Every member shall be entitled to receive free of charge a copy of the Abstract of Papers and Proceedings of the Congress provided that the Proceedings Volume may be made available to members free of charge only at the next following session Members who do not collect the copies in person at the Session may have to pay postal charges only

- 5(b) Only such members of the Association as have been members for three years including the year in which the election is being held and have paid up their membership fees on or before 1st December will be eligible for holding office and participating in the Business Meeting of the Association

- 5(c) Membership shall be for the calendar year and annual subscription should be paid within that year Initial membership should be remitted at least two months before the scheduled date of the annual session

- 5(d) The acceptance of application for initial membership shall be further subject to such conditions as the Executive Committee may prescribe from time to time, and which shall come up for review at the next Annual Business meeting

- 6 Persons contributing Rs 10,000/- and more shall be deemed as Patrons of the Association and shall be entitled to all the rights and privileges of membership

MEETINGS

- 7 The Meetings of the Association will be of two kinds

- (a) Academic Conferences, and Congress

- (b) Business Meetings of the Association

- (A) The Congress will be the academic gathering of the Association and will be divided into such Sections as may be determined by the Executive Committee from time to time, including the following

- I Ancient Indian History up to 1200 A D for Northern India and 1300 A D for Southern India
 - II Medieval Indian history up to 1707 A D
 - III Modern Indian History from 1707 A D
 - IV History of Countries other than India
 - V Historical Archaeology, Epigraphy and Numismatics
- (B) The following business shall be transacted at the Business Meeting of the Association
- (a) Consideration of the Report, budget, Business Rules, etc
 - (b) Election of members to serve on the Executive Committee
 - (c) Adoption of Resolutions on matters of general policy Resolutions may be submitted by members to the Secretary for consideration by the Business Meeting Such resolutions will be discussed by the Executive Committee and if it so approves may submit them to the Business Meeting for its consideration
- 8 The quorum for the Business Meeting of the Association shall be 20

THE EXECUTIVE COMMITTEE

- 9 There shall be an Executive Committee to manage the affairs of the Association consisting of the following office-bearers
- (a) a President,
 - (b) two Vice-Presidents
 - (c) a Secretary,
 - (d) two Joint Secretaries
 - (f) sixteen other members
- No member shall hold the same office or remain a Member of the Executive Committee for more than three consecutive Sessions
- 10 The Executive Committee shall have the following duties
- (a) consideration of the Report prepared by the Secretary and laying it before the Business Meeting of the Association,
 - (b) consideration of the Budget prepared by the Treasurer, in consultation with the Secretary, and laying it before the Business Meeting of the Association,

Appendix 8 IHC Constitution

- (c) framing the rules of business and placing them before the Business Meeting of the Association for confirmation,
 - (d) management and control of all funds raised for and in the name of the Association,
 - (e) sanctioning of expenditure,
 - (f) considering Resolutions proposed for the Business Meeting,
 - (g) giving effect to the Resolutions of the Association,
 - (h) the taking of all measures relating to the realisation of the objects of the Association, and
 - (i) appointment of an Auditor or Auditing the account of the Association
- 11 The quorum for a meeting of the Executive Committee shall be seven. Decisions at meetings shall be by majority of those members, with the President (or in his absence the Chairman of the Meeting) having the casting vote in addition to his own vote. During the interval between the two sessions of the Congress, the Executive Committee may transact all kinds of business through circulation of papers and decisions may be taken by 3/5 majority of votes

ELECTION OF OFFICE-BEARERS AND MEMBERS OF THE EXECUTIVE COMMITTEE

- 12 (i) The Office-bearers 9 (b) to 9 (e) and the Sectional Presidents shall be elected at the meetings of the Executive Committee held at the Session of the Congress. They will hold office from the date of election till the election of new office-bearers. But they will be eligible for re-election. Their names shall be reported to the Association.
- (ii) Sixteen other members of the Executive Committee under 9 (f) shall be elected by the Association at its business meeting.
- (iii) All elections shall be by ballot.
- 13 In case any elected Office-bearer or Member of the Executive Committee dies or resigns or is otherwise unable to perform his duties, his post shall be filled up by the Executive Committee and the incumbent shall function till the next general election.

PRESIDENT

- 14 (i) The President for the next session shall be elected at the Annual Meeting of the Executive Committee. He will hold office from the date he presides over the Session till the next President takes over charge.

- (ii) The President shall preside over the meetings of the Association and of the Executive Committee and regulate their proceedings. He shall normally be the Convenor of the Executive Committee. He shall supervise the work of the Secretary and the Treasurer and be responsible for the observance of all Rules, Regulations and Bye-laws and the proper carrying out of the Resolutions of the Executive Committee and the Association. He shall have a vote and, in cases of equality of votes, a casting vote.

VICE-PRESIDENT

- 15 One of the Vice-Presidents shall be nominated by the President or the Executive Committee to act for the President, whenever necessary, and shall perform such other functions as are assigned to him by the President.

SECTIONAL PRESIDENT

- 16 The Sectional President shall preside over the Section of the Congress assigned to him. He shall scrutinise the papers of his Section and decide whether a paper is to be read in extenso or in summary or is to be rejected.

SECRETARY

- 17 The duties of the Secretary shall be
 - (a) to conduct all correspondence of the Association,
 - (b) to make arrangements for the Meeting of the Annual Congress in collaboration with the Local Secretary,
 - (c) to frame the agenda of the Meetings of the Association and the Executive Committee, and to issue notices for the meetings thereof,
 - (d) to keep the Minutes of the Association and the Executive Committee,
 - (e) to conduct all Elections,
 - (f) to keep charge of the office and records of the Association,
 - (g) to keep the register of the members up to date.

JOINT-SECRETARIES

- 18 Joint Secretaries shall assist the Secretary in the performance of his duties and in lieu of him when he is unable to function.

LOCAL SECRETARY

- 19 The Local Secretary and the Reception Committee, if any, shall be nominated by the Institution inviting the next Session of the Congress.

- 20 The Local Secretary shall, in consultation with the Secretary, make all necessary arrangements for the Session of the Congress and for the accommodation of Members attending the Session, the programme of Meetings and other connected functions

TREASURER

- 21 The Treasurer shall be the financial officer of the Association and shall keep charge of all accounts of the income and expenditure of the Association. He shall operate all Bank accounts standing in the name of the Association. He shall prepare the Annual Budget in collaboration with the Secretary and place the accounts and the Budget before the Executive Committee. The Budget shall be circulated among the Members at least two weeks before the Business Meeting.

AMENDMENTS OF RULES

- 22 The Rules of the Association may be amended in the following manner
- (a) Proposals for addition to or alteration in the Constitution shall be addressed to the Secretary two months before the meeting of the next Congress,
 - (b) such amendments shall be circulated among the Members of the Executive Committee by the Secretary at least one month before the Session of the Congress,
 - (c) The Executive Committee shall consider the amendments and make such recommendations to the Association as it may deem desirable and shall place them at the Business Meeting of the Association for final decision, provided that conditions (a) and (b) would not apply when an amendment is considered relating to the amount of fees and subscription specified in Clause 4.

PAPERS FOR THE CONGRESS

- 23 All papers intended for reading at a Session of the Congress shall embody either some original piece of research or a new interpretation of facts. The papers along with their summaries should reach the Secretary at least two months before the date of the Session. No paper should ordinarily exceed 10 typed foolscap pages. The summary, outlining the main points of paper should not exceed 350 words.

ENROLMENT OF MEMBERS

- 24 (a) Applications for membership of the Association shall be made on the form prescribed by the Executive Committee and be made to the Secretary and shall be accompanied by the prescribed fee. Each name

shall be duly proposed and seconded by such members of the Congress as are eligible to hold office and participate in the Business Meeting under Clause 5 (b)

- (b) Clause (a) will not apply to the Representative nominated by the Governments, Universities and other Institutions recognised by the Congress, if they pay the prescribed fee for Membership

PUBLICATION OF THE TRANSACTIONS

- 25 The Executive Committee will make necessary arrangements for the publication of the Proceedings and Transactions of the Congress

For this purpose an Editor or editorial committee will be appointed every year by the Executive Committee which shall edit the papers accepted by the various sectional presidents and accept these in full or in a summary form for publication

- 26 The Executive Committee may (a) affiliate the Association with International Organisations, and (b) establish relations with organisations outside India holding similar objectives and/or enrol them as corresponding societies

APPENDIX : 9

GUIDELINES FOR PAPERS*

It is felt necessary at this stage to standardize the format of papers at the Indian History Congress. Though there are some good books and several helpful pamphlets to inform the beginner, a simplified set of guidelines, adapted to existing Indian conditions and practices, has been prepared for the sake of uniformity and convenience.

These deal with the quality of the content, the arrangement of thought and the manner of expression and typing, in capsule form, recommending procedures which can be followed easily without technical assistance. It is our intention to enable fresh hands to gain a clear idea of the rules and conventions adopted by the Congress in regard to research papers, and to minimise the burden of the Secretary and Sectional Presidents in editing the Proceedings Volumes.

I

INTRODUCTION *

- 1.1 The research paper presented at the Indian History Congress is expected to be a brief report of research undertaken by the author/authors in relation to a specific theme or problem in history in the light of primary sources. Whether the sources are already known or brought to light by the author for the first time, their authenticity must be confirmed by criticism. The quality of the paper depends on the originality of the materials and/or approach and the significance of the findings. Merely descriptive accounts of monuments, relics, art objects, literary scientific works, events or personalities will not qualify for acceptance, unless they are endowed with meaning by relating them to the historical context.

* The idea of these Guidelines was first conceived and worked out by Professor M. G. S. Narayanan, Secretary, IHC (1983-5). However, the need of amplifying them has been strongly felt on account of actual problems being faced by editors of *PHIC*. This revised version, therefore, supersedes the earlier one printed in the *Proceedings* of the 44th and 45th Sessions held at Burdwan and Annamalai Nagar respectively and shall come into force w.e.f. 1993.

II

TITLE PAGE

- 2 1 The title of the paper shall give a clear indication of the subject, region and period about which investigations are made. It is to be displayed on the title page, typed in capital letters in the centre, ten spaces below the first line. For the sake of uniformity it is required that all papers are typed on good white foolscap paper of standard size.
- 2 2 On the top left of the page will be typed, one below the other
- Name of the Congress
 - Number of the Session and Venue
 - Dates, Month and Year
 - Number and Name of the Section
 - Name of the Sub-section, if any
- 2 3 On the top right of the page will be typed, one below the other
- Name of the Author
 - Designation
 - Department, University or Institute (with PIN CODE and State)
 - Permanent Code Number
 - Residential Address (with PIN CODE and State)
- 2 4 The brief synopsis (**not exceeding 350 words**) indicating the following shall be provided in the second half of the same page in single space: (a) the nature of the problem, (b) earlier work on the subject, (c) types of source materials, (d) method and procedure adopted and (e) findings and their importance.

III

BODY OF THE TEXT

- 3 1 The title will be repeated in capital letters in top centre of the first page, and underlined. The author's name will appear below the title in small letters. There shall be a margin of one and a half inches on the left hand side and one inch on the top and bottom of the page. The page number shall be given in Indian numerals at the top centre of each page. *In view of the problems and expenses of printing diacritical signs, their use is not advocated.* Authors are therefore requested to use the nearest phonetic rendering except in the case of names in common use, e.g. श and च may be rendered as sh, च as cha and छ as chha.
- 3 2 The different sections or parts of the paper shall be numbered in Roman numerals, with the sectional headings to be typed in capital letters, and underlined, on the left hand side. Paragraphs will be separated by three spaces and numbered in Indian numerals with double numbers—one for the section and one for the paragraph—with a full stop between them as has been done in these guidelines. This is meant for the convenience of citation. *Extracts and quotations running into three lines or more shall be indented in typing and separated from the body by three spaces on both sides.* The text of the paper shall be typed in double space.

- 3.3 It is desirable that the body of the paper contains the expansion and clarification of the items mentioned in the synopsis in logical sequence. No rigid formula can, however, be prescribed. The function of the paper in presenting new data or in synthesising and re-interpreting known data must be spelt out, and the relevance of the findings in the general context of history can be stated, preferably in the introductory or concluding passage.
- 3.4 The language must be clear and precise. All ambiguity, sentimentalism and extravagance must be excluded.

IV

NOTES AND REFERENCES

- 4.1 Notes, Appendices, Diagrams, Photos, Tables, etc., if any, shall be placed between the text and the references, each separate item beginning with a fresh page and a centralised caption, typed in capital letters on top of the page. The references, usually placed in footnotes at the bottom of the page, are to be placed at the very end and given the same treatment as mentioned above. *The numbering of footnotes must have running sequence and not page-wise. There shall be no full stop after a footnote number.* All these are to be typed in single space and with a caption **NOTES AND REFERENCES**.

- 4.2 There shall be the following pattern for the references.

BOOKS Name of Author (initials first, surname later), Name of work (to be underlined or italicised), Edition, Volume, Place and Year of publication, Chapter and page, e.g.

P V Kane, *History of Dharmashastra*, 2nd ed., II, 2, Bhandarkar Oriental Research Institute, Poona, 1974 p. 210

ARTICLES

a) In Journals

Name of Author (initials first, surname later), Title of Article within single inverted commas (with first letters of *all* principal words in capitals), Name of the Journal (to be underlined or italicised), Volume, Number if any, Month and/or Year, page, e.g.

Ravinder Kumar, 'Jawaharlal Nehru, the Indian National Congress and the anti-Fascist Struggle (1939-45)', *The Indian Historical Review (IHR)*, XI, 1-2, July 1984 - January 1985, pp. 97-110

(b) In Edited Volumes

Name of Author (initials first, surname later), Title of Article (as in the case of reference from journals), Name/s of editor/s, Title of the Work (to be underlined or italicised), edition, Volume and Number if any, Publisher, Place and Year of publication and page/s e.g.

B D Chattopadhyaya, 'Early Memorial Stones of Rajasthan: A Preliminary Analysis of their Inscriptions,' in S Settar and Gunther D Sontheimer, eds.,

Memorial Stones A Study of their Origin, Significance and Variety, IIAH, Karnataka University, Dharwad and South Asian Institute, University of Heidelberg, Germany, 1982, pp 139-49

- 4 3 Citations from English manuscript/archival records should include (a) library and shelf reference (followed by a comma), (b) title of manuscript (followed by a comma), (c) number of manuscript (followed by a comma), (d) Volume, if necessary (followed by a comma), and (e) page number or folio number, e g

(a) India Office Library (may be abbreviated after giving full indication in the first usage), Lytton papers, MSS Eur E 218, Vol 518/2, p 124 f

(b) Br Mus, Gladstone Papers, Add MSS 54228, fos 120-2

- 4 4 Abbreviated forms may be used for Journals, Books, etc after the first notice in which full details are to be provided. The first letters may be used in capitals for Journals and Proceedings, while the key words of the title may be used for books and compilations of a non-periodical nature. In special cases the status of publication may be indicated by putting within brackets words like 'Unpublished', 'Correspondence', 'Oral Communications', 'Interview', etc with dates and particulars, if necessary. The references may also carry short explanatory comments and suggestions about lines of investigations to be followed in future.

A list of some select abbreviations has been included in the *Proceedings* of the 52nd Session, 1991-92. The use of periods at the end of the capital letters should be avoided, e g

IHR and not *I H R* for *The Indian Historical Review* and *SB* and not *S B* for *Shatapatha Brahmana*. However, periods after small letters may be retained, e g

Sat Br for *Shatapatha Brahmana*

4 5 A few other details

(a) The forms should be *ibid*, *Op cit*

(b) Dates should be written in the form 15 August, 1947 AD (without periods) must precede & BC (also without periods) must follow the date

(c) In writing dates, numbers and pages, figures should be used as follows 1885-1947, 1947-72, 1972-3, 1-15, 16-7, 23-30, 114-9, 317-50

- 4 6 The paper shall be typed on one side of the sheet only, and shall not exceed ten pages excluding the title page and the notes and references. Three copies of the full text duly signed with date, are to be submitted to the Secretary in advance as per the notification in his/her first circular.

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SECRETARY

APPENDIX : 10

LIST OF MEMBERS

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Appendix 10 (A) List of Life Members

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(B) INSTITUTIONAL

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A.P STATE ARCHIVES

Tarnaka, Hyderabad, Andhra Pradesh

IM-09008

The Director

BIHAR STATE ARCHIVES

Patna

IM-09012

CAMBRIDGE UNIVERSITY PRESS

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New Delhi 110067

IM-09013

The Director

CENTRE FOR HUMAN SCIENCES

Cultural Section of the French Embassy
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Appendix 10 (B) List of Institutional Members

IM-09014

The Registrar
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10, Lake Terrace, Calcutta,
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IM-09016

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IM-09022

The Registrar
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Pune, Maharashtra 411004

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IM-09028

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IM-09053

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IM-09054

P G CENTRE SAHARSA
Bihar
852201

IM-09055

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Tamil Nadu

IM-09058

Principal
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Muzaffarpur,
Bihar

IM-09063

The Secretary
SRI NATNAGAR SHODH SAMSTHAN,
Sitamau Malwa,
Madhya Pradesh 458990

IM-09068

The Secretary
SUNDARAYYA VIGNANA KENDRA
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IM-09069

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(C) ORDINARY MEMBERS*

S NO.	NAME	PLACE	CODE
1	ABBU K	MADRAS	10002
2	ACHARYA, AJAY KUMAR	UJJAIN	10011
3	ADHYA, G L	DELHI	10021
4	AGNIHOTRI, INDU	DELHI	10030
5	AGRAWAL, ALKA	ITANAGAR	10035
6	AGRAWAL, ANITA	DELHI	10036
7	AGRAWAL, C M	ALMORA	10040
8	AGRAWAL, DEVENDRA SWARUP	DELHI	10041
9	AGRAWAL, J	DELHI	10042
10	AGRAWAL, MADHU	DELHI	10046
11	AGRAWAL, R D	DELHI	10050
12	AGRAWAL, SUNIL	DELHI	10054
13	AHIRWAN, R K	JABALPUR	10059
14	AHLAWADI, NEERU	DELHI	10060
15	AHLUWALIA, M S	SHIMLA	10062
16	AHMAD, ALTAF HKM	DELHI	10068
17	AHMAD, NISAR	VARANASI	10086
18	AHMAD, ROOHI ABIDA	ALIGARH	10089
19	AHMAD, SHABBIR	ALIGARH	10092
20	AHMAD, SYED MOHAMMAD	ALIGARH	10094
21	AHMAD, TARIQ	ALIGARH	10095
22	AHMAD, TASNEEM	DELHI	10069
23	AJAY	MADRAS	10101
24	AKHTAR, JAVED	ALIGARH	10106
25	AKKIDAS, JOHN	HYDERABAD	10112
26	ALAM, ISHRAT	ALIGARH	10116
27	ALAM, MUZAFFAR	DELHI	10120
28	ALI, AFROZA	UJJAIN	10130
29	ALI, ATHAR	ALIGARH	10132
30	ALI, AUSAF S	DELHI	10133
31	ALI, M ATHAR	ALIGARH	10139
32	ALI, MUMTAZ	DELHI	10140
33	ALI, RAHMAN	UJJAIN	10142
34	ALI, WAJIHA	UJJAIN	10147
35	ALI, Y	KOTA	10148
36	ALVI, M A	ALIGARH	10155
37	ALVI, SEEMA	DELHI	10158

* All numbers under the Code column are preceded by AM

Appendix 10 (C) List of Ordinary Members

S NO	NAME	PLACE	CODE
38	AMIN, NURUSSABA M	BOMBAY	10173
39	ANAND, SNEHLATA	DELHI	10182
40	ANANDHI, S	MADRAS	10187
41	ANEJA, H L	DELHI	10194
42	ANSARI, RAZAULLAH	DELHI	10209
43	ANTHONY, CH	HYDERABAD	10212
44	ANWAR, FIRDAUS	DELHI	10219
45	ANWAR, SERAJ	ALIGARH	10221
46	APTE, B K SUDHAKAR	SATARA	10225
47	APTE, VALLABH DIGAMBAR	SATARA	10228
48	ARADHYA, T B G	BANGALORE	10231
49	ARIF, MOHAMMAD	VARANASI	10235
50	ARORA, ASHOK KUMAR	BOMBAY	10238
51	ARORA, SHASHI	JAIPUR	10245
52	ARUNA, P	HYDERABAD	10249
53	ARUNDHATI, P	HYDERABAD	10295
54	ARUNDHATI, P	DELHI	11218
55	ARYA, ANITA NAHAL	DELHI	10252
56	ARYA, S N	PATNA	10255
57	ARYA, SANTOSH KUMAR	SAHIBGANJ	10256
58	ASHOKAN, K	CALICUT	10260
59	AZIZ, V M ABDUL	CALICUT	10289
60	BABU, N JOHN	VISHAKHAPATNAM	10301
61	BABU, P K SURESH	P O ANNAMMANADA	10303
62	BAGHEL, VIKRAM SINGH	SHAHNOL	10316
63	BAHUGUNA, R P	DELHI	10324
64	BAJAJ, JYOTI	VADODARA	10333
65	BAJWA, K S	AMRITSAR	10336
66	BALA, SHAIL	DELHI	10348
67	BALAKRISHNAN, AMMU	CALICUT	10354
68	BALAKRISHNAN, P K	PALAKKAD	10361
69	BALRAWAT, R H	AURANGABAD	10378
70	BANDYOPADHYAY, NIRMAL KUMAR	CALICUT	10390
71	BANDYOPADHYAY, SHEKHAR	CALCUTTA	10394
72	BANDYOPADHYAY, SUKHAMAY	CALCUTTA	10396
73	BANERJI, S N	BOMBAY	10417
74	BANERJI, SUMAN	CALCUTTA	10420
75	BANERJI, SUNIL KUMAR	CALCUTTA	10421
76	BANERJI, SUSANT	CALCUTTA	10423
77	BANGA, INDU	CHANDIGARH	10428
78	BANGUL, N K	AURANGABAD	10430

S.NO.	NAME	PLACE	CODE
79	BANIK, N L DUTTA	CALCUTTA	10432
80	BANSAL, SATISH	SHIMLA	10437
81	BARGOTI, RAJIV	ALIGARH	10448
82	BARI, ABDUL HKM	DELHI	10449
83	BARIK, RADHAKANTA	DELHI	10453
84	BARROS, JOSEPH DE	PANAJI	10459
85	BARUA, BHARATI	GUWAHATI	10461
86	BARUA, K P	DIBRUGARH	10463
87	BASHEER, AFAQ	ALIGARH	10471
88	BASRA, AMRIT KAUR	DELHI	10476
89	BASU, GOURI	CALCUTTA	10481
90	BASU, SANTOSH	BIRBHUM	10488
91	BASU, SWARAJ	DELHI	10490
92	BAWA, SEEMA	DELHI	10497
93	BEHAL, RANA PRATAP	DELHI	10507
94	BERA, BINARANI	MIDNAPUR	10515
95	BERA, HAREKRISHNA	MIDNAPUR	10516
96	BERA, MALABIKA	MIDNAPUR	10518
97	BERA, RAMANUJ	MIDNAPUR	10519
98	BERA, SOMNATH	MIDNAPUR	10520
99	BEZBARUAH, RANJU	GUWAHATI	10525
100	BHADANI, B L	ALIGARH	10526
101	BHADURI, CHIRA KISOR	HOWARAH	10532
102	BHAGOWALIA, URMILA	DELHI	10536
103	BHALLA, MADHU	DELHI	10549
104	BHALLA, VIBHA	DELHI	10550
105	BHAN, SURAJ	KURUKSHETRA	10552
106	BANDHU, VISHWA	MATHURA	10382
107	BHARADWAJ, DIVYA	UJJAIN	10562
108	BHARADWAJ, SURAJ BHAN	DELHI	10571
109	BHARADWAJ, VINAY	ALIGARH	10572
110	BHARATHI, K	MADRAS	10575
111	BHARGAVA, MEENA	DELHI	10579
112	BHARGAVA, MOTI LAL	DELHI	10580
113	BHASIN, VIOLA	DELHI	10583
114	BHATIA, M L	DELHI	10589
115	BHATIA, PATANJALI KUMAR	DELHI	10594
116	BHATIA, SHYAMALA	DELHI	10596
117	BHATTACHARJI, APARANA	PATNA	10620
118	BHATTACHARJI, MANJULIKA	KARIMGANG	10621
119	BHATTACHARJI, DEBJANI	24 PARGANAS (N)	10628

Appendix 10 (C) List of Ordinary Members

S NO	NAME	PLACE	CODE
120	BHATTACHARJI, DIPA	BURDWAN	10640
121	BHATTACHARJI, DURGA PRASAD	CALCUTTA	10641
122	BHATTACHARJI, MANJULA	CHINSORA	10646
123	BHATTACHARJI, N N	CHINSURAH	10649
124	BHATTACHARYA, SUNANDA	JODHPUR	10669
125	BHIDE, G L	SOLAPUR	10683
126	BHOSLE, ARUNKUMAR RAMRAO	KOLHAPUR	10691
127	BHYRAPPA, M S	SHIMOGA	10699
128	BILGRAMI, FATIMA ZEHRA	ALIGARH	10701
129	BILOCHAN, NALIN	VAISHALI	10704
130	BISWAS, ASHOK KUMAR	KATIHAR	10716
131	BISWAS, DILIP	BURDWAN	10721
132	BOJAPPAN, C	MADRAS	10730
133	BORCHETIA, BIJULI	KAMARGAON	10738
134	BORTHAKUR, ACHYUT KUMAR	TINSUKIA	10743
135	BOSE, KEKA	CALCUTTA	10747
136	BUDHWAR, SUNITA	DELHI	10772
137	CHAKRAVARTI, AMIT	HOOGHLY	10789
138	CHAKRAVARTI, ASHOKA	KANPUR	10794
139	CHAKRAVARTI, BHASKAR	CALCUTTA	10797
140	CHAKRAVARTI, KUNAL	DELHI	10811
141	CHAKRAVARTI, P N	CALCUTTA	10814
142	CHAKRAVARTI, RANABIR	CALCUTTA	10818
143	CHAMPAKALAKSHMI, R	DELHI	10832
144	CHAND, HEM	SHIMLA	10835
145	CHANDORKAR, ARTI	INDORE	10850
146	CHANDRA, BIPAN	DELHI	10852
147	CHANDRA, RAMESH	BOKARO	10858
148	CHANDRA, SANJEEV	DELHI	10860
149	CHANDRAPRABHA, C K	CANNANORE	10870
150	CHANDRASHEKHARAN, P	RAJAPALAYAM	10873
151	CHANDRI, C K	TELLICHERRY	10876
152	CHATERJI, ANJALI	NOIDA	10884
153	CHATERJI, CHHANDA	CALCUTTA	10892
154	CHATERJI, PRANAB KUMAR	CALCUTTA	10899
155	CHATERJI, RAMKRISHNA	CALCUTTA	10901
156	CHATTOPADHYAY, B D	DELHI	10908
157	CHATTOPADHYAY, GAUTAM	CALCUTTA	10911
158	CHATTOPADHYAY, KUNAL	CALCUTTA	10912
159	CHATTOPADHYAY, MANJU	CALCUTTA	10914
160	CHATURVEDI, U L	AMRITSAR	10931

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162	CHAUDHARI, B N	WARDHA	10943
163	CHAUDHARI, CHANDRAKANT MOTIRAM	AKOLA	10947
164	CHAUDHARI, JYOTSNA	DELHI	10953
165	CHAUDHARI, PRABHAT CHANDRA	DELHI	10961
166	CHAUDHARI, R B	MUZAFFARPUR	10964
167	CHAUDHARI, S K	KATI HAR	10973
168	CHAUDHARI, SANGITA	24 PARGANAS	10976
169	CHAUDHARI, SUJIT	KARIMGANJ	10982
170	CHAUDHARI, SUSHIL	CALCUTTA	10983
171	CHAUDHARI, VANDANA	DELHI	10988
172	CHAUDHARI, VIJAY CHANDRA PRASAD	PATNA	10990
173	CHAUHAN, A J	AGRA	10994
174	CHAUHAN, ANIL	DELHI	10996
175	CHAUHAN, RAJESH	SHIMLA	11016
176	CHAUHAN, SURESH	SHIMLA	11023
177	CHAURASIA, RADHESHYAM	DELHI	11026
178	CHAWALA, SURENDRA SINGH	DELHI	11032
179	CHAYANI, BHABANI SHANKAR	BHUBANESHWAR	11033
180	CHERIAN, A	BOMBAY	11039
181	CHITGOPEKAR, NILIMA	DELHI	11053
182	COUTINHO, VEERA	BANGALORE	11068
183	DAHIYA, NEELIMA	ROHTAK	11071
184	DANGARE, MANISHANKAR	SANVAAD	11085
185	DAS, ANIL KUMAR	CALCUTTA	11090
186	DAS, ASIMA	CALCUTTA	11093
187	DAS, B P	CALCUTTA	11096
188	DAS, BISWA ROOP	CUTTACK	11100
189	DAS, MALAY KUMAR	CALCUTTA	11112
190	DAS, PURNA CHANDRA	CUTTACK	11115
191	DAS, SURANJAN	CALCUTTA	11125
192	DASGUPTA, R	VARANASI	11140
193	DASGUPTA, SUNIL KUMAR	24 PARGANAS	11143
194	DATAR, KIRAN	DELHI	11151
195	DATT, K G	PHAGWARA	11167
196	DATT, KARUBANI	DARJEELING	11169
197	DATT, SANJUKTHA	CALCUTTA	11182
198	DE, AMALENDU	CALCUTTA	11203
199	DE, GOURISHANKAR	24 PARGANAS (N)	11208
200	DE, SHUBRA	DELHI	11210
201	DE, URMILA	CALCUTTA	11211

Appendix 10 (C) List of Ordinary Members

S NO	NAME	PLACE	CODE
202	DEB, SATYENDRA C	CALCUTTA	11212
203	DEB, SOUMENDRA CHANDRA	CALCUTTA	11213
204	DESHPANDE, A D	YAVATMAL	11250
205	DESHPANDE, CHANDRASHEKHAR BHAGWANTRAO	YAVATMAL	11252
206	DEVADASS, M	THANJAVUR	11276
207	DEVI, BHAGWATI	CHARKHI-DADRI	11281
208	DEVI, GEETA	ALLAHABAD	11285
209	DEVI, K G KAMALA	TELLICHERRY	11288
210	DEVI, RAMESHWARI	DELHI	11301
211	DEVI, S UMA	MADRAS	11302
212	DEVI, SAVITRI	DELHI	11303
213	DEVRA, GHANSHYAM S LAL	KOTA	11318
214	DHANERA, YASHWANT	UJJAIN	11326
215	DHAR, M K	DELHI	11333
216	DHAVALIKAR, M K	PUNE	11343
217	DHIMAN, ANIL KUMAR	BILASPUR	11350
218	DIKSHIT, SATISH CHANDRA	FARRUKHABAD	11356
219	DILBOR, CHHETRY	DELHI	11357
220	DUBEY, NEETA	UJJAIN	11397
221	ELIZABETH, V S	MANGALORE	11431
222	FARUQI, ABDUL HAI	DELHI	11440
223	FARUQI, ANJUM	ALIGARH	11442
224	FARUQI, PARVEEN RUKHSANA	GULBARGA	11446
225	FARUQI, RAZZAK	GULBARGA	11447
226	FERNANDES, M LOREEN	BOMBAY	11451
227	GADE, RAMESH S	PUNE	11459
228	GADGIL, I N	SATARA	11460
229	GADGIL, N L	SATARA	11461
230	GADRE, MEDHA VISWAS	BOMBAY	11463
231	GALAV, USHA	ALIGARH	11469
232	GANESH, N	THANJAVUR	11479
233	GANGOPADHYAYA, BANANI	BANKURA	11490
234	GARG, SANJAY	AGRA	11511
235	GAUR, R C	ALIGARH	11518
236	GAUR, SUNITA	BOMBAY	11520
237	GAUTAM, P L	KOTA	11525
238	GAUTAM, SATYA VIR	AGRA	11526
239	GEORGE	MADRAS	11535
240	GEORGE, H S	BOMBAY	11536
241	GEORGE, S R	PONDICHERRY	11537

S.NO	NAME	PLACE	CODE
242	GHAFFAR, ABDUL	REWA	11539
243	GHAJ, R K	PATIALA	11540
244	GHOSH, DILIP KUMAR	24 PARGANAS (N)	11560
245	GHOSH, SMARTYA	CALCUTTA	11573
246	GHUGARE, S A	BOMBAY	11581
247	GIRI, BADAL CHANDRA	TAMLUK	11587
248	GIRI, SHYAMALA	MIDNAPUR	11589
249	GOGLE, RAM	WARDHA	11599
250	GOGOI, B R	GOLAGHAT	11600
251	GOKHALE, S S	DHARWAD	11606
252	GOPAL, KUSUM	PATNA	11615
253	GOPALAKRISHNAN, P B	MADURAI	11618
254	GOPALAKRISHNAN, R	TRICHUR	11619
255	GOPALANKUTTY, K	PALGHAT	11623
256	GOSVAMI, BISWAROOP	BANKURA	11633
257	GOSVAMI, CHETANYA GIRI	UDAIPUR	11634
258	GOYAL, VANDANA	UJJAIN	11646
259	GREWAL, J S	SHIMLA	11653
260	GREWAL, REETA	CHANDIGARH	11654
261	GROVER, AMRITA	DELHI	11655
262	GUHA, ARTI	CALCUTTA	11658
263	GUHA, NIKHILES	CALCUTTA	11659
264	GULATI, T R	DELHI	11663
265	GUPTA, ALKA	SHIMLA	11665
266	GUPTA, B L	DELHI	11672
267	GUPTA, BHAGWAN DAS	JHANSI	11673
268	GUPTA, CHARU	DELHI	11675
269	GUPTA, DINESH KUMAR	DELHI	11681
270	GUPTA, HARISH	DELHI	11686
271	GUPTA, JANAMAY	24 PARGANAS (N)	11691
272	GUPTA, JUGAL KISHORE	SRIGANGANAGAR	11693
273	GUPTA, MANISHA	DELHI	11700
274	GUPTA, S P	ALIGARH	11725
275	GUPTA, SHALINI	UJJAIN	11728
276	GUPTA, SHUBHRA	DELHI	11729
277	GUPTA, SUDHA	JHANSI	11735
278	GUPTA, UMA RANI	DELHI	11742
279	HABIB, FAIZ	ALIGARH	11756
280	HABIB, IRFAN	ALIGARH	11757
281	HAIDER, MANSURA	ALIGARH	11762
282	HAMBARDE, VIJAY VINAYAK	CHANDRAPUR	11773

Appendix 10 (C) List of Ordinary Members

S NO	NAME	PLACE	CODE
283	HANDIEKAR, VITTHAL NAGESH	BHANDARA	11781
284	HAQUE, ISHRAT	DELHI	11792
285	HAQUE, MAHMUD-UL	ALIGARH	11794
286	HARIDAS, C	PALGHAT	11800
287	HASAN, EHTESHAM BIN	ALIGHARH	11813
288	HASAN, FARHAT	ALIGHARH	11814
289	HASAN, JAVED	ALIGARH	11815
290	HASAN, MUSHIRUL	DELHI	11818
291	HASAN, SYED SHAMIR	ALIGARH	11819
292	HEBALKAR, SHARAD	AMBAJOGAI	11827
293	HIRDE, J P	NAGPUR	11840
294	HIRDE, P B	NAGPUR	11842
295	HUSSAIN, AFZAL	ALIGARH	11852
296	HUSSAIN, ANWAR	DIBRUGARH	11854
297	HUSSAIN, ARSHAD	DELHI	11855
298	HUSSAIN, IQBAL	ALIGARH	11856
299	HUSSAIN, M S	MADRAS	11858
300	HUSSAIN, RUQUIA KAZIM	ALIGARH	11863
301	HUSSAIN, S M AZIZUDDIN	DELHI	11864
302	IMAM, HASAN	ALIGARH	11881
303	IMAM, MOHAMMAD MUZAFFAR	BHAGALPUR	11882
304	ISMAIL, E	TELIPARAMBA	11902
305	IZZAT, ZESHAN	ALIGARH	11905
306	JAFRI, S Z H	DELHI	11910
307	JAFRI, SYED WALI H	DELHI	11911
308	JAGDALE, ARAVIND	BOMBAY	11920
309	JAGDAMBAL, C	MADRAS	11936
310	JAGESHWAR, DILIP K	KATIHAR	11937
311	JAIN, ASHOK	DELHI	11923
312	JAIN, DEVENDRA	DELHI	11924
313	JAIN, GOKUL PRASAD	DELHI	11925
314	JAIN, HUKUM CHAND	KOTA	11939
315	JAIN, KAILASH CHANDRA	UJJAIN	11940
316	JAIN, KAMAL	DEWAS	11941
317	JAIN, SHAKUNTALA	UJJAIN	11942
318	JAMALUDDIN, SYED	DELHI	11947
319	JAMWAL, SHAILENDRA	JAMMU	11952
320	JANA, SATYA SAURABH	CALCUTTA	11955
321	JANARTHA, HIMESH	SHIMLA	11960
322	JANI, SHASHIKANT VISHVANATH	RAJKOT	11961
323	JASWAL, G M	ALMORA	11965

S NO.	NAME	PLACE	CODE
324	JAYASEKARAN, K	MADRAS	11982
325	JAYASWAL, SUVIRA	DELHI	11990
326	JHA, AMIT	DELHI	12005
327	JHA, CHANDRA	KATIHAR	12017
328	JHA, CHANDRA MOHAN	DELHI	12031
329	JHA, PRATAP NARAYAN	MADHUBANI	12037
330	JHA, SHRADDHA	AHMEDABAD	12045
331	JHA, VIRENDRA KUMAR	DELHI	12051
332	JHANDAI, H C	YAMUNA NAGAR	12054
333	JLALI, S FARRUKH ALI	ALIGARH	12060
334	JOHN, VALAMPURI	MADRAS	12068
335	JOHNSON, K	VIJAYAWADA	12069
336	JOHNY, V	MADRAS	12071
337	JOSE, V J	BOMBAY	12075
338	JOSEPH, JOHN	NIRMALAGIRI	12080
339	JOSEPH, K O	RANNY	12081
		PATHANAMTHITTA	
340	JOSEPH, SEBASTIAN	MYSORE	12083
341	JOSHI, BHANUSHANKAR NARSIBHAI	VALSAD	12089
342	JOSHI, GOVIND SAKHARAM	PUNE	12101
343	JOSHI, N K	ALMORA	12119
344	JOSHI, NALINI SHYAM	DT RAJHAGAON	12120
345	JUSSAY, MARY	COCHIN	12136
346	JUSSAY, P M	COCHIN	12137
347	KADHAO, D S	BHANDARA	12149
348	KALIDOS, RAJU	MADURAI	12169
349	KANTAK, MADHAV RAMACHANDRA	PUNE	12206
350	KARANJAI, TAPAN KUMAR	DELHI	12230
351	KARNIK, RAVI RAMCHANDRA	PUNE	12237
352	KAUL, H M	BHANDARA	12260
353	KAUL, ROOP	BHANDARA	12263
354	KAUSHIK, KARUNA	DELHI	12807
355	KAUSHIK, VANDANA	DELHI	12298
356	KAW, MUSHTAQ AHMAD	SRINAGAR	12300
357	KELKAR, KAMELA	NAGPUR	12306
358	KHADAKE, SARITHI	UJJAIN	12316
359	KHAN, A R	SHIMLA	12323
360	KHAN, AHMAD RAZA	DELHI	12327
361	KHAN, ARPITA	BIRBHUM	12329
362	KHAN, BASHEER AHMAD	DELHI	12333
363	KHAN, GULFISHAN	ALIGARH	12339

Appendix 10 (C) List of Ordinary Members

S NO	NAME	PLACE	CODE
364	KHAN, I G	ALIGARH	12340
365	KHAN, IFTIKHAR AHMAD	ALIGARH	12342
366	KHAN, IQTIDAR ALAM	ALIGARH	12344
367	KHAN, M AFZAL	ALIGARH	12346
368	KHAN, MAKSUD AHMED	ALIGARH	12351
369	KHAN, MUNAZIR	DELHI	12358
370	KHAN, SABA	DELHI	12364
371	KHAN, SAMBUL HALIM	ALIGARH	12368
372	KHAN, ZAHOOOR ALI	ALIGARH	12374
373	KHARE, MEERA	DELHI	12385
374	KHATUN, MUMTAZA I S	GUWAHATI	12389
375	KISHAN, S JAI	HYDERABAD	12404
376	KOSHY, M O	KARAKKAL	12420
377	KOTHEKAR, SHANTA VYANKATESH	NAGPUR	12427
378	KRISHNA, ASHA	BOMBAY	12433
379	KRISHNAMURTI, BALASUBRAMANIAM	PONDICHERRY	12445
380	KRISHNAN, HEMANT	SHIMLA	12461
381	KSHIRSAGAR, KAMALAKAR KRISHNA	PUNE	12473
382	KUBER, AJIT BHASKAR	SATARA	12474
383	KUBER, BHASKAR VINAYAK	SATARA	12475
384	KUKDE, PRATIBHA DINKAR	NAGPUR	12478
385	KULKARNI, A R	PUNE	12480
386	KULKARNI, GOVIND JANARDANA	YAVATMAL	12483
387	KULKARNI, GOVIND TRIMBAK	PUNE	12484
388	KULKARNI, N H	PUNE	12489
389	KULKARNI, VIJAYA A	PUNE	12493
390	KUMAR, AJAY	DELHI	12499
391	KUMAR, ANIL	MUZAFFARPUR	12510
392	KUMAR, ANIL	SHIMLA	12511
393	KUMAR, DEVENDRA	DELHI	12530
394	KUMAR, G ARUN	HYDERABAD	12534
395	KUMAR, JOHN K	TIRUCHIRAPALLI	12539
396	KUMAR, K ASHOK	MADRAS	12541
397	KUMAR, KAPIL	DELHI	12544
398	KUMAR, MANMOHAN	ROHTAK	12551
399	KUMAR, NAND KISHORE	PATNA	12558
400	KUMAR, P KISHORE	ONGOLE	12566
491	KUMAR, P S	VISHAKHAPATNAM	12569
402	KUMAR, PARVINDER	SHIMLA	12573
403	KUMAR, PURUSHOTTAM	RANCHI	12565
404	KUMAR, RACHNA	DELHI	12581

S NO	NAME	PLACE	CODE
405	KUMAR, RAJENDRA	SHIMLA	12584
406	KUMAR, RAKESH	DELHI	12592
407	KUMAR, RAMESH	SHIMLA	12596
408	KUMAR, RANJAN	MUZAFFARPUR	12600
409	KUMAR, S	DELHI	12605
410	KUMAR, SANJAY	KURUKSHETRA	12612
411	KUMAR, SARBANI	DELHI	12615
412	KUMAR, T VIJAYA	HYDERABAD	12808
413	KUMAR, V RAM	TRICHY	12643
414	KUMAR, VIJAYA	DELHI	12650
415	KUMARI, SAROJ	BIHAR	12682
416	KUNDU, BARUN CHANDRA	24 PARGANAS (N)	12694
417	KUNHIKANNAN, T P	CALICUT	12700
418	KUNHIKRISHNAN, K V	ERNAKULAM	12701
419	KUPPUSWAMI, T V	DELHI	12708
420	LABH, VIJAY LAKSHMI	DELHI	12721
421	LAD, HARSHAVARDHAN	RATLAM	12723
422	LAD, J C	RATLAM	12724
423	LAD, MADHAVI	RATLAM	12725
424	LAKSHMANAN, M	DELHI	12734
425	LAKSHMI, I	HYDERABAD	12737
426	LAKSHMI, K VIJAYA	RAJAHMUNDRY	12738
427	LAL, B M	DELHI	12747
428	LAL, BANSI	DELHI	12748
429	LAL, GIRIJA SHANKAR	AZAMGARH	12752
430	LAL, KAMLESH	DELHI	12755
431	LAL, MAKHAN,	ALIGARH	12757
432	LAL, PUNEET	DELHI	12760
433	LALITHA, V	MADRAS	12769
434	LEELA, V	BADAGARA	12788
435	LIMAYE, ANJALI NARAYAN	PUNE	12794
436	LOCHAN, AMARJIVA	DELHI	12797
437	LUMBA, DEEPINDER SINGH	DELHI	12812
438	MADHAVA, K G VASANTHA	MULKI	12819
439	MAHAJAN, SAVITRI	DELHI	12828
440	MAHAJAN, SUCHETA	DELHI	12829
441	MAHAPATRA, P U	MAYURBHANJ	12839
442	MAHAPATRA, PRAGATI	DELHI	12841
443	MAHAPATRA, RAIMOHAN	BALASORE	12844
444	MAHAWAR, KAMAL KUMAR	SAHIBGANJ	12856
445	MAHMOOD, S HASAN	VADODARA	12855

Appendix 10 (C) List of Ordinary Members

S NO	NAME	PLACE	CODE
446	MAHURKAR, AJAY	DELHI	12858
447	MAITY, PANKAJ KUMAR	MIDNAPORE	12867
448	MAITY, SIKHA	MIDNAPORE	12868
449	MAJUMDAR, SACHIN	HOWRAH	12881
450	MAJUMDAR, SUCHANDRA DUTTA	CALCUTTA	12883
451	MAKWANA, GOVINDBHAI PURSHOTAMDAS	AHMEDABAD	12886
452	MALHOTRA, ABHA KAPIL	SHIMLA	12891
453	MALHOTRA, ANU	DELHI	12892
454	MALIK, ZAHIRUDDIN	ALIGARH	12908
455	MALONI, RUBY	BOMBAY	12920
456	MANDAN, MAHENDRA KUMAR	BHOPAL	12924
457	MANDAL, ARCHANA	CALCUTTA	12927
458	MANDAL, J C	MIDNAPUR	12931
459	MANDAL, KHODA NEWAJ	BIRBHUM	12933
460	MANI, K	MADRAS	12943
461	MANI, S	MADRAS	12947
462	MANICKAM, M	PONDICHERRY	12955
463	MANIKYAMBA, P	VISAKHAPATNAM	12961
464	MANZAR, NISHAT	DELHI	12976
465	MARIK, SOMA	CALCUTTA	12979
466	MARY, M G	KANNANORE	12984
467	MATHEW, P JACOB	PALGHAT	12997
468	MATHEW, T I	MANGALORE	12998
469	MATHI	MADRAS	13000
470	MATHUR, M N	DELHI	13006
471	MATHUR, SARITA	DELHI	13011
472	MATLEB, ABDUL	CALCUTTA	13013
473	MEERA, N K	HYDERABAD	13022
474	MEHROTRA, KRISHNA KUMAR	GAYA	13028
475	MEHTA, BAL KRISHAN	SHIMLA	12033
476	MEHTA, MAKRAND JANAKLAL	AHMEDABAD	13035
477	MEHTA, SHIREEN	AHMEDABAD	13039
478	MENON, VISHALAKSHI	DELHI	13050
479	MESHRAM, PRADIP SHALIGRAM	NAGPUR	13054
480	MIRZA, MOHAMMAD KHIZER	AURANGABAD	13061
481	MISHRA, B D	VARANASI	13074
482	MISHRA, HEMANT	DELHI	13085
483	MISHRA J P	VARANASI	13086
484	MISHRA, K P	GORAKHPUR	13087
485	MISHRA, MOHAN ANAND	DEOGARH	13094

S NO	NAME	PLACE	CODE
486	MISHRA, N K	KHARAGPUR	13095
487	MISHRA, PRASANNA KUMAR	CUTTACK	13100
488	MISHRA, RAJANI	BHOPAL	13105
489	MISHRA, RAJESH KUMAR	ALLAHABAD	13106
490	MISHRA, SALIL	DELHI	13113
491	MISHRA, SHRI	VARANASI	13120
492	MISHRA, SUJAYA	SARGUJA	13121
493	MISHRA, Y K	BODH GAYA	13130
494	MITRA, PRANAB KUMAR	HOWRAH	13137
495	MITRA, SMITA	DELHI	13141
496	MITTAL, NEETA	BOMBAY	13147
497	MITTAL, SUMITA	DELHI	13149
498	MOHAN, KAMLESH	CHANDIGARH	13160
499	MOHANTY, KABITA	ORISSA	13179
500	MOHANTY, LINU	DELHI	13180
501	MOHANVELU, C S	MADRAS	13183
502	MOIN, DANISH	ALIGARH	13189
503	MONGIA, G K	DELHI	13192
504	MOOSVI, SHIREEN	ALIGARH	13193
505	MUKARJI, ADITYA	DELHI	13204
506	MUKARJI, AMIT	AGRA	13205
507	MUKARJI, B C	24 PARAGANAS	13208
508	MUKARJI, KARTHIK	BOMBAY	13217
509	MUKARJI, MRIDULA	DELHI	13221
510	MUKARJI, P N	CALCUTTA	13222
511	MUKARJI, SHARADENDU	DELHI	13225
512	MUKHARYA, PRATAP SINGH	PANNA	13229
513	MUKHIYA, HARBANS	DELHI	13231
514	MUKHOPADHYAY, MIHIR MOHAN	DARJEELING	13236
515	MUKHOPADHYAY, SOMA	CALCUTTA	13239
516	MUKHOPADHYAY, VISHNU PRASAD	COOCH-BIHAR	13241
517	MULEY, GUNAKAR	DELHI	13242
518	MURALIDHARAN, M	PALGHAT	13249
519	MURTI, A SOMASHEKARA	BANGALORE	13254
520	MURTI, D B	SRI SAILAM	13259
521	MURTI, KASIBHATTA SATYA	ANANTAPUR	13264
522	MURTI, R SURYA	DELHI	13272
523	MURTI, S S RAMCHANDRA	TIRUPATI	13274
524	MURUGESAN, K	CHENGALPATTU	13280
525	MUSTAFA, MOHAMMED	HYDERABAD	13284
526	MUZZARFFAR-E-ISLAM	DELHI	13288

Appendix 10 (C) List of Ordinary Members

S NO	NAME	PLACE	CODE
527	NAGARAJ, B S	SHIMOGA	13299
528	NAGARAJU, S	HYDERABAD	13304
529	NAGAMANI, D	HYDERABAD	13290
530	NAIDU, D ANAND	TIRUPATI	13309
531	NAIDU, P NEERAJKSHULU	TIRUPATI	13312
532	NAIK, MARTAND KASHINATH	PUNE	13327
533	NAQVI, SADIQ	HYDERABAD	13372
534	NAQVI, SAJJAD	BOMBAY	13371
535	NARAYAN, B KESHAHA	VISAKHAPATNAM	13384
536	NARAYAN, KIRTI	KANPUR	14350
537	NARAYAN, P L	HYDERABAD	13390
538	NARAYAN, PRAKASH	DELHI	13391
539	NASREEN, FARHAT	ALIGARH	13414
540	NATARAJAN, NEELAYATHAKSHI	TANJAVUR	13416
541	NATH, BADRI	AZAMGARH	13421
542	NIZAMI, AKHTAR HUSSAIN	REWA	13433
543	NEGI, S S	POURI SRINAGAR	13446
544	NEMA, S R	KHAIRAGARH	13448
545	NIGAM, SHYAMSUNDER	UJJAIN	13454
546	NIGAM, SNEHLATA	UJJAIN	13455
547	NILESH, PREETA	BOMBAY	13457
548	NUGANATTI, MADHUKAR DASOPANT	PUNE	13466
549	OHRI, S	SHIMLA	13472
550	OJHA, ARCHANA	DELHI	13474
551	OJHA, JAMANESH KUMAR	BHILWARA	13476
552	ORAON, J L	HAZARIBAGH	13480
553	PADARIL, P T SEBASTIAN	ALAKODE	13484
554	PADHI, ARUNA KUMAR	GANJAM	13485
555	PADMA, A	HYDERABAD	13488
556	PADMANABHAN, S	NAGERCOIL	13494
557	PADMARAJ, A	MADRAS	13495
558	PAL, KHILENDRA	BULANDSHAHR	13504
559	PANDA, CHITTO	BURDWAN	13518
560	PANDEYA, AWADESH	MUZAFFARPUR	13533
561	PANDEYA, B K	DELHI	13535
562	PANDEYA, CHANDRA BHUSHAN	PATNA	13541
563	PANDEYA, HARISH	GORAKHPUR	13546
564	PANDEYA, L K	CUTTACK	13552
565	PANDEYA, NANA KRISHNARAO	AKOLA	13555
566	PANDEYA, PRADEEP	UJJAIN	13559
567	PANDEYA, R K	BILASPUR	13560

S.NO.	NAME	PLACE	CODE
568	PANDEYA, R P	KHEDA	13561
569	PANDEYA, SAROJ	UJJAIN	13568
570	PANDEYA, SUDHAKAR	SAGAR	13575
571	PANDEYA, SURESH	PATNA	13577
572	PANDEYA, SUSHILA NANA	AKOLA	13578
573	PANDEYA, UPAMA	JABALPUR	13581
574	PANDIAN, M SENDUR	MADRAS	13587
575	PANDYA, J M	VALSAD	13602
576	PANDYA, SHILPA V	AHMEDABAD	13610
577	PANHAR, GANGADHAR	UJJAIN	13612
578	PANIGRAHI, MAHESWAR	DELHI	13616
579	PANIKKAR, K N	DELHI	13621
580	PARAMASIVAN, P	MADRAS	13635
581	PARANJAPPE, BINDA	BOMBAY	13636
582	PARCHURE, CHINTAMANI NARAYAN	PUNE	13637
583	PARIDA, ASHOK NATH	CUTTACK	13643
584	PARIDA, DENISH MANDINI	VARANASI	13646
585	PARIHAR, SUBHASH	KOT KAPURA	13647
586	PARMAR, SUBHA	DELHI	13650
587	PATEL, M R	AHMEDABAD	13666
588	PATHAK, SHEKHAR	NANITAL	13691
589	PATI, BISWAMOY	DELHI	13699
590	PATNAIK, ASHOK KUMAR	KHURAS	13718
591	PATY, CHITTARANJAN K	SHINGHBHUM	13738
592	PAUL, SHIRLY	BADAGARA	13746
593	PAWAR, GULANAZ	UJJAIN	13751
594	PAWAR, JAYSINGRAO	KOLHAPUR	13752
595	PAWAR, MALAVIKA	BOMBAY	13755
596	PERUMAL, R	MADRAS	13768
597	PERUMAL, K AYYAM	TIRUCHIRAPALLI	13766
598	PHUKAN, JOGENDRA NATH	GUWAHATI	13774
599	PHUKAN, K C	GOLAGHAT	13775
600	PHUKAN, MEENAKSHI	DELHI	13778
601	PILLAI, G MOHANADASAN	QUILON	13783
602	PODDAR, SATYADEO	AGARTALA	13792
603	POHARE, KRANTI	NANDED	13793
604	POONAM	SHIMLA	13803
605	PRAKASH, OM	CHARKHI-DADRI	13839
606	PRAKASH, R V	MANGALORE	13844
607	PRASAD, AWADH KISHORE	PATNA	13856
608	PRASAD, B RAJENDRA	NAGARJUNANAGAR	13857

Appendix 10 (C) List of Ordinary Members

S NO	NAME	PLACE	CODE
609	PRASAD, K B	VISAKHAPATNAM	13861
610	PRASAD, KAMESHWAR	KISHANGANJ	13863
611	PRASAD, POONAM	BODHA GAYA	13871
612	PRASAD, PUSHPA	ALIGARH	13874
613	PRASAD, S RAJENDRA	VIJAYPURI SOUTH	13877
614	PRASAD, SHIVENDRA	PATNA	13883
615	PRASAD, SUNIL	BODHGAYA	13886
616	PRASAD, USHA	PATNA	13889
617	PRASANGI, P	HYDERABAD	13890
618	PRAVEENA, T K	CANNANORE	13895
619	PRIYA, DEEPTI	DELHI	13904
620	PUREKAR, NAND DASARATH	KOLHAPUR	13912
621	PURI, SUNITA	DELHI	13916
622	PURUSHOTTAM, K	NELLORE	13921
623	QAIYAM, MAZHAR	GAYA	11938
624	QURAISH, HAMID AFAQ	LUCKNOW	12199
625	RAFIQI, A Q	SRINAGAR	13116
626	RAGHAVACHARI, K	HYDERABAD	13302
627	RAGHOTAK, R N	GADCHIROLE	13434
628	RAHMAN, MOHMMAD M	DELHI	13592
629	RAJ, SHEELA	BOMBAY	13947
630	RAJAGOPALAN, V	MADRAS	13953
631	RAJALAKSHMI, M	MADRAS	13954
632	RAJAN, D R	BANGALORE	13958
633	RAJAN, E	TRICHUR	13960
634	RAJANI	TRICHUR	13969
635	RAJASHEKHAR, Y	MADRAS	13976
636	RAJESHWARI, K	TIRUCHY	13991
637	RAJU, A	BANGALORE	13995
638	RAJU, M V R KRISHNAN	W GODAVARI	14001
639	RAJU, N S SALOMON	TENALI	14003
640	RAJU, P YANADI	TIRUPATI	14005
641	RAMAKRISHNA, KUMAR	DELHI	14030
642	RAMANAND	PATNA	14042
643	RAMASWAMI, R	MADRAS	14052
644	RAMASWAMI, VIJAYA	DELHI	14053
645	RAMDAS, RAVINDRANATH VAMAL	BOMBAY	14058
646	RANA, L N	RANCHI	14066
647	RANA, R P	DELHI	14069
648	RANGANIVAS, V	MADRAS	14073
649	RANGARAJAN, HARIPRIYA	DELHI	14074

S.NO.	NAME	PLACE	CODE
650	RANGASWAMI, C V	DHARWAD	14075
651	RANGASWAMI, M	MADRAS	14076
652	RANI, ALKA	PATNA	14078
653	RANJAN, RAJEEV	DELHI	14086
654	RAO, A PANDURANGA	TIRUPATI	14096
655	RAO, B SURENDRA	MANGALORE	14101
656	RAO, B V	BELGAUM	14102
657	RAO, B S L HANUMANTHA	GUNTUR	14098
658	RAO, C V RAMACHANDRA	NELLORE	14105
659	RAO, G J RAMA	DELHI	14109
660	RAO, G MEENESHWAR	WARANGAL	14151
661	RAO, GRIDDALURU VENKETESHWAR	NELLORE	14112
662	RAO, JAYA PRAKASH	HYDERABAD	14115
663	RAO, M PRASAD	GUNTUR	14141
664	RAO, M VENKATESHWARA	HYDERABAD	14148
665	RAO, MADHAV V	NELLORE	14150
666	RAO, R RAMACHANDRA	HYDERABAD	14163
667	RAO, RAGHUNATH P	TIRUPATI	14158
668	RAO, T DAYAKARA	WARANGAL	14173
669	RAO, Y CHINA	DELHI	14185
670	RASTOGI, S	JAIPUR	14193
671	RATH, A K	BEHRAMPORE	14195
672	RATHAUR, DHANANJAYA	RAIPUR	14199
673	RATNA, RAJESH	SHIMLA	14206
674	RATNAM, K	BAREILLY	14208
675	RATNAWAT, SHYAM SINGH	JAIPUR	14209
676	RAVAT, RAJNATH	CHAPRA	14212
677	RAY, KRISHNENDU	24 PARGANAS (N)	14228
678	RAY, TAPAS KUMAR	CALCUTTA	14244
679	RAYCHAUDHARI, SIDDARTHA	BURDWAN	14248
680	RAYCHAUDHARI, SONALI	CANNORE	14249
681	RAYCHAUDHARI, TIRTHANATH	BIRBHUM	14250
682	RAZA, SYED JABIR	ALIGARH	14253
683	REDDY, B JITENDRA	HYDERABAD	14260
684	REDDY, B RAMACHANDRA	HYDERABAD	14262
685	REDDY, B SUDHA	HYDERABAD	14263
686	REDDY, C SHRINIVAS	HYDERABAD	14267
687	REDDY, EMANI SIVANAGI	HYDERABAD	14271
688	REDDY, G SUDARSHAN	HYDERABAD	14274
689	REDDY, K GAJENDRA	TIRUPATI	14279
690	REDDY, K KRISHNA	HYDERABAD	14280

Appendix 10 (C) List of Ordinary Members

S.NO.	NAME	PLACE	CODE
691	REDDY, K NAROTHAM	HYDERABAD	14281
692	REDDY, MALLIREDDI PATTABHI RAMA	KAVALI	14289
693	REDDY, MOVVA SRINIVASA	GUNTUR	14291
694	REDDY, P PRATHAP	HYDERABAD	14295
695	REDDY, R SANTOSH	HYDERABAD	14298
696	REDDY, R SOMA	HYDERABAD	14299
697	REKHA, VIJAY	SHIMLA	14315
698	RIZVI, ALI NADIEM	ALIGARH	14322
699	RIZVI, TEHZEEBUL HASNAIN	DELHI	14325
700	ROSE, K T ANBU	TRICHY	14327
701	ROY, KUMKUM	DELHI	14345
702	ROY, MURALI MANOHAR	RENUKA	14346
703	ROY, RATNA	COOCH-BEHAR	14354
704	ROY, SOMNATH	BURWAN	14361
705	ROY, SUTAPA	CALCUTTA	14362
706	ROY, UDAI NARAIN	ALLAHABAD	14364
707	ROY, YOGENDRA P	SAHIBGANJ	14365
708	RUCHI	DELHI	14369
709	RUKMINI, O	GUNTUR	14370
710	SABHAPATHI, P	THANJAVUR	14373
711	SAHA, DILIP KUMAR	SAHIB GANJ	14390
712	SAHA, RAJIV LOCHAN	DELHI	13955
713	SAHA, SHIB PRASAD	PURNEA	14395
714	SAHA, T K	CALCUTTA	14463
715	SAHASRABUDDHE, P G	BULDHANA	14403
716	SAHAY, NANDITA	DELHI	14405
717	SAHGAL, SMITA	KANPUR	14415
718	SAHI, M D N	ALIGARH	14416
719	SAHU, BABITA	JAUNPUR	14421
720	SAHU, BHAI RABI PRASAD	DELHI	14422
721	SAHU, GAYATRI BHAGWAT	DELHI	14426
722	SAIDULLU, R	HYDERABAD	14435
723	SAKLANI, ATUL	SRINAGAR	14446
724	SAKSENA, R K	UDAIPUR	14453
725	SALAHUDDIN	ALIGARH	14459
726	SALAHUDDIN, M D	MUZAFFARPUR	14460
727	SAMADARSI, RAVIN	MUZAFFARPUR	14469
728	SAMBAIAH, ONGOLU	GUNTUR	14478
729	SAMBANDAM, S	MADRAS	14479
730	SAMPATH, M D	MYSORE	14494
731	SANDHU, B S	BOMBAY	14497

S.NO	NAME	PLACE	CODE
732	SANJAY, KUMAR	DELHI	14505
733	SANJIVA, CH	WARANGAL	14506
734	SANKHDHER, B M	DELHI	14508
735	SARAO, K T S	DELHI	14523
736	SARBADHIKARY, SANDIP BASU	HOOGLY	14529
737	SARDESAI, B N	SANGLI	14530
738	SARKAR, BIBEK BRATA	DELHI	14534
739	SARKAR, ICHHIMUDDIN	DARJEELING	14539
740	SARKAR, NILANJAN	DELHI	14545
741	SARKAR, SHAMITA	ALIGARH	14547
742	SARKAR, SMRITI KUMAR	CALCUTTA	14549
743	SARLASHKAR, SMITA VITHAL	PUNE	14552
744	SARLASHKAR, VIJAYANTI V	PUNE	14553
745	SASIDHARAN, C K	CANNANORE	14560
746	SATYANARAYANA, A	HYDERABAD	14578
747	SEBASTIAN, MEERA	MYSORE	14603
748	SEN, AMITA	BOMBAY	14615
749	SEN, ASOKA KUMAR	SINGHBHUM	14619
750	SEN, GOPA	CALCUTTA	14626
751	SEN, NIRMAL	CALCUTTA	14632
752	SEN, SUBASH CHANDRA	HOOGLY	14643
753	SENATHIRAJAH, ANUSUYA	MADRAS	14649
754	SENGUPTA, NIKHILESHWAR	24 PARGANAS	14659
755	SETH, RASHMI	DELHI	14676
756	SETHIYA, ALKA	UJJAIN	14681
757	SHABBIR, SHAIKH	NAGPUR	14684
758	SHAFIULLAH, S	ALIGARH	14687
759	SHAHANE, B Y	SATARA	14699
760	SHANKAR, B S	TRIVANDRURI	14716
761	SHANKAR, G P	SITAMARHI	14718
762	SHANKARAN, M	MADRAS	14725
763	SHANKAR, P S	MADRAS	14722
764	SHANMUGAN, K N	THANJAVUR	14731
765	SHANTILAL, B N K	TIRUCHY	14744
766	SHARAN, HIMANSHU	MUZAFFARPUR	14747
767	SHARMA, A P	RANCHI	14753
768	SHARMA, APARNA	SAMASTIPUR	14757
769	SHARMA, BHAGAWATI PRASAD	DELHI	14768
770	SHARMA, D D	SIWAN	14774
771	SHARMA, D P	MUZAFFARPUR	14775
772	SHARMA, DHARMAPAL	UJJAIN	14777

Appendix 10 (C) List of Ordinary Members

S NO.	NAME	PLACE	CODE
773	SHARMA, DILIP CHANDRA	SAGAR	14780
774	SHARMA, DILWAR	HAMIRPUR	14781
775	SHARMA, DURGA PRASAD	ALWAR	14784
776	SHARMA, GYAN PRAKASH	DELHI	14789
777	SHARMA, HARISH C	AMRITSAR	14793
778	SHARMA, JANARDAN	BODHGAYA	14802
779	SHARMA, KAMLESH	KOTA	14809
780	SHARMA, KIRAN	UJJAIN	14811
781	SHARMA, MAHESH	CHANDIGARH	14822
782	SHARMA, MANISH CHANDRA	24 PARGANAS	14824
783	SHARMA, NAGENDRA	DELHI	14828
784	SHARMA, PRAKASH	SAMASTIPUR	14839
785	SHARMA, RADHA	AMRITSAR	14851
786	SHARMA, RADHA KRISHNA	CHAPRA	14852
787	SHARMA, RAJ KISHORE	DELHI	14856
788	SHARMA, R K	SHIMLA	16330
789	SHARMA, RAJESHWARI	MUZAFFARPUR	14858
790	SHARMA, RENU KUMARI	MUZAFFARPUR	14875
791	SHARMA, S R	ALIGARH	14882
792	SHARMA, SHANTA R	DELHI	14894
793	SHARMA, SHYAM LAL	JAMMU	14901
794	SHARMA, SITA RAM	RAJNANDGAON	14903
795	SHARMA, SITA RAM	DELHI	14904
796	SHARMA, SUBHA DAS	CALCUTTA	14906
797	SHARMA, SUDHA	MEERUT	14911
798	SHARMA, SUKESH	SHIMLA	14914
799	SHARMA, UPENDRA NATH	BHARATPUR	14930
800	SHARMA, URMILA	SIWAN	14931
801	SHARMA, URMILA	CHAPRA	14932
802	SHARMA, USHA	RANCHI	14933
803	SHARMA, VANITA	UJJAIN	14935
804	SHASTRI, AJAY MITRA	NAGPUR	14942
805	SHASTRI, S A R	VISAKHAPATNAM	14947
806	SHASTRI, SRINIVAS PRASAD	PATNA	14949
807	SHEKHAR, K	UJJAIN	14962
808	SHETTY, VARISHA J	BOMBAY	14985
809	SHINDE, B E	AURANGABAD	14990
810	SHRIDHARAN, MANICKOTH P	CALICUT	15005
811	SHRINIVAS, C	HYDERABAD	15018
812	SHRINIVASAN, E G	MADRAS	15024
813	SHRINIVASULU, K	PRAKASAM	15023

S NO	NAME	PLACE	CODE
814	SHRIVASTAVA, A K	CHAIBASA	15033
815	SHRIVASTAVA, ANAND PRAKASH	GORAKHPUR	15039
816	SHRIVASTAVA, ASHOK KUMAR	GORAKHPUR	15050
817	SHRIVASTAVA, GAURI	DELHI	15053
818	SHRIVASTAVA, HARISHANKAR	GORAKHPUR	15055
819	SHRIVASTAVA, KUMKUM	DELHI	15059
820	SHRIVASTAVA, LAXMI	DELHI	15061
821	SHRIVASTAVA, LESHMA	DELHI	15062
822	SHRIVASTAVA, MADAN GOPAL	MIRZAPUR	15064
823	SHRIVASTAVA, MANOJ KUMAR	GORAKHPUR	15069
824	SHRIVASTAVA, MEENA	BODH GAYA	15070
825	SHRIVASTAVA, NIRMALA	REWA	15075
826	SHRIVASTAVA, O P	ALIGARH	15077
827	SHRIVASTAVA, R N	JABALPUR	15088
828	SHRIVASTAVA, RAVINDRA	LUCKNOW	15092
829	SHRIVASTAVA, S SHARAN	SITAMARHI	15097
830	SHRIVASTAVA, SANGEETHA	UJJAIN	15098
831	SHRIVASTAVA, SASHI BHUSAN	W CHAMPARAN	15105
832	SHRIVASTAVA, SHARMILA	DELHI	15103
833	SHRIVASTAVA, SUDHAKAR LAL	AZAMGARH	15110
834	SHRIVASTAVA, SUNIL KUMAR	GORAKHPUR	15112
835	SHRIVASTAVA, SUSHIL	ALLAHABAD	15114
836	SHUKLA, ANSHU	ALIRIPUR	15129
837	SHUKLA, GIJUBHAI DAHYABHAI	KHEDA	15134
838	SHUKLA, INDU KANTH	IMPHAL	15135
839	SHUKLA, RAJESH MOHAN	BOMBAY	15141
840	SHUKLA, SUNDRAM	DELHI	15150
841	SHUKLA, VIVEKANAND	MUZAFFARPUR	15154
842	SIDDIQI, AKHTAR AHMED	DELHI	15158
843	SIDDIQI, M H	DELHI	15161
844	SIDDIQI, M ZAMEERUDDIN	ALIGARH	15164
845	SIDDIQI, ZAHOR	DELHI	15166
846	SINGH, A K	AGRA	15178
847	SINGH, ABHA	DELHI	15180
848	SINGH, ABHA	GORAKHPUR	15181
849	SINGH, AJAY KUMAR	BEGUSARAI	15186
850	SINGH, AJAY KUMAR	SAHARSA	15187
851	SINGH, AMARENDRA K	GAYA	15193
852	SINGH, ANAND PRAKASH	GHAZIPUR	15195
853	SINGH, ANAND SHANKAR	VARANASI	15196
854	SINGH, ARUN KUMAR	AGRA	15200

Appendix 10 (C) List of Ordinary Members

S NO	NAME	PLACE	CODE
855	SINGH, ASHOK KUMAR	DELHI	15208
856	SINGH, BALBIR	PATIALA	15220
857	SINGH, BASANT NARAYAN	GAYA	15223
858	SINGH, BENJAMIN KR	MUZAFFARPUR	15225
859	SINGH, BHAROSA PRASAD	BODHGAYA	15228
860	SINGH, BHAWANI SHARAN	GAYA	15229
861	SINGH, BHIMSEN	DELHI	15230
862	SINGH, CHETAN	SHIMLA	15253
863	SINGH, DILBAGH	DELHI	15263
864	SINGH, DILIP KUMAR	BHAGALPUR	15265
865	SINGH, G P	IMPHAL	15269
866	SINGH, GURDEV	AMRITSAR	15276
867	SINGH, HARBHAJAN	YAMUNA NAGAR	15279
868	SINGH, JAI RAM	VARANASI	15304
869	SINGH, JOGINDER	AMRITSAR	15312
870	SINGH, K P	ALIGARH	15318
871	SINGH, KAMESHWAR	BUXAR	15320
872	SINGH, KISHORE KUMAR	DELHI	15330
873	SINGH, KRISHNA KUMAR	AURANAGBAD	15333
874	SINGH, KRISHNA PRASAD	GHAZIPUR	15334
875	SINGH, KUMAR SANJAY	DELHI	15338
876	SINGH, KUNWARLAL J V	DELHI	15340
877	SINGH, LATA	DELHI	15346
878	SINGH, MADAN MOHAN	PATNA	15355
879	SINGH, MAHENDRA NARAYAN	GAYA	15361
880	SINGH, MAHENDRA PRATAP	VARANASI	15362
881	SINGH, MAHENDRA PRATAP	DELHI	15363
882	SINGH, MAHESH VIKRAM	VARANASI	15364
883	SINGH, MOHINDER	KURUKSHETRA	15372
884	SINGH, MOHINDER	DELHI	15374
885	SINGH, MUKESH KUMAR	DELHI	15376
886	SINGH, NARAYAN PRASAD	MUZAFFARPUR	15395
887	SINGH, NARGESH	SHIMLA	15394
888	SINGH, NIRAJ KUMAR	DELHI	15401
889	SINGH, O P	DELHI	15407
890	SINGH, P PRABHAKAR	HAJIPUR	15412
891	SINGH, PASHU PATI	JEHANABAD	15420
892	SINGH, PRADYUMNA KUMAR	UDAIPUR	15426
893	SINGH, PREM KUMAR	MUZAFFARPUR	15429
894	SINGH, PREM NARAIN	VARANASI	15430
895	SINGH, R P	DELHI	15437

S NO.	NAME	PLACE	CODE
896	SINGH, RAGHUBIR	AMRITSAR	15441
897	SINGH, RAJESHWAR PRASAD	PATNA	15452
898	SINGH, RAM	SHIMLA	15457
899	SINGH, RAM SHARAN	CHAPRA	15465
900	SINGH, RAMA SHANKAR PRASAD	BIHAR	15467
901	SINGH, RAMANUJ PRASAD	BODHGAYA	15470
902	SINGH, RAMDHYAN PRASAD	GAYA	15475
903	SINGH, S B	PATNA	15485
904	SINGH, S P	DARBHANGA	15493
905	SINGH, S R	MUZAFFARPUR	15496
906	SINGH, SABITA	DELHI	15498
907	SINGH, SARJUG PRASAD	GAYA	15504
908	SINGH, SEEMA	ALIGARH	15511
909	SINGH, SEEMA	DELHI	15512
910	SINGH, SUKHPAL	AMRITSAR	15546
911	SINGH, SULAKHAN	AMRITSAR	15551
912	SINGH, SUNIL KUMAR	PATNA	15553
913	SINGH, SURENDRA	SITAMARHI	15557
914	SINGH, TEJ	SHIMLA	15573
915	SINGH, Y. MOHINDER	BISHNUPUR	16331
916	SINGH, VINOD KUMAR	ALIGARH	15592
917	SINGH, Y MOHENDRA	IMPHAL	15596
918	SINHA, ARVIND	DELHI	15608
919	SINHA, CHITRANJAN	GAYA	15620
920	SINHA, JAGDISH N	DELHI	15629
921	SINHA, K N	JABALPUR	15632
922	SINHA, KRISHNA	PATNA	15636
923	SINHA, NANDINI	DELHI	15643
924	SINHA, NEETA	DELHI	15648
925	SINHA, PRABHAT KUMAR	MADHUBANI	15651
926	SINHA, RABINDRA KUMAR	DELHI	15656
927	SINHA, S P VIJAYA	MUZAFFARPUR	15663
928	SINHA, SHARADA	SAMASTIPUR	15667
929	SINHA, SHUBHRA	DELHI	15670
930	SINHA, SUDHA	RANCHI	15673
931	SINHA, SUNITA	DELHI	15677
932	SINHA, VINITA	UJJAIN	15680
933	SINHA, VINOD KUMAR	DELHI	15681
934	SIVAPRAKASAM, C K	THANJAVUR	15689
935	SIVARAMAN, V	THANJAVUR	15691
936	SIWACH, DALIP SINGH	KURUKSHETRA	15697

Appendix 10 (C) List of Ordinary Members

S NO	NAME	PLACE	CODE
937	SOHAL SUKHDEV SINGH	AMRITSAR	15700
938	SOLANKI, GAJENDRA SINGH	KOTA	15702
939	SOLANKI, RAMAN	UJJAIN	15704
940	SONI, RAM NARAYAN	JABALPUR	15714
941	SUBBALAKSHMI C	HYDERABAD	15734
942	SUBODH, SANJAY	JABALPUR	15741
943	SUBRAHMANYAM	DELHI	15742
944	SUBRAHMANYAM, KALYANI	DELHI	15755
945	SUGUMAR, S	MADRAS	15780
946	SUGUNABAI, B	MADRAS	15783
947	SUJATA	DELHI	15786
948	SUNDAR, K H S S	HYDERABAD	15808
949	SUNDARAM, V NATANA	MADRAS	15814
950	SUNITA, B	HYDERABAD	15818
951	SURESH	DELHI	15823
952	SURI, PUSHPA	DELHI	15827
953	SURI, SHABNAM	DELHI	15828
954	SURYODAYAM, L J	KRISHNA	15837
955	SWAROOPARANI, R	HYDERABAD	15862
956	TABASSUM, ANWARUL HAQUE	SULTANGANJ	15870
957	TAMASKAR, BHASKAR GOPAL	PUNE	15878
958	TEWATHIA, JYOTSNA	DELHI	15897
959	THAKUR, K K	RANCHI	14955
960	THAKUR, LAXMAN S	SHIMLA	15898
961	THALAKULAM, CHERIAN	KOTTAYAM	15919
962	THANGAMANI, P	MADRAS	15925
963	THANIKACHALAM, E	TIRUCHIRAPALLI	15927
964	THARAKAN, MICHEAL P K	SHERTHALLAI	15928
965	THARAKAN, SOPHIE JOSE	SHERTHALLAI	15929
966	THENMOZHI, P	MADRAS	15932
967	THIRUVENGADAM, T	AMBEDKAR	15945
968	THOMAS, C	MADRAS	15946
969	THOSAR, HARIHAR SHAHURAO	BOMBAY	15955
970	THYAGARAJAN, TARA	VADODARA	15958
971	TIKKU, RAVI	BIKANER	15960
972	TIKLE, N S	YAVATMAL	15961
973	TIWARI, DASHARATH	SAMASTIPUR	15967
974	TIWARI, MADHURI	MUZAFFARPUR	15974
975	TIWARI, MANCH NANDAN PRASAD	VARANASI	15977
976	TIWARI, RENUKA	UJJAIN	15986
977	TIWARI, SUNIL	UJJAIN	15991

S.NO.	NAME	PLACE	CODE
978	TREHAN, Y N	DELHI	15993
979	TRIGUNAYAT, SATISH KUMAR	JAIPUR	15994
980	TRIPATHI, PRADEEP KUMAR	MADRAS	16006
981	TRIVEDI, ASHOK	UJJAIN	16018
982	TRIVEDI, DIPTI	VADODARA	16021
983	TRIVEDI, K K	DELHI	16022
984	TRIVEDI, MADHU K	DELHI	16023
985	TUTEJA, K L	KURUKSHETRA	16034
986	TYAGI, ANIL KUMAR	GHAZIABAD	16035
987	TYAGI, JYOTSNA	DELHI	16037
988	UDAYA, B	MANGALORE	16041
989	UMAR, MUHAMMAD	ALIGARH	16046
990	UPADHYAY, ALPANA	UJJAIN	16052
991	UPADHYAY, G P	DELHI	16054
992	UPADHYAY, MAHESH	CHAMPARAN	16059
993	UPADHYAY, S P	SHAJAPUR	16066
994	UPADHYE, VILAS APPA	KOLHAPUR	16068
995	USMANI, QAMAR SAEED	ALIGARH	16077
996	VAGARYA, NAND KUMAR	BOMBAY	16079
997	VAIDYA, SMITHA	UJJAIN	16082
998	VAJPEYI, GITA	VADODARA	16087
999	VAJPEYI, RAGHAVENDRA	DELHI	16091
1000	VAKIL, MANOHAR RAMACHANDRA	BULDANA	16095
1001	VANAM, M	MADRAS	16098
1002	VARALAKSHMI, J	HYDERABAD	16103
1003	VARALAKSHMI, R	HYDERABAD	16104
1004	VARMA, BHAVANA	DELHI	16119
1005	VARMA, BINOD KUMAR	GOPALGANJ	16120
1006	VARMA, DINESH NARAYAN	SAHIBGANJ	16125
1007	VARMA, H C	DELHI	16128
1008	VARMA, JAYA	DELHI	16129
1009	VARMA, LAJPAT	DELHI	16135
1010	VARMA, LAL BAHADUR	ALLAHABAD	16136
1011	VARMA, MADAN KUMAR	CHAMPARAN	16137
1012	VARMA, N K	BHAGALPUR	16139
1013	VARMA, RAJIV KUMAR	DELHI	16149
1014	VARMA, S P	ALIGARH	16156
1015	VARMA, SAMIR KUMAR	DELHI	16158
1016	VARMA, SUSHMA JYOTI PRASHAD	PUNE	16162
1017	VARMA, TRIPTA	DELHI	16163
1018	VARMA, V K	BILASPUR	16164

Appendix 10 (C) List of Ordinary Members

S NO.	NAME	PLACE	CODE
1019	VASHISHTHA, NEELIMA	JAIPUR	16172
1020	VASHISHTHA, VIJAY KUMAR	JAIPUR	16173
1021	VASUDEVAN, SHRILATHA	MADRAS	16178
1022	VATTS, MEENLOCHNA	DELHI	16181
1023	VAZE, H C	BOMBAY	16182
1024	VELAYUDHAN, MEERA	DELHI	16192
1025	VENKATACHALAM, K	HYDERABAD	16195
1026	VENKATARAMAN, P	HYDERABAD	16203
1027	venu, P	P O FEROKE	16212
1028	VIJ, POOJA	DELHI	16219
1029	VIJAY, ACHLA	DELHI	16220
1030	VIJAY, DEVESH	DELHI	16221
1031	VIJAYA, H P	BANGALORE	16223
1032	VIJAYA, T P	MANGALORE	16225
1033	VISHWARUPE, A V	NAGPUR	16249
1034	VISHWARUPE, N A	NAGPUR	16250
1035	VIVEK, P S	BOMBAY	16252
1036	VIVEKANANDAN, J P	MADRAS	16254
1037	VYAS, G S	AJMER	16256
1038	VYAS, INDIRA	AJMER	16258
1039	VYAS, NANDKISHORE B	NAGPUR	16260
1040	VYAS, SANTOSH N	NAGPUR	16262
1041	WADHAWAN, PRACHEE	DELHI	16266
1042	YADAVA	DELHI	16286
1043	YADAVA, VISWA NATHA	24 PARGANAS	16309
1044	YAHYA, GHULAM ANJUM	DELHI	16312
1045	YASSIN, MOHAMED A K	KARAIKAL	16318
1046	ZAIDI, ASKARI HAIDAR	PAURI GARHWAL	16194
1047	ZAIDI, INAYAT ALI	DELHI	15807

OBITUARIES

KRISHNA DATT BAJPAI (1917-1992)

In the sudden and sad passing away of the late Professor Krishna Datt (KD) Bajpai on 10th June, 1992, at his residence at Sagar (MP) the Indological world has suffered an irreparable loss and the vacuum caused by his unexpected departure is bound to be felt for quite some time. Born at Raipur in the Rae Bareilly district of Uttar Pradesh on 10 December, 1917, KD Bajpai had his education at Rae Bareilly, Kanpur and the Banaras Hindu University (Varanasi). He passed his M A examination in Ancient Indian History and Culture from the BHU in the first position winning Dayaram Sahni Gold Medal in 1942. He commenced his professional career at the Archaeological Museum, Mathura, where he was posted for over a decade, with only a brief interval when he was archaeological officer to the Government of Uttar Pradesh. This gave him a rather rare opportunity to gain first hand familiarity with early Indian art and iconography, a field in which he was one of the most knowledgeable men. The Department of Ancient Indian History, Culture and Archaeology of the University of Saugar (now Harisingh Gaur Vishwavidyalaya), which he next joined as Head, and the rich archaeological museum attached to it were solely his creations. During the long period of nearly two decades of his headship of the Department he kept himself busy with archaeological explorations and excavations, and now one cannot think of Madhya Pradesh archaeology without reference to him. He conducted excavations at four major sites of Eran, Tripuri, Tumbh (ancient Tumbavana) and Mallar which are now well-known, thanks to his excavations.

Professor Bajpai's valuable work brought him great recognition, and he held with distinction several coveted offices including the Chairmanship of the Numismatic Society of India and the Epigraphical Society of India and presided over their annual conferences as well as those of the Indian Archaeological Society and the Indian History and Culture Society besides being Sectional President of the All-India Oriental Conference and the Indian History Congress. He was a member of the Indian Council of Historical Research and its various committees for nearly nine years. He received other honours including, *inter alia*, the Nelson Wright medal of the Numismatic Society of India and the R P Chanda Medal of the Asiatic Society, Calcutta. He was an Honorary Fellow of the Numismatic Society of India and the Epigraphical Society of India. This list of positions held and the honours earned is by no means exhaustive but is merely indicative of the measure of high esteem in which he was held by his scholarly admirers. This was

possible owing to his rather rare combination of administrative, organisational and academic capabilities besides highly pleasing demeanour for which he was widely known. He was very active and mobile till the very last and the end came completely unexpected.

I had the privilege of enjoying Professor Bajpai's friendship and affection for some thirty-five years during which he was my family guest at Nagpur several times and I realised how unassuming disposition he had despite his high scholarly standing and reputation. I had a taste of the measure of high admiration and love from scholarly circles enjoyed by him when I approached scholars for their contributions for *festchrift* for him and there was a steady flow of research papers which were published from Delhi under the title *Vajapeya* in 1987. And the grateful posterity still cherishes high regards for him as indicated by the announcement of the posthumous highest numismatic award of the Chakravikrama Medal and the institution of an annual lecture series on numismatics in his honour at the just-concluded annual conference of the Numismatic Society of India at Vijayawada, Andhra Pradesh.

May his soul rest in peace

Ajay Mitra Shastri

K.K. SINHA (1928-1992)

The passing away of K K Sinha on 1 July 1992 has left in Indian archaeology a void which is difficult to fill. Born on 8 February 1928 in a well-known family of Gazipur, Sinha matriculated from the local City High School. He received his higher education in Allahabad University from where he did his B A followed by M A in Sanskrit. Educated as a Sanskritist Sinha acquired great proficiency in ancient history and archaeology, and received his doctorate from the University of London in 1963. His publications include *Report on Shravasti 1959*, and several pieces contributed to *An Encyclopaedia of Indian Archaeology* edited by A Ghosh and to various other collections and periodicals.

K K Sinha joined the Archaeological Survey of India in 1950 and served it with great devotion and distinction till 1965 when he was made a Reader in Archaeology in Banaras Hindu University. During the period of his service with the Survey he excavated at various places including Hastinapur, Ropar, Nagarjunikonda and Ujjain. He independently excavated Kampil, Kanauj and Shravasti on the last of which he published a valuable report. In this report he raised the problem of contemporaneity of the Painted Grey Ware with the Northern Black Polished Ware which he pursued later. He seriously discounted the antiquity given to the PGW and tried to demonstrate in writings and discussions that the PGW would not be much earlier than 800 BC.

Sinha was elevated to the chair in archaeology in Banaras Hindu University in 1973 and also headed its department of Ancient Indian History, Culture and Archaeology for a few years. During his tenure he excavated the site of the Gupta temple at Bhitari and more importantly Khairadih in Ballia district. Short reports published on Khairadih give a clear idea of the comparative role of the black and red ware people on the one hand and the NBPW people on the other. They also throw light on the importance of the use of iron in the Middle Gangetic Plains and on the expansion of the settlement at Khairadih. Professor Sinha was an active member of the Standing Committee of the Archaeological Survey of India. He always took a rational view of the Archaeological problems raised by the revivalists. Although he contributed mainly to historical archaeology he also took interest in the study of prehistoric sites in Mirzapur district. Prof. Sinha had a sharp analytical mind. He possessed incomparable skill and expertise in the art of digging and trained a band of scholars who will certainly continue and improve upon the high standards of archaeological work set by him at Banaras.

Ram Sharan Sharma

GUNTHER-DIETZ SONTHEIMER (1934-1992)

In the death of Dr Gunther-Dietz Sontheimer we have lost an historian of great repute. Inheriting a very rich legacy of German indology, he was a path-finder and a path-breaker as well.

Born on 21 April, 1934, Dr Sontheimer had his schooling at Stuttgart and later became a student of Professor Glasenapp at the University of Tübingen. During his six years' stay there, he not only acquired distinctive proficiency in Sanskrit, Indian Philosophy and Hindi but also earned his first Law Degree in 1958. It is not surprising, therefore, that with such variegated skills he went on to do his Ph.D. on "The Joint Hindu Family: Its Evolution as a Legal Institution" (later published in 1977).

Dr Sontheimer had been actively associated with the academic programme of the South Asia Institute of Heidelberg University. During a span of 27 years at this Institute, he visited India at least 35 times and came in contact with Professor D.D. Kosambi. Inspired by him, Gunther-Dietz developed deep interest in folk religion and mythology as well as vernacular roots of Indian cultural tradition. This had convinced him about that tradition being a rich tapestry woven with varied regional tribal, pastoral and agrarian elements. These interests resulted in his monograph on Biroba, Mhaskoba and Khandoba (in German, 1976) that was later translated and published in English in 1989 under the title *Pastoral Deities of Western India*. In a similar class one would also like to mention *Memorial Stones* which he had edited along with S. Settar.

Dr Sontheimer's extensive field research in archaeology, specially in Maharashtra, and his solid background of Marathi language enabled him to produce very creative educational films for the German television, which included his perceptive insights on the communities and rituals of Maharashtra and the Deccan such as the Dhangars, Gollas, Kurubas and the Somavati Amavasya festival.

Dr Sontheimer's death on the 3 June, 1992 at an early age of 58 is a serious loss to Indological studies and the composite Indian cultural tradition. It is mourned by friends and scholars as much in India as in Germany.

Compiled by IHC office

